Google

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

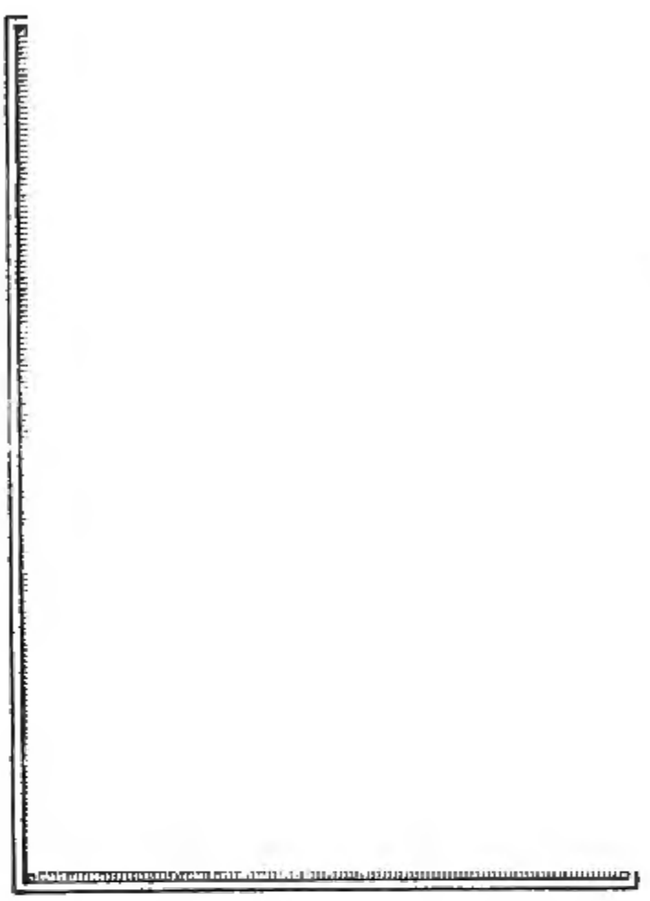
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

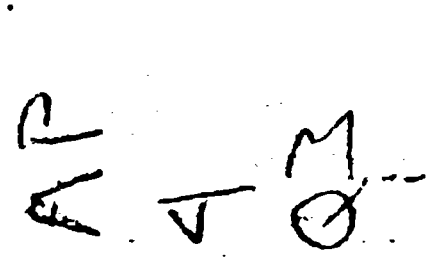
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at http://books.google.com/





AP
4
Q3

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. 194.

COMPRISING Nos. 387 388,

PURLISHED: IN

JULY & OCTOBER, 1901.

NEW YORK:
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1901.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited,
Stamford Street and Charing Cross.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 387.

PAGE

ART. I.—NEGRO NILELAND AND UGANDA - - - - 1

1. The Rise of our East African Empire. By Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard, D.S.O. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1893.
2. Under the African Sun. A description of the Native Races in Uganda. By Dr W. J. Ansorge. London: Heinemann, 1899.

And other works.

ART. II.—THE NEWFOUNDLAND QUESTION - - - 33

1. Further Correspondence respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries. (C. 6334.) London: Spottiswoode, 1891.
2. Documents diplomatiques. Affaires de Terre-Neuve. (Livre Jaune.) Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891–1892.

And other works.

ART. III.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL RADICALS - - - 54

1. The English Utilitarians. By Leslie Stephen. Three vols. London: Duckworth, 1900.
2. The English Radicals: an Historical Sketch. By C. B. Roylance Kent. London: Longmans, 1899.

And other works.

ART. IV.—THE DECAY OF OUR SEA FISHERIES - - 83

1. The Resources of the Sea. By Professor W. C. McIntosh. London: Clay, 1899.
2. Naturgeschichte des Härings. By Professor Fr. Heincke. Two vols. Berlin: Salle, 1898.

And other works.

ART. V.—NEW LIGHTS ON MILTON - - - - - 103

1. Milton. By Walter Raleigh. London: Edward Arnold, 1900.
2. Milton's Poems. Edited by A. Wilson Verity in 'Pitt Press Series.' Cambridge University Press, 1897, &c.

And other works.

PAGE

ART. VI.—RECENT MOUNTAINEERING - - - - - 126

1. Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas. By Sir W. M. Conway. Two vols. London: Fisher Unwin, 1894.
2. The Exploration of the Caucasus. By Douglas W. Freshfield. Illustrated by Vittorio Sella. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1896.
And other works.

ART. VII.—THE DATE OF DANTE'S VISION - - - 149

Sulla Data del Viaggio Dantesco. By F. Angelitti. Naples, University Press: 1897.
And other works.

ART. VIII.—SOCIETY CROAKERS - - - - - 172

1. A portion of a Journal kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1858.
2. Notes from a Diary (1851 to 1891). By Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff. Ten vols. London: John Murray, 1897–1901.
And other works.

ART. IX.—THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL - 192

1. Oliver Cromwell. By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P. London: Macmillan, 1900.
2. The Commonwealth and Protectorate. By S. R. Gardiner. Vol. III. London: Longmans, 1901.
And other works.

ART. X.—THE DAWN OF GREECE - - - - - 218

The Early Age of Greece. By William Ridgeway. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press, 1901.
And other works.

ART. XI.—THE POPULAR NOVEL - - - - - 244

The Master Christian. By Marie Corelli. London: Methuen, 1900.
And other works.

ART. XII.—TUBERCULOSIS - - - - - - - 274

Die Ætiologie der Tuberkulose. By R. Koch. 'Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift,' 1882 (No. 15), and 1883 (No. 10).
And other works.

ART. XIII.—THE CHINESE FIASCO - - - - - 294

China; her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce. By E. H. Parker. London: John Murray, 1901.
And other works

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. I.—NEGRO NILELAND AND UGANDA.

1. *The Rise of our East African Empire.* By Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard, D.S.O. Two vols. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1893.
2. *A Naturalist in Mid-Africa.* By G. F. Scott-Elliott. London: Innes, 1896.
3. *Emin Pasha: his Life and Work.* Compiled from his Journals, &c., by Georg Schweitzer. Two vols. London: Constable, 1898.
4. *Under the African Sun. A description of the Native Races in Uganda.* By Dr W. J. Ansorge. London: Heinemann, 1899.
5. *L' Omo: Viaggio di esplorazione nell' Africa Orientale.* Narrato da L. Vannutelli e C. Citerni. With illustrations and maps. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1899.
6. *African Incidents; Personal Experiences in Egypt and Unyoro.* By Brevet-Major A. B. Thruston. London: John Murray, 1900.
7. *From the Cape to Cairo.* By E. S. Grogan and A. H. Sharp. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1900.
8. *Letters to the 'Daily Telegraph.'* By Lionel Dècle. March, April, and May, 1901.

NORTH of that islet in the marshy Nile which leapt into celebrity in the autumn of 1898 as Fashoda, the Egyptian Sudan is a country of desert, more or less, except in the immediate vicinity of the White Nile, and far away to the east, where the influence of the Abyssinian highlands is felt, or where the many affluents of the Blue Nile create the fertility of Sennaar. At Fashoda, indeed, the Egyptian Sudan formerly ended. The term Belad-es-Sudan, or

Country of the Blacks, was restricted to the lands lying between the Atbara River, the White Nile, and the Sobat. Much of this country has now ceased to be the Land of the Blacks, as Arabs and mixed races of Arabs and Negroids have pushed back the black Negroes some two hundred and fifty miles south of Khartum. At this distance, travelling up the White Nile, the traveller first encounters the negro Shiluk tribe in the still arid country lying to the west and east of the great river. To the south of Fashoda one enters the Africa of marsh and forest, the Africa of deadly fevers and of great fertility, and of usually dense negro population—dense, that is to say, where it has not been locally reduced by slave raids or tribal wars.

Fashoda probably marks more or less the northern limit of what was once a vast lake, into which poured innumerable affluents of the Nile from the mountainous country south of Abyssinia, from the great Nyanza lakes, and from the hilly rainy countries to the north-east of the Congo watershed. This lake was eventually drained away by the White Nile, which carried its waters through an ever-deepening channel past the Sahara Desert into Egypt and the Mediterranean. As the lake slowly disappeared, its shallow bed became channelled by the stronger floods into more or less definite river courses—those of the Sobat-Baro the Bahr-az-Zaraf, the Bahr-al-Jabāl (or main White Nile), the Rōl or Nan, the Roa, the Tonj, the Bahr-al-Hamr, the Bahr-al-Arab, and the Bahr-al-Ghazal—which gathers up most of the last-named streams and carries their waters into Lake No (one of the spaces of open water remaining as relics of the former island sea), and thence into the main stream of the Nile. In addition to these numerous river courses which furrow the muddy bottom of this ancient shallow sea, many marshes—some in independent stagnation, others arising from the demoralised aimlessness of sluggish rivers—add to the traveller's conviction that he is traversing a district that not many thousand years ago was a shallow sheet of fresh water much vaster than the Victoria Nyanza, but not unlike it in character and history.*

* Although our knowledge of the Victoria Nyanza is still incomplete, enough has been learned about its characteristics to induce us to believe that it is a sheet of water of no great depth (240 fathoms at most), and

As long as the Nile traveller journeys over the bed of this ancient sea he traverses a country covered uniformly by alluvial deposits of rich black soil, of Nile mud, in fact, without a sign of a rock or stone, and with no hillock worthy of mention other than ant-hills. The innumerable affluents of the Nile, which become united into one stream at the junction of the Sobat, wind with such sluggishness across the old lake bed that they seem to be in a condition of stagnancy, with little appreciable current;* and this in many places seriously interferes with their navigability, for the want of current encourages the most extravagant growth of water-weeds and of aquatic grasses, of low monocotyledonous plants, of 'Love-lies-a-bleeding,' of nenuphars, and of other plants highly respectable in their land affinities, which to their own disgrace have taken to a low swamp life. These masses of floating vegetation become an obstruction in the following manner. A leguminous tree or shrub, known locally as ambash or ambatsh,† with swollen, fibrous, arm-like branches and stems (sufficiently thick and tough to be made into canoes or rafts), grows in the still water in clumps which become the *nuclei* of islets. Other floating islands are formed by various species of grass, and by the beautiful papyrus rush. The wind and the faint current drift these together. They become entangled, and their interstices are filled up with thick masses of *Conferva* and of duckweed, together with the well-known *Pistia stratiotes*,‡

---

apparently destined in course of ages to drain itself off through the Nile, and eventually become a shallow, depressed plain, through which many Nile affluents will sluggishly circulate. Lake Victoria stands in striking contrast to Tanganyika, which is an inland sea of great age, geologically speaking—a sea which was once connected with the Red Sea through a long and tortuous channel across North-East Africa, a channel offering on a general relief map distinct indications of the mountain cliffs bordering its former course, though it has been broken up in many places by transverse upheavals and volcanic movements. This channel is described by Mr. Gregory in his 'Great Rift Valley.'

* Dr Schweinfurth computes that between Meshra-er-Rek, in the Bahr-al-Ghazal district, and Khartum there is only a fall of 100 feet in the Nile level.

† The scientific name of ambatsh is *Herminiera elaphroxylon*.

‡ This pistia is found on stagnant water in Africa, as in India. It is a water plant distantly related to the arums and the *Lemnaceæ*. In growth and appearance it is exactly like a young lettuce; but its beautiful emerald green is dusted over with a faint bluish bloom, which presents a lovely effect of colour when growing in large and uniform masses.

which by decay form a pulp-like cement, becoming in time almost a vegetable soil. When the level of the water weed sinks during the winter season, and the current in the river channels consequently becomes more discernible, this tough tangle of water vegetation is reft here and there by the stream, and with the summer floods, the masses of vegetation are driven together, and are 'herded' by the wind, leaving open channels more or less free for navigation. Nevertheless, as is well known, this dense growth of water vegetation—which is locally known as the *sedd*, *sadd*, or *sudd* *—forms at times such a complete barrier to the navigation of the Upper Nile and its tributaries that it has frequently cut off all communication between the districts above Fashoda and those lying to the south of the junction of the Sobat and the Bahr-al-Ghazal. In 1870–71 Sir Samuel Baker's expedition was delayed for months by this vegetable barrier, and, being imprisoned in it, was very nearly starved to death. In 1873, however, by the orders of Sir Samuel Baker, then Governor-General of the Sudan, determined efforts were made to cut channels through the *sadd*, with the result that, for some time to come, navigation along the main channel of the Upper Nile was comparatively unimpeded. Subsequent indifference on the part of Government officials, and then the catastrophe of the Mahdi's revolt, followed by fifteen years of anarchy, caused the *sadd* once more to become such a serious obstacle to the navigation of the main Nile as to have prevented till recently direct water communication between the outlying posts of the Uganda Protectorate and the newly established stations of the Egyptian Government in the Sudan. In April and May 1900 the *sadd* was completely cut through by an expedition under Major Peake; and the river is now open between the frontier of Uganda and Khartum.

How much of the country intervening between these branches and affluents of the Nile is marsh, and how much solid grass land, is unknown, for the banks of the river above its confluence with the Sobat discourage exploration. The country, far and wide, is almost devoid of trees—species of palm being markedly absent—except the gum-producing acacias, which appear to grow with equal in-

* Dr Schweinfurth called it on the Bahr-al-Ghazal the 'Sett.'

difference on marshy soil or in sandy desert. The acacias growing in the neighbourhood of Fashoda are, according to Schweinfurth, especially worthy of interest. They extend over an area of one hundred miles square on the right bank of the White Nile, and belong chiefly to the *Acacia fistula* species. This latter yields a valuable gum, and is further remarkable for its extraordinary thorns, which are several inches long, and of an ivory white. The bulb of the thorn at its origin is burrowed into by the grub of an insect, which in some unknown manner causes the bulb to expand like a gall into a globular bladder measuring about an inch in diameter. After the grub has passed into the perfect beetle it leaves its home at the base of the thorn by a small hole, and thereafter the thorn's bladder becomes when played on by the wind a natural flute.* An acacia whose thorns have all been drilled by this grub whistles with a plaintive melody in the breeze, and booms a dirge under the strong gales of the Sudan winter. At that season of the year these acacia forests, with their boughs bare of leaves and white as chalk, their empty pods clustering about the branches like flakes of snow, and their thousands of thorn-flutes wailing and whimpering and whistling, seem like the growth created by an enchanter to guard the approaches to his lair—a forest built up from the bones of his victims. Further south the *Acacia verugera* grows to a height of seventy feet, and has often the appearance in growth of a pale green cedar. The trunk and branches, even when bare, tend to be of a pure pale green instead of white, so that this tree is an agreeable object to the eye, besides having smaller thorns and more abundant foliage than the ferocious-looking *Acacia fistula*. In the summer time its innumerable flowerets—all stamens and no petals, like little balls of golden floss silk—give forth a perfume of the most delightful and honeyed fragrance.

The Papyrus rush is the harbinger of Negroland. At the present time it is not found further north than latitude 9° 30′, though either the present species must have once extended its growth down the Nile valley to the Delta (to have become such a prominent object in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians), or the papyrus of which Egypt

---

* Often these thorn bladders become the home of a colony of tiny ants.

made so much use was a different species, akin to that of Sicily and Syria, and now extinct in Lower Egypt. In the marshes of the Nile above the Sobat junction the papyrus attains to a height of fifteen feet,* and forms veritable jungles. The southernmost range of this magnificent rush is in all probability the banks of the Zambezi and Kunene rivers. The true African papyrus is one of the most beautiful objects in the vegetable world. Its smooth, round, tubular stem and its crown of silky filaments are alike of the purest apple green, with here and there a bluish or an emerald iridescence. When the rush-head flowers, a ring of dull gold inflorescence makes its appearance in the middle of the half-globe of filaments, filaments as fine and glossy as threads of green silk. Unlike the awful reeds of Central Africa, with their spear-shaped and pointed leaves which stab the intruder who pushes past them, the gentle papyrus has no weapons of offence, and its stem of useful white pith could be severed by a child with a penknife.

This water world is inhabited mainly by hippopotamuses, crocodiles, water-antelopes, and innumerable water birds, amongst which is the extraordinary *Balæniceps rex*, a large bird related to the storks, with a bill which is expanded laterally to an enormous size, so that its scientific name "Whale-headed" is not misapplied. This strange fowl, so far as is yet known, is peculiar to the Upper Nile marshes and the Victoria Nyanza Lake.

Between the river channels and their accompanying belts of marshes are considerable tracts of land lying just above the summer inundations,† which form the richest grazing ground for innumerable herds of cattle. Although the Nile marsh lands are cursed by many a plague of nature, they are apparently free from the tsetse fly; and therefore cattle can exist, increase, and multiply in spite of persecution by other flies less deadly than the tsetse and by various *bacilli*, which there as elsewhere are encouraged by a congeries of animals to multiply till they generate some disease or other. Sheep, goats, and horses also thrive on these alluvial plains, and their owners are true negroes of

---

* In Uganda it is often twenty feet high.

† The total rise and fall of the various Nile rivers in the lower Bahr-al Ghazal district is computed by Schweinfurth at from two to four feet.

a special Nilotic type, represented by the kindred tribes of Shiluk, Nūer, and Dinka. From this Nilotic negro type the celebrated Sudanese soldiers are mainly recruited. Their physical characteristics are those described by Schweinfurth, Felkin, Junker, and other travellers, and may easily be recognised by the tourist visiting Lower Egypt and seeing these tall black men in Egyptian garrisons. They are a race which has adapted itself to the habitation of marshy districts.

'They give one the impression,' writes the German traveller Heuglin, 'that amongst men they hold very much the same place which storks or flamingos occupy with regard to other birds. Like marsh birds, they are accustomed for an hour at a time to stand motionless on one leg, supporting the other above the knee.* Their leisurely long stride over the rushes is only to be compared to that of the stork.'

These Shiluk, Dinka, Nūer, Bari, Lango, Alur, Acholi (Shuli), and allied peoples, whose range extends over the low-lying regions of the White Nile, the Mountain Nile, the Sobat, and the Bahr-al-Ghazal, from two hundred and fifty miles below Khartum to the north end of the Albert Nyanza, and to the east coast of the Victoria Nyanza, have an average height ranging from five feet seven inches to five feet nine inches. They are lean and spare in body, their heads are relatively small, their necks are long, and their legs are singularly lean and lanky, with the shins much bowed and with hardly any calf. All persons who have seen the Sudanese soldiers, with their tightly swathed lower limbs, will have been struck by these stork-like shins. The head inclines to be somewhat flat and narrow, but there is not much prognathism. The cheek bones are often prominent, the lips are much everted, the nose frequently has a decided bridge, but the whole face is ugly owing to its deeply carved lines and wrinkles and much everted lips. The sclerotic (or 'white') of the eyes is frequently clouded and yellow, and does not exhibit the gleaming white which is such a beautiful feature in the equally dark Somali face. Natural ugliness is industriously heightened by the practices of scarring the skin,

* This attitude, however, is characteristic of all Central and East African races, such as the Nyam-Nyam, the Masai, the Nandi, and the Kavirondo, some of whom are mountain tribes or steppe-dwellers.

and of wearing intrusive substances thrust into the flesh, and by mutilation of the features: these methods, in the opinion of the people themselves, enhance their native beauty. In most of these tribes, both sexes break off the lower incisor teeth; this causes the upper incisors to project, like tusks, in some cases almost horizontally. Skin decoration—if it can be called such—is represented by frightful slashes across the cheeks, from the temples to the edge of the nose. The women in many tribes bore the upper lip and fit in an iron pin, while the ears in men and women alike are pierced all along the outer edge, and carry many little iron or copper or bead rings. Amongst all these people the eyebrows are plucked out, and the hair of the head, which is quite woolly but somewhat longer than in the lowest type of the negro, is often trained up into little points, which stick up stiffly round the head or droop into a kind of Abyssinian mop of plaits. Sometimes it is turned a foxy red by being frequently washed with cow's urine. The growth of the beard and moustache is small and insignificant. The colour of the skin is naturally a deep chocolate or dark bronze, but is often rendered a sooty black or a deathly grey by the application of wood ash, or even, if this latter covering is not applied, by want of cleanliness, which allows the dead scales to mask the beautiful deep chocolate of the polished skin.

Therefore as a race, the Nile negroes must be termed ugly, an epithet which in the present writer's opinion is not always applicable to negro tribes, some of which can offer, especially amongst the male sex, handsome specimens of humanity. If the Nile negroes are ugly, they are on the other hand a brave and manly race, making some of the best soldiers in the world. Manliness is so much a cult amongst them that in their own homes and in an unreclaimed state they are—so far as the men are concerned—the most completely nude of any race on earth, thinking it a disgraceful and unmanly innovation to adopt clothing for purposes of decency.* Their marriage customs, intended to exalt the worth of virility, comprise details of a

* Among the Kavirondo people of the north-east shore of the Victoria Nyanza (who are an isolated branch of the Acholi race) women, as well as men, go absolutely naked. Yet this tribe is of much higher morality than the clothed Baganda.

kind which the curious may find described in the works of Sir Richard Burton ; they are hardly suited for description in the pages of this review. This remarkable Nilotic race, which is the most northerly negro group at the present day, in the direction of Egypt and Abyssinia, probably received in very remote times a slight Hamitic intermixture, strengthened here and there at the present day by later minglings on the eastern frontier of the Nile basin. Hamitic influence is also slightly discernible in their languages, especially in the numerals ; but this may be due to borrowed words rather than to racial admixture or linguistic derivation.

The range of the Nilotic negroes extends west of the Nile into the Bahr-al-Ghazal region, as far as Dar Fertit, and thence southwards to the rise of the highlands above the bed of this ancient lake—now a network of Nile affluents. Northwards, down the main and ever narrowing Nile, the negroes form a wedge which comes to a point about two hundred and forty miles south of Khartum North-eastwards their racial influence is extended to the Blue Nile, and south to the highlands of the Shangala, and includes the lower half of the Sobat River. Up the main Nile the same type extends, with here and there a break of some intrusive West African negro people, to the north-western coast of the Albert Nyanza. In the eastern part of the Upper Nile basin, between Lake Rudolf and the Nile, these Nilotic negroes have mingled with some prehistoric Gala invasion, and have produced the races, still distantly allied to them in language, of the Latuka, Karamojo, Sūk, Turkana, Nandi, and Masai peoples, besides having left clans of more distinct Nilotic descent on the north-eastern coast-lands of the Victoria Nyanza. As the famed Masai tribe extends its range (formerly its ravages) to within sight of the Indian Ocean opposite Zanzibar, the influence of this Nilotic negro type has played an important part in the racial elements of Eastern Africa. Moreover, there is reason to believe that before the great Bantu invasion, which took place at no very remote date, the Nile negroes must have occupied Eastern Africa as far south as the latitude of Zanzibar, perhaps along the coast to Moçambique.

The survey of this race, so characteristic of the marshy bed of the great Nile Lake, has carried us, in our descrip-

tion of these regions, out of the proper order of review. In the west and south-west of the Bahr-al-Ghazal region the land begins to rise with some abruptness, and becomes a hilly country, gradually lifting itself up to heights of four or five thousand feet till the water-parting is reached between the systems of the Congo and the Nile. This is a region of the most attractive country—in the northern part park-like, with clumps of fine trees and stretches of rich pasture; in the southern, forest of some density and of a West African character. In these forest lands, even within the limits of the Nile's watershed, not only the vegetation, but the fauna likewise, is of a West African character—as much West African in fact as that of the regions of the Cameroons or the Lower Niger. It includes the chimpanzee and the grey parrot, besides many other peculiar West African types.* The human races of this upper Bahr-al-Ghazal district belong likewise to a more West African type—to three types of humanity, rather, which are characteristic of Western, West-Central, and much of the Southern half of Africa. Two of these types, the brown-skinned, clear-complexioned, handsome Nyam-Nyam,† and the true black negro with black or dark

* The range of the grey parrot extends south-eastwards as far as the countries of Uganda and Busoga, into which, however, it may have been introduced by human agency. Uganda, however, is mainly West African in flora and fauna.

† We all know that Nyam-Nyam is merely a nickname, applied to the people who call themselves Azande, and who are otherwise named Makraka, or Makarka. But the nickname will stick, where the numerous other designations will fail to survive owing to lack of comprehensiveness. We may take these pale-skinned Nyam-Nyam as typical of the lighter-skinned negro race, which has probably originated independently of Hamitic intermixture, and is represented in Western and West-Central Africa at the present day by such isolated peoples as the Fañs, the Fulbe, the Mangbettu, and other light-coloured negro tribes—tribes which, in the case of the Fulbe and Mandingo, should rather be called Negroid, owing to more recent Hamitic intermixture having lengthened the woolly hair. This handsome light-coloured negro type crops up in many Bantu and Negro tribes in Western and Southern Africa. It can be traced at intervals all down the centre of the southern half of the Dark Continent, until it bursts out in a marked development among the Zulus. The Zulu-Kaffirs, in fact, by the archaic features of their Bantu dialect, and the prevalence amongst them of this light-coloured type, must have rushed down southwards from Central Africa to their present home in a relatively short space of time, and at no very distant period. The probabilities as to the rapidity of this migration are increased when we remember that in the last eighty years the Zulus have made a northern rush which has carried them up through Nyasaland, past Tanganyika, to the Victoria Nyanza.

chocolate skin and coarse features, have combined (with a mixture of a third or dwarf element) to produce the celebrated Bantu peoples, famed for their linguistic unity, who in the course of the last two thousand years have covered the whole of the southern half of Africa, with the exception of a few tracts of dense forest or harsh desert, where the dwarf races of the negro species have been allowed to survive.

These dwarfs, known along the south-western limits of the Nile watershed, represent, when of unmixed race, an exceedingly old human type, and possibly the original form from which the black African negro afterwards developed. They are in all probability allied in origin to the Negritos of Southern Asia and Malaysia, and there are palæontological discoveries to hint that these dwarf races of negro affinities once overspread a great deal of the Old World, indications of their prehistoric existence having been found in the Pyrenees, in Sicily, and in other parts of Europe, while there is a legend of their having formerly peopled Madagascar. At the present day this dwarf type is represented with more or less purity by the Bushmen of south-western Africa, and by the Pygmies of the Congo basin and the Ogowe, the south-west watershed of the Nile, and possibly the highlands north of Lake Rudolf.* The dwarfs of the south-western Nile water-shed are, to use a French phrasing, 'all that there is of most pygmy.' They are a race of little people whose individuals rarely exceed a height of four feet ten inches. As a rule they present the following characteristics: considerable prognathism, the upper incisor teeth projecting outwards, a long upper lip (and the lips less everted than in the negro type), a nose with a flattened bridge, and with the wings over the nostrils more inflated than in the negro, a well-marked ciliary arch, short feeble neck (the head being somewhat disproportionately large to the body), rounded shoulders, a protuberant belly, and bulging *nates* (resembling in this feature the development so often remarked

---

* Here, if they exist, they are known as the Dumo, Kuli, Bunno, and Doko tribes. Specimens of these Doko people, seen by Krapf, were said to have been pygmies. Their country has been recently visited by Dr Donaldson-Smith, and by an Italian expedition under Botego and Vannutelli; but, although described as very prognathous and stunted, they do not seem to be recognised as true dwarfs.

amongst the Bushmen and Hottentots), knock-knees, slightly bowed shins, and rather large feet with protuberant heels. The arms are somewhat long in proportion to the body, and are lean. The hands are small and finely made. The hair on the head is as the negro's, woolly.

These characteristics are shared—according to the European describers of the pygmies—by all the pygmy peoples inhabiting the Northern Congo forests and the Bahr-al-Ghazal; but it is stated by several authorities, such as Dr Schweinfurth, Sir Henry Stanley, and Captain Guy Burrows, that there are two distinct types amongst these pygmy races. One race, somewhat the taller, has a black skin, which is sometimes accounted for by a mingling of the pygmy with the surrounding black negro tribes: the other, the smaller of the two, is reddish-yellow or brownish-yellow. The black pygmy's body is covered with a felt-like down of a brownish colour. Amongst all the pygmies the hair of the head is often russet brown instead of black. It is stated * that amongst the yellow dwarfs long beards are quite common. The bodies of the yellow pygmies are also covered with down, but, it is said, not so much so as in the case of the blacker types. These people are to all seeming without religion. They wear no ornaments, and musical instruments are unknown to them —except that they like striking hollow trunks to bring out a resonant sound, and they tap or rub their arrows against the bow string,† beating time with a certain rhythm. They would appear to have no marriage rites. Their houses at the most consist of small beehive-shaped huts made of branches and leaves. Yet, curiously enough, they do not affect complete nudity—at any rate in the presence of strangers—the women wearing a bunch of leaves and the men a strip of cloth round the loins. They seem to understand the principle of chieftainship, each village being under the leadership of a head man, and several villages apparently uniting to recognise the influence of one supreme chief, celebrated above his fellows for cunning or address. The pygmy's weapon is the bow and arrow, with which he displays extraordinarily good markmanship. They also use a short stabbing spear, the

---

* Though no photograph has yet verified this statement.

† The beginning of string music.

iron for the spear and arrow heads being probably obtained from the negro tribes around them who work in metals. The deadly poison with which the arrows are tipped is described by Dr Parke as derived in all probability from a tree of the *Strychnos* genus. These pygmies easily fly into violent rages, very much after the style of apes and monkeys. They have a strong sense of humour and a great power of mimicry (another resemblance to the apes). Their mental abilities, though apparently so undeveloped in their natural lives, become considerable when brought out by kind treatment at the hands of Europeans, thus producing a strange contrast with the apishness of their appearance and their actions. The pranks they play, half in malice and half in fun, on their full-grown neighbours, their remarkable power of concealing themselves rapidly in vegetation, remind one (in the accounts of modern travellers) over and over again of the descriptions of gnomes and elves in European legends; so much so as to lead one to suppose that anciently this dwarfish race did really inhabit the greater part of Europe coincidently with the later-developed types of full-grown humanity, who, before exterminating this thievish, prankish little folk, preserved the memory of them in a fantastic form as a fairy race of quasi-supernatural beings.*

The explorer making his way up the affluents of the Bahr-al-Ghazal from the north leaves, to some extent, the race of Nilotic negroes at the foot of these highlands, and makes acquaintance with both types of the West African negro—black and ugly, brown and comely. Between the Bahr-az-Zaraf branch of the White Nile and the Sobat River there is a stretch of utterly unknown country, which from various indications is assumed to be very flat and marshy, and to be inhabited by Dinka and other allied Nilotic tribes. Further south, in the lands between the confluents of the Sobat and the affluents of the Nile, the country remains unexplored; but from the recent journeys of Colonel J. R. L. Macdonald and Dr Donaldson Smith, between Lake Rudolf and the Nile basin, we may assume that a tongue of high land—a plateau of over four thousand feet high, rising here and there to greater altitudes

* And, like the elves and goblins of legend, the dwarf folk can be kindly to those whom they like; often (as in fairy tales) performing some friendly little service unseen, or leaving some gift during the hours of darkness.

—stretches north-westward in a narrowing tongue to separate the basins of the Upper Nile and the Sobat tributaries. This highland country is inhabited by tribes who are transitional between the Karamojo-Masai group (who are Nile negroes mingled with another element, possibly Gala) * and the pure Nilotic negro group of Dinka, Shiluk, and Bari. Along the banks of the Sobat River (which in its upper waters is known as the Baro) the country is marshy, in places densely forested, and is exceedingly unhealthy, even to Abyssinians, Gala, and Sudanese. The inhabitants of the Sobat district in all the lowlands are pure negro, assumed to be of the Nilotic type. In the uplands, where the Sobat takes its rise and where Abyssinian dominion exists, the races are of a low negro type, usually known by the comprehensive name of Shangala. These Shangala tribes stretch from the districts of the River Omo on the south to the Blue Nile on the north. They are the only pure negroes who are found within any part of the Abyssinian Empire. East of the Shangala one passes out of the Nile watershed and into countries mainly inhabited by races of Hamitic affinities, allied to the Gala and the Somali. Lake Rudolf (which is only one thousand two hundred feet above sea level, and is thus far below the surface of Lake Victoria Nyanza—about three thousand eight hundred feet in altitude) is a salt lake nearly one hundred and eighty miles long and from twenty to thirty miles broad. It constitutes an independent basin by itself at the present time, and is quite unconnected with the Nile system. Possibly at a remote geological period it formed part of a chain of lakes draining into the Gulf of Aden through a remarkable trough between the mountains of Abyssinia on the one hand and the edge of the plateau of northern Somaliland on the other—a trough which may once have connected Lake Tanganyika with the sea.† Politically speaking, the basin of Lake Rudolf lies almost entirely within the British sphere of influence, and is shared between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates.

---

* The Gala, of course, are Hamitic.

† For a clever and truthful illustration of the existing vestiges of this ancient strait, which once led from the Gulf of Aden to Lake Rukwa, and turned Somaliland into a peninsula, see the relief map on the cover of 'L'Omo' (the River Omo), by Signori Vannutelli and Citerni, one of the works under review.

A traveller who journeys up the main Nile stream, the Bahr-al-Jabāl, from the north, beyond the vast marsh lands which once formed the bed of the Central Nile Lake, will not reach any stony, hilly country till he enters the land of the Bari.* Here the mountains begin again and rise into rangesof considerable heightabout onehundred and twenty miles east of the Nile, reaching in places to altitudes of nine and ten thousand feet. Here will be found in the future valuable sites as sanatoria for those Europeans whose duties or interests take them to the valley of the Upper Nile. Unhappily, it must be admitted that a considerable part of negro Nileland is exceedingly unhealthy, from Fashoda southwards, so unhealthy that it would be a country little worth possessing were it not for the upland tracts to which the main river leads and where its great tributaries rise. The UpperNile is navigable from Khartum and Lake No to the Albert Nyanza (so far as the floating masses of *sadd* or water weed will permit), with the exception of a stretch of thirty miles of rapids between Labore on the south and Keri on the north, a section of the river which is traversed by the fourth degree of north latitude. From Khartum (16° N.), however, to Lado and Beden (5° to 4° 10′ N.) the Upper Nile is fairly navigable all the year round (excepting the temporary and removable obstacle of the *sadd*). Above Labore the river is navigable past Dufile and Wadelai into the waters of the Albert Nyanza, and also for a short distance up the Victoria Nile as far as Fajao.

The Victoria Nyanza, largest of African lakes, and perhaps the second largest freshwater sea in the world, lies at an elevation of 3820 † feet above the sea, and is usually regarded as the principal and ultimate source of the Nile main stream. It is reported to be a shallow expanse of water as compared to the very deep lakes of Tanganyika and Nyasa, and is thought not to be of any very considerable age, geologically speaking. Its water is perfectly sweet and drinkable—unlike the water of Lake Rudolf, which is brackish, of Lake Albert Nyanza, and of Tanganyika, which though not actually brackish is on the verge of being so. The Victoria Nyanza, which has a length of

---

* The Bari are a Nilotic people, transitional in race and language, between the Shiluk-Dinka and the Masai.

† Recent surveys make the lake-level (which, no doubt, varies *slightly*, according to seasons and prevailing winds) slightly lower.

about two hundred and fifty miles and a breadth of nearly two hundred miles, will become in time almost a Central African Mediterranean. Its shores are inhabited by some of the most progressive of the Bantu negro races—the Wanyamwezi on the south, and the Baganda group and other allied peoples on the west and north. The greater part of the eastern coast-lands of the Victoria Nyanza, however, are not in the hands of Bantu-speaking peoples. They are inhabited by tribes of Nilotic negro stock, whose languages are closely allied to the Shiluk and Dinka, and, further back in the interior, by the Nandi group, who are also connected, but more remotely, with the same Nilotic family. The nearest relations to these Nilotic settlers on the north-east coast of the Victoria Nyanza are to be found in the Lango or Acholi country, north of Busoga. It would seem probable that the more recent intruders are the Bantu, who originated somewhere in the extreme north of the Congo basin, or in the country of the water-parting between the systems of Lake Chad, the Niger, and the Congo, and, after skirting the northern Congo forests in their eastward migration, entered the country between the two Nyanzas, and displaced the original Nilotic inhabitants, with whom no doubt they effected a certain amount of fusion, but on whom they imposed their Bantu dialects.

As regards the original distribution of the Bantu negroes, it appears as if, after their great migration east and south-east from their first centre of evolution in the heart of Africa, their mother country had been occupied by tribes (of the Nyam-Nyam and West African negro stock) allied to them physically, but speaking languages utterly different in vocabulary, though offering a similarity in phonology and grammatical structure; so that whereas the country west of the Albert Nyanza, south of the Bahr-al-Ghazal watershed, east of the Niger and the Cameroons, and north of the Welle-Mubangi River, was once occupied by races speaking Bantu languages, and was the original Bantu-land and mother country, it has been invaded and occupied since their dispersal by other tribes speaking languages of a different character. The former presence of the Bantu in these parts is indicated by the survival of names of rivers and places which are often identical with Bantu place-names in modern Bantu Africa. After the

original exodus of the Bantu from the country lying between the Shari, the Benue, and the Congo they probably occupied the territory comprised between the River Semliki, the Victoria Nyanza, and the north end of Tanganyika as a place of concentration, from which they invaded Southern Africa in streams directed to all points of the compass but the north.

At the present day they are the dominant people on the Victoria and Albert Lakes. Here as elsewhere they offer two main physical types, and a third, which is a mixture of the two first; namely, the lighter-skinned, tall, handsome type, and the coarse-featured, black-skinned West African negro type, together with a mingling of these two in different degrees. The people of Karagwe and Ankole on the south-west, as also the Barundi of the north end of Tanganyika, belong rather to the first-named handsome variety. In Unyoro, Toro, and Ankole, in Uganda proper (to a less degree), in Karagwe and Ruanda (Tanganyika-wards), dwell, either as a ruling aristocracy or as a separate caste of cattle-keepers, the Bahima or Bahuma. These people are of pure Hamitic race, closely allied to the Somalis, and even offering great facial resemblance to the ancient Egyptians. Their migration into Bantu Africa is so ancient as to be beyond native tradition, and their racial influence may be traced as far as the southern shores of Tanganyika. Nevertheless, they have preserved no trace of any Hamitic language, and speak Bantu dialects.

At the time of its discovery by European explorers, Uganda was found to have developed a remarkable degree of local civilisation, partly endemic and perhaps partly derived from this ancient invasion of a Hamitic race coming from the north-east. Similar Bantu civilisations, however, more pronounced even than that of Uganda, have originated independently in other parts of Bantu Africa, as, for instance, in the Mwata Yanvo's empire, and in the old kingdom of Kongo. The highest value, the greatest attractiveness of negro Nileland to-day is concentrated in the British Protectorate of Uganda and its dependent territories. The Uganda Protectorate stretches from the curious Rift valley on the east (separating it from the East Africa Protectorate) to the basin of the Congo on the west, from Lado on the Nile and the north end of Lake Rudolf on the north to

German East Africa on the south. It divides the great Victoria Nyanza Lake with German East Africa, Lake Rudolf with the East Africa Protectorate, Lake Albert Edward with the Congo Free State, and includes wholly within its limits the Albert Nyanza and that great but little-mapped extent of water—Lake Kioga, into which the Victoria Nile flows on its way to the Albert Nyanza. All travellers possessed of the æsthetic sense who have entered this portion of Africa extol with reason the remarkable beauties of its scenery. It may be said without exaggeration that there is no unattractive landscape within the limits of the Uganda Protectorate. This region belongs, in its flora and fauna, half to the Ethiopian or East African side and half to the West African. The eastern part of the Uganda Protectorate has a fairly dry climate, a climate which in the vicinity of Lake Rudolf assumes almost a desert character, but further south is modified by the presence of lofty plateaux which attract the rainfall, supporting dense forests of conifers. In the eastern part of the Protectorate big game of a South and East African character is abundant, together with some antelopes characteristic of Somaliland. The conifer forests of the Mau Plateau which clothe the eastern versant of the Victoria Nyanza also contain a good deal of big game, but game more typical of Central than of Eastern Africa. Here also is the beautiful black and white colobus monkey. In the populous countries of Uganda and Busoga much of the big game has been killed off, but before its extirpation it exhibited amongst mammals a mingling of West and East African forms. Antelopes of both East and West African types are found here, and that most typical West African creature, the potto lemur, has recently been discovered by Mr Alexander Whyte (the head of the Scientific Department of the Uganda Protectorate). But the birds are strikingly West African in their types. Here the grey parrot is found quite at home: also the violaceous plaintain-eater, and the magnificent verditer-blue giant plaintain-eater (*Schizorhis giganteus*)—typically West African forms; while in the extreme western part of the Protectorate the chimpanzee is present.

The Uganda Protectorate is the crown of tropical Africa; it contains all the wealth, all the wonders, all the

beauties which are elsewhere widely scattered or are found in incomplete assemblage. Here we have the mightiest of African rivers and the largest of African lakes, a lake, moreover, whose shores—in its northern part, at any rate—exhibit many an earthly paradise. Here we have cataracts like the Ripon and Murchison Falls, only surpassed in beauty by the Victoria Falls on the Zambezi, and in size by some of the Congo falls; a mountain-range—Ruwenzori—whose perpetual snows extend for twenty miles; an extinct volcano of extraordinary grandeur—Mount Elgon; forests in Uganda, in Unyoro, and in Toro, which in tropical luxuriance rival those of the Amazons; woods of conifers (on the Mau Plateau), recalling the scenery, temperature, and aroma of the Black Forest. Except in some portions of the eastern district about Lake Rudolf and in the lower Rift Valley, the whole of this Protectorate is remarkably productive, the soil is very fertile, and the rainfall ranges from fairly abundant to the verge of excessive. Over the western part of the Protectorate coffee grows wild. Indiarubber, incense, acacia gum, and most other vegetable products characteristic of Africa are found in abundance. The rivers—even the small mountain streams—and the lakes abound with fish of excellent quality. This Land of Beulah, with a climate often delicious and scarcely anywhere disagreeable, would be an earthly paradise if it were not for the fever—malarial or hæmaturic—which is prevalent in most parts below an altitude of 6000 feet. Fortunately, the greater part of the eastern third of the Protectorate actually lies above an average of 6000 feet, ranging between that altitude and 10,000 feet on its plateaux, with here and there a peak ascending to still greater heights. A not inconsiderable proportion of the western area of the Uganda Protectorate also rises to plateaux fairly free from malarial fever. Whole districts of this description have been found so absolutely healthy by those Europeans who have resided there for any length of time that there is good reason to hope that we have discovered here a portion of Equatorial Africa which may be colonised by the European races, the more so because intertribal warfare and other causes have depopulated this temperate region to a considerable extent, leaving large tracts of it without a single human inhabitant.

The traveller arriving at the frontier of the Uganda Protectorate by the railway from Mombasa (which will now deposit him ninety miles from the Victoria Nyanza), descends from the forest-clad heights of Kikuyu (where the railway reaches an altitude of 7800 feet) into the famous Rift Valley. Here he looks down first on some extraordinary extinct volcanoes, and then on the beautiful fresh-water lake of Naivasha, girdled on its western side by the lofty Mau escarpment. He is here in the Masai country; and, unless he delays his coming too long after reading this review, he will still be able to behold the Masai men in all their picturesque nudity, while he will find the Masai women carefully clothed in long draperies of dressed skins. Readers of Joseph Thomson's famous book will have derived an accurate idea of the Masai in his pristine savagery. Nowadays this tribe is one of the most inoffensive, friendly, and loyal in the Uganda Protectorate, large numbers of its young men even serving as a kind of irregular police. The Apollo-like beauty of these youths' figures has not been exaggerated; though their beautiful statuesque forms are occasionally surmounted by a head of unpleasing features. The nudity of the natives becomes more marked as the traveller journeys north and north-west, until at last, when he reaches the country of Kavirondo, on the north-east shore of the Victoria Nyanza, he will find that men and women alike live in a paradisaical condition of absolute unclothedness, a condition far from disagreeable to the eyes of the æsthetic traveller, since they are a people of splendid physical development, not only in the male but the female sex; and the land seems to be peopled by an ebon statuary.

The lofty plains of Masailand along the Rift Valley are covered with a short grass, dotted here and there, somewhat rarely, by acacia trees or even stunted junipers. North-west, towards Baringo, this rolling plain becomes more richly endowed with vegetation, and the stream valleys are well forested. In any case, the country is always picturesque, always pleasing to the eye. At the gorge of the Molo river, the traveller journeying towards Uganda proper must ascend and cross the great Mau Plateau. He will find facing him, on the railway line or by one of the existing roads, the escarpment, which, ascended at its

lowest point, the railway-crossing, reaches to 8300 feet. After this abrupt ascent the land gradually slopes towards the Victoria Nyanza, here and there broken by streams and valleys into more abrupt descents. It is for the most part densely forested, and contains three species of conifer related to the juniper and cypress. In the vicinity of the great lake the plateau sinks down into the littoral plain, which is perhaps at an average of 4500 feet above sea level. This is the Kavirondo country, a land almost equally divided between two peoples of nearly identical origin as regards physical type, but sharply divided into one section which speaks a very archaic Bantu language related to the dialects of Uganda, and the other or southern half which talks a Sudanese language, so closely resembling the Shuli and Shiluk tongues of the Upper Nile that Sudanese soldiers from these districts can understand and make themselves understood in Lower Kavirondo. Kavirondo is, from travellers' accounts, a very agreeable country to the eye. There are no large villages; a few families may unite to form a congeries of beehive huts which are surrounded by a fence and a moat. The inner part of the fence in the lowlands is made of a kind of euphorbia with thin, filamentous branches, and outside this euphorbia hedge is a beautiful row of aloes, with red and green leaves and lily-like blossoms of coral-red. In Northern Kavirondo the village hedge is formed principally of a prickly species of acanthus, which has large rose-pink flowers. Appreciation of colour in flowers is very rare among the natives of Africa; this, however, seems to exist in Kavirondo—emphatically a land of wild flowers where it is not cultivated. In the northern part of Kavirondo is the remarkable extinct volcano of Elgon, a little mountain world in itself, sustaining a very dense population on its flanks, owing to the rich soil and the abundant supply of water. The River Sio is one of the few streams flowing into the northern half of the Victoria Nyanza. On crossing this the traveller enters Busoga, a country of luxuriant vegetation, and in most features greatly resembling the sister land of Uganda,* from which it is only

---

* Properly speaking, the name of this country should be written *Buganda*; we should also say *Bunyoro* (not *Unyoro*); but as *Uganda* has been consecrated by long use it is impossible to change the spelling of the name now. The fact is that Speke, Grant, Stanley, and the earlier

separated by the course of the River Nile. From the description which travellers give of Busoga it would seem that it is difficult without the use of extravagant adjectives to do full justice to the scenery of this country, with its pretty lanes winding for miles between well-kept hedges and rows of splendid trees, many of them remarkable for their flower-shows,* its ponds covered with blue water-lilies, its forest-crowned hills and green swards of close-cropped pasture land, its vast banana plantations, neat little villages, and constant peeps and glimpses of the distant waters of the lake, amethyst, turquoise, or aquamarine in hue.

Uganda proper offers more open landscapes than Busoga, and is perhaps rather more hilly. The land rises up more steeply from the north and north-west shores of the Victoria Nyanza to a height of over a thousand feet above the lake level—say to an altitude of five thousand feet here and there. Not a single river of any size flows from Uganda into the Victoria Nyanza. On the contrary, a few miles from the lake shore the slope of the land and its drainage trend towards the Nile. The country is almost like a succession of gigantic furrows, and in nearly every furrow there is a 'sponge,' swamp, or stream-head. It has been conjectured that some of these sponges may be fed by the waters of the Victoria Nyanza percolating through the soil, but as they would have to percolate through hilly ranges several miles thick this theory is not very tenable. They are much more likely to be fed by the very abundant rainfall. In many of these low-lying tracts between the cultivated hills there are stretches of forest which are magnificent and luxuriant to a degree only to be matched on the coast of West Africa. In Unyoro the descent of the country towards the Nile Valley becomes much more marked, and we see here landscapes not recalling vividly those of Western Africa, but of the regular Central African type—grassy downs or slopes, diversified with stony kopjes,

---

explorers who visited and discovered these countries, talked no other African language but Swahili, and were entirely dependent for their information on their Swahili interpreters, who insisted on giving their own renderings. In the dialect of Zanzibar the original *Bu* prefix has been softened into *U*, and the Swahilis are even more obstinate than the French in insisting on giving their own versions of foreign names.

* Notably *Erythrina*, *Spathodea*, and *Pterocarpus*.

well-forested stream valleys, and wide, slightly arid plains dotted with acacias, euphorbias, and clumps of *Borassus* palms. In Uganda proper and most of the lands bordering the northern and western coasts of the Victoria Nyanza, the *Borassus* and *Hyphæne* palms are absent, the two types of palm most abundantly met with being the wild date and the *Raphia*. Toro, to the south-west of Unyoro, is a region densely forested and, in parts, abounding in elephants, the forests having an entirely West African character. This forest clothes the lower slopes of Ruwenzori, the great snow mountain, but above seven thousand feet the vegetation resembles that of the Mau Plateau with its conifers and heaths. The district of Ankole, to the south of Toro, offers some resemblance to Kavirondo, but has a great deal more forest. Its scenery is very beautiful: some authorities regard this country as the finest and healthiest part of the Uganda Protectorate.

The main interest in this dependency of the British Empire centres in the kingdom of Uganda proper, which, shorn as it is now of the over-lordship over the surrounding countries, is limited to an area of about twenty thousand square miles,* between the Nile on the east, the Kafu River on the north, and Toro and Ankole on the west. Naked people—to a traveller coming from the east—vanish at the River Sio. On entering Busoga† one encounters a slightly civilised race who are scrupulously clothed, while in Uganda it is almost as rare to see a perfectly naked person above the age of childhood as it would be in England. The Baganda were a clothed race long before the Europeans and Arabs introduced cotton goods. They stripped a species of fig-tree of its bark, beat it out into a kind of felted cloth, and, sewing together long strips of this bark, they made the most ample mantles. Dwelling amongst the Bantu people of more or less West African type, who are the ruling race in Uganda, Toro, and Ankole, are the Bahima or Bahuma, a caste of herdsmen, already alluded to, obviously of Gala or Somal descent. In the Bahima may have originated the dynasty of kings which reigned with considerable power over Uganda and its vassal states for a hundred years or more before the arrival

---

* An average breadth and length of 140 miles.

† Once a vassal kingdom under Uganda; now a separate province.

of the white man. When Speke first discovered Uganda he found it ruled by a descendant of this long line of kings, whose name really was Mutesa, though, as Speke learnt everything through his Swahili interpreters, the name was fixed as 'Mtesa.' Mutesa, though a cruel king, was a great one, and had a certain yearning for civilisation. In spite of his power, however, he would probably have ended his days as a vassal of the unwieldy Egyptian Empire over the Sudan, had not Great Britain intervened to check the advance in this direction of Gordon Pasha and other European officials of the Khedive's Government.

It is perhaps not generally known that it was mainly due to the energetic remonstrances of Sir John Kirk that Uganda and all East Africa down to Zanzibar were not added to the Egyptian Sudan before that empire broke up under the Mahdist revolt. Sir John Kirk induced the British Government of the day to intervene to arrest Gordon's conquests at the boundary of Uganda, and to send a few war vessels to drive away the Egyptian fleet under McGillop Pasha from the Mombasa coast, which would otherwise have been added to the Egyptian possession of Somaliland. In 1875 Uganda was visited by Stanley, who, at the request of Mutesa, wrote to England to urge Christian missions to establish themselves in this country. His appeal was promptly responded to, and in 1876 the Church Missionary Society had reached Uganda, where they were followed three years later by the first Roman Catholic mission, under the French 'White Fathers' of Carthage. Unhappily, Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries began to quarrel over the privilege of converting the population of Uganda to their respective aspects of the Christian faith. Mutesa, embittered by their quarrels, probably leant in the closing years of his life to Muhammadanism, which was being steadily introduced by Arab traders and emissaries from the Sudan.

Mutesa was succeeded in 1883 by his unworthy son Mwanga, a man exceptional, even among Central African negroes, for his degrading vices. Mwanga first began a cruel persecution of the Christians of both sects, then followed this up with a massacre of the Muhammadans. Christians and Muhammadans alike united their forces for a brief time to expel him from the country. Prior to his expulsion he had caused Bishop Hannington, the first

missionary bishop of the Anglican Church to Uganda, to be murdered in Busoga. Mwanga, expelled by the 'peoples of the Book,'* fled to the mission stations on the south coast of the Victoria Nyanza, and took refuge with the very missionaries whom he had expelled with violence. Two princes of his family succeeded him in a brief tenure of the Uganda kingship. Then Mwanga, having become a nominal Christian, was restored to power by the aid of a celebrated African adventurer—Mr Stokes—who was afterwards entrapped and killed by a Belgian officer named Lothaire, on the frontier of the Congo Free State. Whilst these events occurred, the ultimate fate of Uganda was being discussed between England and Germany; but the French priests of the White Fathers' mission were hoping against hope that the country would be declared a French Protectorate. In 1890, by the Anglo-German Agreement, Uganda fell within the British sphere of influence. Prior to this, the Imperial British East Africa Company had begun, somewhat timidly, to obtain a foothold in the country. Enterprise in this direction, however, was a very costly matter as regards money; and it was only under considerable pressure, from missionary societies and the Imperial Government, that in the closing years of its life the East Africa Company despatched, with the aid of Sir Francis de Winton (who was the Company's Governor on the coast), an expedition to Uganda under that very able man—that Cortes of this latter age of African adventure—Captain (now General Sir F. D.) Lugard. Lugard's methods may have been rough and ready, but he laid the first practical foundation of British control over the country of Uganda when it was torn to pieces and well-nigh ruined by the quarrels of religious factions and the crimes, intrigues, and treacheries of its wicked king. From almost the very day of Lugard's first arrival at the king's capital (then called Mengo), his little fort of Kampala has been the nucleus of an uninterrupted British control over this beautiful country.

Lugard's proceedings, however, being of an uncompromising nature and arousing bitter animosity on the part of the French, the Imperial Government became

---

* The designation of Christians and Muhammadans, as distinguished from Pagans.

anxious to arrive at an opinion as to what it should do with Uganda when the temporary administration of the East Africa Company came to an end. It therefore resolved to send an Imperial Commissioner to report on the nature of this country, the advisability of retaining it within the British sphere, and the methods by which, in the case of its retention, it should be administered. Sir Gerald Portal, who had been distinguished by his work in Egypt, his expedition to Abyssinia, and his tenancy of the Consulate-General at Zanzibar, was chosen for the task. He made a relatively rapid journey to Uganda and back (rapid for those pre-railway days), and during his short sojourn in the country laid the foundations of an elementary administration. Readers of Sir Gerald Portal's posthumous book, 'My Mission to Uganda,' will derive no very favourable idea of the country from the perusal of these hastily written notes. Had he not died of fever in England before he could work up his briefly recorded impressions into a book, and had he not also been embittered in his reminiscences of the country by the loss of his brother, one of the officers attached to his expedition, he might have written more appreciatively of the remarkable beauty of its scenery and its general attractiveness.

Unfortunately, during the days of Captain Lugard's stay in Uganda a difficult problem had to be hastily decided, namely, with what force peace was to be kept between the contending religious factions in this country, whose surface squabbles as to the form of Christianity they were to follow really concealed a political struggle between the British missionaries contending for British supremacy and the French missionaries aspiring to a French protectorate. It was impossible to rely on the Baganda soldiers of one party or another, for this army again was a mere fluctuating rabble. Indian soldiers were not to be thought of in those days, especially in the service of a company, while Swahilis or Zanzibaris from the coast were difficult to obtain in large numbers, and untrustworthy as a body of soldiers, though often individually brave. Captain Lugard solved the difficulty temporarily in the best way he could by importing into the country Emin Pasha's former Sudanese soldiers, who were settled on the west shore of the Albert Nyanza. Sir Gerald Portal had his doubts as to the wisdom of this

proceeding, but could provide no satisfactory alternative; so he contented himself with removing the more turbulent or intriguing spirits among the native officers in this originally Egyptian force. These Sudanese were found to be soldierly men on the whole, and well able, when commanded by British officers, to defeat rebel Baganda or inimical Bunyoro. More and more Sudanese were recruited from the Nile countries of Bari, Latuka, Acholi, &c.; and a few officers were obtained from the Anglo-Egyptian army to control and command these Sudanese battalions.

The relative ease, however, with which the natives of the Uganda Protectorate were defeated by small numbers of Sudanese (ably led by British officers) filled these Mu-hammadan black soldiers with an overweening sense of their superiority, and caused them on the one hand to feel they were indispensable to the maintenance of the British Protectorate, and on the other to aspire to upset that Protectorate and create instead a kind of independent Sudanese state. This feeling of unrest and disloyalty was further increased by the low rate of pay which at that time was given to the Sudanese soldiers—only four rupees a month.* Moreover, the Sudanese soldiers had a real cause of complaint in the unceasing demands on their energies as a military force. The Uganda Protectorate even at that time was a vast country, at least the size of France; and the sole organised force at the disposal of the Commissioner† and the military officers consisted of the aforesaid Sudanese. Troops had to be hurried from the centre of Uganda to a point three hundred miles to the eastward, to subdue a powerful robber tribe known as the Kamasia, who were attacking caravans on the road from the coast; and then had to be rushed back again almost without a day's rest to the extreme west of the Uganda Protectorate, for the King Mwanga had fled (after an abortive attempt to massacre the Europeans in his kingdom), and was attempting to form a hostile state on the flanks of Uganda. Further, the well-armed mutineers of the Congo Free State native army were attacking the western frontier of the Uganda Protectorate.

---

* Subsequently increased to six, and lately to sixteen rupees.

† About this time, also, the Commandant of the Forces was Acting Commissioner.

Those responsible for the closing memoir of Major Thruston's book appear inclined to blame the Commandant of the Uganda Rifles and other English officers holding commands in that force for the discontent which arose amongst the Sudanese soldiers; but this blame (judging from all the information now made known on the subject) cannot be fairly attributed to these sorely tried and overworked gentlemen. It is very difficult, in fact, to apportion any blame in this matter. The mutiny of the Sudanese soldiers in Uganda is one of those troubles which must arise from time to time in the formation of a great empire, and which cannot always be foreseen and avoided. An armed force which is suited to one stage of the development of these African protectorates becomes unsuited in rapidly altered circumstances.

The subsequent history of the outbreak of the Sudanese mutiny and of its suppression, of the capture by Colonel Watt of the two hostile kings, Mwanga of Uganda and Kabarega of Unyoro, is too well known now to need recapitulation. The advance of the railway and telegraph caused troubles with the Nandi and kindred tribes of the Mau forests, but these, too, have been vanquished and conciliated. An Indian contingent garrisons the administrative capital of Uganda and the line of the Uganda railway. The rest of the Protectorate's armed force has been reorganised, and agreements have been entered into with all the native chiefs and tribes laying down the rights of the natives and those of the protecting government. It is to be hoped now that Uganda may have a long spell of uninterrupted peace in which to develop her resources, and to show us how far commerce may legitimately profit from the opening up of this portion of Central Africa.

The practical-minded among us, seeing the expense in men and money that the recovery and pacification of the Egyptian Sudan and the subjugation of the conterminous Uganda Protectorate to British control have cost us, will probably put this cogent question: What does this Nileland of the negroes produce to reward us for interfering with its concerns? Apparently it has been of late years cursed with seven plagues—with war and bloodshed, disease and depopulation among the natives, black-water fever among Europeans, famine, rinderpest, drought, and

locusts. It has seemingly originated that awful outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia which spread down through Eastern Africa to Natal and the Cape, killing on the way and in its first vigour thousands of buffaloes, thousands of antelopes, and the greater part of the domestic cattle. From the Sudan and adjoining Galaland came some years ago those flights of locusts which, previously almost unknown to Equatorial Africa, ravaged plantations and groves all down the eastern half of Africa to Natal. From Negro Nileland have come waves of small-pox; it has even been said that on the northern archipelagoes of the Victoria Nyanza a bubonic plague is endemic. From Fashoda westward to the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the Congo frontier, and southward to the Victoria Nyanza and the deserts of Lake Rudolf, not only have malarial fevers raged during the early days of European exploration, but of late years that worst of all African maladies, 'black-water (hæmaturic) fever,' has made its appearance amongst the white men so soon as efforts have been made to drain or cultivate the reeking soil. In some of the eastern districts, where the harsh desert character of the ground would seem to promise immunity from disease, virulent dysentery occasionally breaks out, originated no doubt in the fetid, stagnant water of the disappearing rivers. Swarms of mosquitoes infest the lacustrine countries, the marshes, and the river banks (though from all accounts it would seem that much of the inhabited part of the Protectorate is free from these pests), leeches populate the swamp-water, and attach themselves by hundreds to the luckless traveller who wades therein. The jigger or burrowing flea, from tropical America, has now almost traversed the African continent, and has made its second home in Uganda and Unyoro. The long grass is full of ticks, and the dwellings of the natives swarm with fleas and not infrequently with bugs. There are bees and hornets that sting, flies that probe, flies that deposit eggs under the skin, to be hatched out as maggots in painful boils; further north, in the Bahr-al-Ghazal and the Upper Nile districts, the Guinea worm is imbibed by one native out of ten, and burrows painfully through his muscles, entering his body in a drink of water an invisible egg and emerging after months of agony as large as a small serpent. Only the tsetse fly is absent, seemingly;

otherwise this Central African territory would be complete in the possession of all the plagues of Africa.

What then, it may be asked, does Negro Nileland produce as a compensation for these evils, to make it worth while for a civilised power like England to undertake at great preliminary cost in men and money its organisation and development? What attraction has it that the French should have gone to the brink of war with us to grasp it from the west; that the Italians should have tried to reach it from the east; that the Abyssinians, who defeated them, should now be endeavouring to snatch at Negro Nileland from the north-east; that the King of the Belgians should have spent thousands of pounds to secure a foothold on the Upper Nile; that Emin Pasha could scarcely be torn thence from his half-made kingdom of Equatoria, and should have lost his life in endeavouring to creep back thither? Well, those who have been there know, though they can scarcely define the attractiveness in words. But there is reason, we believe, in this persistency; and some things at least are clear.

All Negro Nileland, with the exception perhaps of the forests near the Congo watershed, is suited for the breeding of cattle, horses, goats, and sheep, so suited, in fact, to cattle that plague after plague (and plagues at their source are preventable and controllable) cannot do more than momentarily diminish the abundance of the herds. There is apparently no tsetse fly, and as yet no dreaded horse-sickness has arisen to prevent the keeping and breeding of horses, mules, and donkeys. Donkeys indeed are native to the land, the wild ass from which our domestic animal is derived being found in the eastern territories of the Uganda Protectorate and in the eastern part of the Nile basin. Camels are likewise kept in the regions round Lake Rudolf and the south-west of Abyssinia. It is in fact a stock-rearing country of the very best—given some degree of European control which may destroy the cause or check the spread of disease with at least the same degree of success as has been reached in Australia and America. With this abundance, present or future, of beasts of draught and burden, this vast territory should be rapidly traversable, and goods might be conveyed with more ease and certainty than by human porterage. Added to this prominent facility of transport, there are the

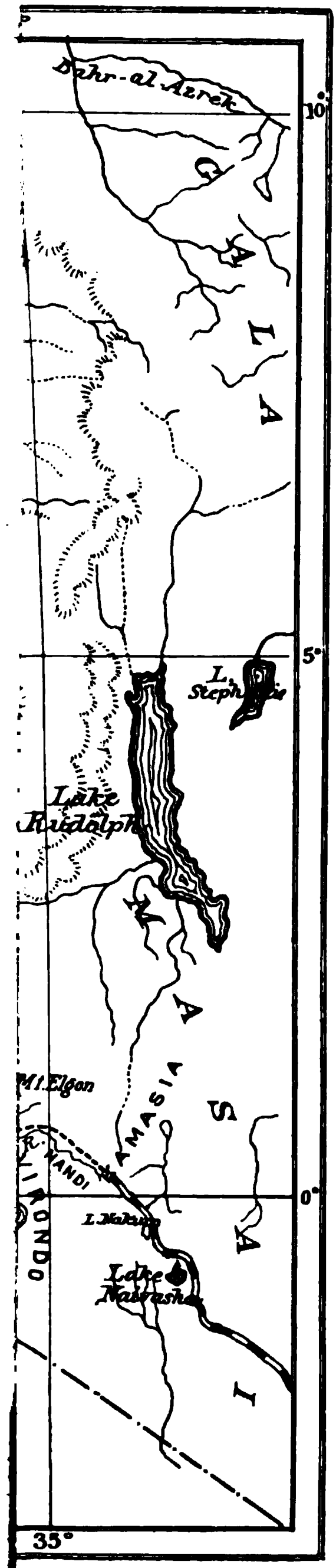
existing watercourses, lakes, and rivers, many of them navigable for hundreds of miles. A relatively small expenditure of time and labour would render many natural channels navigable and keep them navigable at all seasons of the year between the south end of Lake Albert and Khartum. And again, steamers and barges could proceed by water right into the heart of the Bahr-al-Ghazal country. A steamer placed on the Victoria Nyanza could convey goods round two thousand miles of coast to the railway terminus on Kavirondo Bay, where, before many months are over, the British Government railway from the Indian Ocean will have attained its first objective in placing the Victoria Nyanza within thirty-six hours' journey from Mombasa and three weeks' from London.

Ivory is the present wealth of all this land—ivory in quantities unknown, unheard of, in any other part of Africa; and elephants are still living in such enormous herds as to stand in no danger of extinction from past excesses on the part of ivory-hunters, while they should be secured from future risk of extermination by the enforcement of the game regulations recently promulgated. By these game regulations it is made a misdemeanour to shoot a female elephant, or a male elephant carrying tusks less than ten pounds in weight. If this clause is enforced there is not much danger of the elephant becoming extinct; therefore in time, under Government control, ivory should provide year by year a certain revenue. For in the marshy districts, which are uninhabitable by man and which are spotted all over Negro Nileland (as though on a map one had dropped a little wet sponge at intervals), the elephant will find preserves where he will not be in rivalry with human cultivation, and yet will be within reach of the authorised sportsman and the *keddah* manager—for there is no reason why attempts should not be made after a time to drive the young wild elephants into domesticity, as is done in Siam, Ceylon, and India.

Grain will be another staple of Negro Nileland—durrha, maize, millet on the Nile flats and in the lowlands; wheat, barley, and oats, on the plateaux and on the mountains. Already wheat has penetrated southward from the Arab Nile and is cultivated on the highlands north of Lake Rudolf. Enormous quantities of other grains already

familiar to African cultivation are produced in these lands. Bananas grow by millions in Uganda and Unyoro. In all the upland countries, such as those of the Bahr-al-Ghazal watershed, Uganda, and the mountainous region between Uganda and Lake Rudolf, the coffee shrub grows wild, and wild coffee is chewed by natives as an agreeable bitter. The lakes and rivers swarm with fish of excellent quality. Nor is salt wanting to season these food-stuffs; for within British territory there is a salt appanage of Lake Albert Edward, and there are salt deposits along the eastern shore of Lake Albert, and on the shores of Lake Rudolf. So much appreciated is this white salt that, until the *Pax Britannica* came into force, these salt deposits were the excuses of endless wars for their possession. These deposits in the British Protectorate should prove of great commercial value. In many districts ground-nuts grow so abundantly that quantities of vegetable oil of fine quality are produced. In the forests of Mount Ruwenzori, and on the plateaux and mountains to the north of the Victoria Nyanza there are conifers growing which produce timber of the finest quality for building purposes. In the forests of Uganda and the Bahr-al-Ghazal watershed, indiarubber, dye-woods, ebony, and building timber are abundant. Allowing for the local alternation between flood and drought which is inseparable from tropical countries, and the effects of which are to some degree controllable by civilised resources, the whole region of Negro Nileland has an ample or a sufficient rainfall, and a very considerable proportion of its area is of rich cultivable soil.

To conclude: there is room for hope, now that the sword is being turned into the ploughshare, that all Negro Nileland which is under the direct or indirect rule of His Majesty's Government will justify by its inherent prosperity, by the wealth of its products and the mart which it will offer to our trade, the fond expectations in the mind of those who more than a decade since urged the Imperial Government to bring this land of the greatest lake and the greatest river in Africa within the British sphere of influence.


Dahr-el Azrek
10°
ABYSSINIA
Lake Rudolph
5°
Mt. Elgon
R. MANDI
AMARO
0°
L. Naivasha
Lake Naivasha
35°

[*To face p.* 32

Art. II.—THE NEWFOUNDLAND QUESTION.

1. *French Treaty Rights in Newfoundland.* The Case for the Colony stated by the people's delegates. London: King and Son, 1890.
2. *Hand-Book of Newfoundland.* Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1886.
3. *Further Correspondence respecting the Newfoundland Fisheries.* (C. 6334.) London: Spottiswoode, 1891.
4. *Documents diplomatiques. Affaires de Terre-Neuve.* (Livre Jaune.) Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891–1892.

I.

L'HISTOIRE diplomatique du vingtième siècle enregistrera probablement pour ses débuts le règlement entre la France et l'Angleterre de cette question des pêcheries de Terre-Neuve dont la solution a été vainement recherchée depuis plus de cinquante ans par les diplomates des deux nations.

L'année qui vient de commencer sera le témoin de longues et difficultueuses négociations, dont l'issue, espérons-le, sera plus heureuse que celle des tentatives antérieures. Les intérêts engagés de part et d'autre ont une égale importance; et, de même qu'en France on ne s'efforce pas de diminuer systématiquement la valeur des arguments invoqués par la colonie de Terre-Neuve, de même on attend de l'opinion publique britannique une juste et équitable considération pour l'intérêt capital que la France attache au maintien de ses propres droits. L'auteur se propose dans cette étude d'exposer la question au point de vue français, de développer les arguments invoqués par la diplomatie du Quai d'Orsay et d'examiner la solution qui pourrait y être apportée en donnant satisfaction aux deux pays. Un séjour prolongé à Terre-Neuve, une enquête personnelle faite sur le French Shore, nous permettent de traiter cette question avec la pratique et l'indépendance d'esprit qui ne s'acquièrent que par une étude sur place.

Les difficultés pendantes à Terre-Neuve entre l'Angleterre et la France ont leur origine dans les traités d'Utrecht 1713, de Paris 1763, de Versailles 1783, confirmés par ceux de 1814 et de 1815, que signèrent avec la France et l'Angleterre, pour en garantir l'exécution, les trois alliées de celle-

ci, l'Autriche, la Prusse et la Russie, constituant la Sainte-Alliance. Trois autres documents font en outre autorité en cette matière : ce sont—une déclaration royale du 3 septembre 1783 ; un acte du Parlement anglais voté sous le règne de Georges III (1788), intitulé : 'An Act to enable His Majesty to make such regulations as may be necessary to prevent the inconvenience which might arise from the competition of His Majesty's Subjects and those of the Most Christian King, in carrying on the fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland' ; enfin la proclamation de Sir Charles Hamilton, Gouverneur de Terre-Neuve, en 1822.

Le traité d'Utrecht, 1713, consacre l'échange de la ville et du port de Plaisance et des autres lieux occupés par les Français dans l'île de Terre-Neuve, contre le droit de pêcher et de sécher sur une partie déterminée de l'île désignée aujourd'hui sous le nom de French Shore.

Le traité de Versailles, 1783, modifia purement et simplement les limites du French Shore ; mais le document capital, celui sur lequel repose toute l'argumentation de la diplomatie française, est la déclaration royale du 3 septembre 1783, par laquelle sa Majesté Britannique, après accord avec le roi de France, prend les mesures les plus positives pour empêcher que ses sujets ne troublent *en aucune manière par leur concurrence* la pêche des Français. L'acte législatif de la vingt-huitième année du règne de Georges III n'est en quelque sorte que la reproduction et l'homologation des droits concédés aux pêcheurs français. Nous avons enfin la proclamation de Sir Charles Hamilton (1822), qui interprète les traités antérieurs et les obligations des fonctionnaires et officiers de la marine britannique chargés de surveiller l'exécution de ces traités. Voici les passages principaux de cette proclamation que nous estimons utile de reproduire.

'Whereas representation has been made to me that depredations have been committed upon, and annoyances given by British subjects to the French fishery within the said limits, I, the Governor, aforesaid, do, by this my proclamation, hereby make known that the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty are to have full and complete enjoyment of the fishery, within the limits and boundaries aforesaid in the manner they are entitled to enjoy the same under the said Treaty of Utrecht. And to this end all officers, magistrates, and others under my

Government are hereby strictly enjoined that they do in their several stations, and as far as depends on each of them respectively, prevent any obstructions or interruptions, under any pretence, being given to the subjects of France in the enjoyment of the said fishery, and that they, the said officers and magistrates, do give them all reasonable countenance therein.

En vue de compléter cet exposé, faisons remarquer que le droit de pêche illimitée, concédé par ces divers traités, reçut en 1889 une interprétation restrictive en ce sens que les pêcheurs français se virent contester le droit de pêcher des crustacés, d'où la question devenue légendaire: *Le homard est-il un poisson?* La raison invoquée était que les traités ne faisaient aucune allusion à ce genre de pêche.

Tel est l'ensemble des documents diplomatiques et parlementaires sur lesquels le gouvernement français s'appuie pour affirmer ses droits et en réclamer l'exécution ; il le fait avec tous les ménagements possibles, malgré les déclarations contraires. La théorie des droits exclusifs provoque surtout de la part de la colonie de Terre-Neuve de vives récriminations comme portant un grave préjudice aux intérêts de ses pêcheurs, bien que dans la pratique cette exclusivité ne soit requise que dans les cas où les pêcheurs des deux nationalités se trouvent en présence sur le même point de la côte, et si les opérations des uns entravent celles des autres. A l'appui de cette opinion il suffirait d'invoquer le témoignage des officiers de la marine britannique chargés de veiller à l'exécution des traités. Leur témoignage ne saurait être contesté par les adversaires des droits de la France.

La théorie actuelle du gouvernement terre-neuvien présente une particularité qui mérite d'être indiquée. Elle a d'abord pour base cette singulière conception que les traités conclus entre la France et l'Angleterre ne sauraient lui être imposés parce que la colonie n'était pas intervenue à l'époque de leur conclusion. D'après son idée fixe, elle ne saurait être liée par des engagements pris par la métropole. Mais là où elle nous semble aller trop loin, c'est en affirmant que la France a reconnu son droit par la convention du 14 janvier 1857, convention qui fut précisément considérée comme nulle et non avenue parce que l'Assemblée législative de Terre-Neuve lui refusa formellement sa sanction. La valeur des prétentions d'une colonie à être indépendante sous le rapport diplomatique

semblera donc contestable à ceux qui cherchent une solution sans vouloir faire *table rase* d'engagements solennels revêtus de la signature des deux plus grandes Puissances. L'histoire ne cite pas d'exemple d'une colonie s'arrogeant le droit d'annuler les traités conclus par la mère-patrie. De plus, le principe de la *table rase* offre peu de chances de trouver un terrain d'entente et de concessions réciproques. La France est représentée comme intransigeante sur la question du maintien de ses droits et comme s'étant systématiquement refusée à ouvrir des négociations avec des intentions conciliantes. Le simple exposé des nombreuses conventions signées entre la France et l'Angleterre démontrera que le gouvernement français, en vue d'arriver à un arrangement définitif et satisfaisant pour les deux parties, avait accepté toutes les demandes de la colonie de Terre-Neuve ; et que toutes les conventions sont devenues caduques par le refus du parlement de St Jean de les homologuer après avoir lui-même réclamé certaines modifications au texte primitivement adopté par les plénipotentiaires français et anglais.

De 1822, époque où fut promulguée la proclamation de Sir Charles Hamilton, jusqu'en 1857, les saisons de pêche se passèrent sans incidents marqués. Néanmoins le gouvernement impérial, dont les sentiments amicaux à l'égard de l'Angleterre ne sauraient être mis en doute, accepta la proposition faite par le gouvernement anglais d'ouvrir des négociations en vue d'un règlement de la question de Terre-Neuve. Les plénipotentiaires furent, pour la France, le Comte Fialin de Persigny ; et pour l'Angleterre, Lord Clarendon et Mr Henry Labouchere. De part et d'autre on négocia avec le vif désir de trouver un terrain de conciliation ; et la France, pour bien montrer sa volonté de donner satisfaction aux demandes de la colonie de Terre-Neuve, s'engageait d'abord (Art. XI) à autoriser l'établissement sur le French Shore d'ouvrages de défense, et à indemniser au préalable les propriétaires de constructions ou enclos occupés depuis cinq saisons de pêche avant d'exiger la démolition des dites constructions.

'Art. XI. Aucun enclos ou construction anglais ne pourra être fait, ni maintenu, sur le rivage réservé exclusivement aux Français, si ce n'est pour besoins de défense militaire ou d'administration publique, auquel cas avis en due forme de l'intention d'élever ces ouvrages sera préalablement donné au

Gouvernement français. Si cependant, à la date de la présente convention, il existait sur ledit rivage des constructions ou enclos occupés depuis cinq saisons, sans objection de la part du Gouvernement français, ils ne pourraient être déplacés sans qu'une indemnité équitable, concertée entre les commandants en chef des stations française et anglaise ou leurs délégués respectifs, fût accordée aux propriétaires par le Gouvernement français.'

Puis, par l'Art. XX, la France acceptait l'intervention de la colonie de Terre-Neuve pour rendre exécutoire la présente convention.

'Art. XX. La présente convention sera mise en pratique aussitôt que les lois nécessaires pour la rendre effective auront été votées par le parlement impérial de la Grande-Bretagne et par la législature provinciale de Terre-Neuve; et sa Majesté Britannique s'engage par la présente convention à user de tous ses efforts, afin de procurer le vote desdites lois en temps convenable pour mettre en vigueur ladite convention le 1er janvier 1858, ou auparavant.'

Le seul point, enfin, que la France voulait faire définitivement (Art. V) consacrer par cette convention afin d'éviter toute possibilité de conflits futurs, c'était son droit d'acheter la boëtte.

'Art. V. Les sujets français auront le droit d'acheter l'appât, hareng et capelan, sur toute la côte sud de Terre-Neuve, . . . en mer ou à terre, sur le même pied que les sujets anglais, sans que la Grande-Bretagne ou la colonie puisse imposer aux sujets anglais aucune restriction dans la pratique de cette pêche; non plus qu'imposer aux sujets français ou anglais aucun droit ou restriction à l'occasion de cette transaction ou sur l'exportation dudit appât.'

Cette convention fut signée à Londres le 14 janvier 1857; les clauses toutefois n'en furent jamais appliquées par suite du refus du parlement de St Jean d'y donner sa sanction. Aujourd'hui il soutient que la France a reconnu son droit d'intervention en vertu de cette même convention qu'il a rejetée sans autre forme de procès.

Un changement dans la forme du gouvernement était survenu en France, mais les bonnes dispositions de ses représentants ne s'étaient pas modifiées; et nous allons constater qu'elles étaient sincères puisqu'elles se traduisi-

rent par de nouvelles concessions. Le 8 novembre 1883, Lord Lyons, ambassadeur de la Grande-Bretagne à Paris, remettait à M. Challemel-Lacour, ministre des affaires étrangères de la République Française, une note verbale dans laquelle nous lisons le paragraphe suivant :

'Le but que l'on désire atteindre est d'assurer aux citoyens français la jouissance la plus complète de leur droit de pêcher et de sécher le poisson sur les côtes de Terre-Neuve dans les limites indiquées par les traités, et en même temps de donner satisfaction aux besoins légitimes des habitants de cette partie du littoral et de leur permettre de développer les ressources minérales et agricoles de la colonie.'

Le gouvernement britannique proposait en outre la création d'une commission mixte chargée de déterminer sur les lieux les questions à résoudre. La réponse de la France ne se fit pas attendre ; et, dès le 23 février 1883, une note verbale était remise à Lord Lyons par laquelle le gouvernement français acceptait le mode de procéder proposé par le cabinet anglais en faisant les réserves suivantes :

'Il doit toutefois être bien entendu que les termes employés par la communication de Lord Lyons . . . n'impliquent pas entre les droits séculaires consacrés expressément à notre profit par les traités et des intérêts nés postérieurement d'une situation de fait contre laquelle nous avons toujours protesté, une assimilation qui équivaudrait à la négation anticipée du principe même dont il s'agit de régler l'application.'

Le 26 avril 1884 fut signée à Paris une nouvelle convention. Le but poursuivi par cette convention était, aux termes de la note verbale du 8 novembre 1883, d'accorder une nouvelle satisfaction à la colonie de Terre-Neuve, en règlant le sort des établissements sédentaires existants à ce jour sur le French Shore—contre lesquels le gouvernement français avait toujours protesté comme une atteinte portée à l'exercice des droits des pêcheurs—et en même temps assurer aux pêcheurs français la jouissance la plus complète de leur droit de pêcher et de sécher le poisson.

En effet, pendant les dernières années, les habitants de la colonie de Terre-Neuve avaient dirigé leur activité dans une nouvelle voie. Ils s'étaient contentés jusqu'à cette époque, pour assurer leur existence, des bénéfices

réalisés au cours de chaque saison de pêche; et le gouvernement de St Jean, faute de moyens de pénétration dans l'intérieur de l'île, ne pouvait songer à tirer partie des richesses minières qu'il supposait enfouies dans l'île, en même temps qu'à favoriser le développement de l'agriculture. L'industrie de la pêche avait en outre pris un nouvel essor par la création d'une nouvelle industrie, celle de la fabrication des conserves de homard, importée à Terre-Neuve par les habitants de la Nouvelle-Écosse et de l'île du Prince Édouard. Les exigences de cette fabrication avaient amené la construction sur le French Shore d'établissements sédentaires, réconnus par Lord Clarendon (vid. supra, p. 36) en 1857 comme contraires à l'esprit des traités.

Le désir d'être impartial nous engage à reconnaître que les pêcheurs des deux nations se rendirent coupables des mêmes violations. Le parlement de St Jean crut habile de protester bruyamment, et rendit nécessaire une intervention diplomatique, d'où échange de notes entre le Quai d'Orsay et Downing Street. En résumé le gouvernement britannique prit l'initiative d'ouvrir les négociations dont nous venons de parler. La simple lecture du projet de convention du 26 avril 1884, faite de bonne foi et sans idée préconçue, suffit à elle seule à convaincre l'opinion publique de l'esprit de conciliation apporté par la France. Les plénipotentiaires, d'un commun accord, pour couper court à toute réclamation, admirent le maintien de tous les établissements construits à la date de la signature de la présente convention. La France renonça au droit de pêcher le saumon dans les cours d'eau. Enfin les officiers de marine des deux nations furent chargés du règlement des difficultés survenant au cours de la saison de pêche. Cette dernière clause fut maintenue depuis et fonctionne encore aujourd'hui; et on peut dire que c'est grâce au tact et à la sagesse des officiers des deux marines que les conflits n'ont pris aucune tournure grave, malgré les excitations parties de St Jean; car on voulait au parlement de cette colonie que les magistrats coloniaux eussent à trancher toutes les difficultés. On espérait de part et d'autre une prompte acceptation du traité par la colonie, lorsque celle-ci réclama plusieurs modifications, telles que la faculté d'installer des embarcadères, des constructions destinées à

l'exploitation des mines, de créer une double voie ferrée le long du French Shore. Ces modifications furent acceptées sans aucune objection de la part de la France avec le ferme espoir que la colonie, obtenant pleine et entière satisfaction, les sanctionnerait et ne susciterait plus de conflits à propos de vétilles. Les exigences de la France se bornèrent à une reconnaissance nette et formelle de son droit d'acheter *la boëtte, hareng ou capelan, à terre et en mer, sans droits ni entraves quelconques.*

La convention du 26 avril 1884, ainsi remaniée sur la demande expresse du gouvernement terre-neuvien, fut définitivement signée par les quatre plénipotentiaires le 14 novembre 1885. La réponse de la colonie se faisait attendre ; et, l'attitude du parlement de St Jean donnant à prévoir un refus de sanction, M. Waddington eut une conférence avec Lord Rosebery et Lord Granville et leur déclara qu'il était désirable que les membres du parlement terre-neuvien fussent avisés que la France était à bout de concessions et que les plénipotentiaires anglais avaient affirmé que les nouvelles demandes étaient le dernier mot de la colonie. Le parlement de St Jean ne repoussa pas le traité directement ; mais il adopta dans sa séance du 18 mai 1886 un projet de loi prohibant la vente de la boëtte. Le vote d'une semblable mesure équivalait à un refus motivé. La France prit immédiatement, bien qu'à regret, des mesures énergiques pour faire respecter l'intégralité de ses droits. Cette nouvelle attitude, succédant à plusieurs années d'une politique de laissez-faire, fit naître des protestations sans nombre, reconnues en majeure partie comme mal fondées. Le gouvernement britannique de son côté refusa la sanction de la Reine au bill du parlement de St Jean. La situation devint plus inextricable encore après le vote d'un second bill prohibant la vente de la boëtte—bill cependant sanctionné par le gouverneur ; il en fixait même la date de la mise en vigueur au 2 janvier 1888. Néanmoins, en violation de la loi, la vente de la boëtte se faisait ouvertement aux pêcheurs américains.

Au cours de l'année 1887 la colonie de Terre-Neuve s'éleva pour la première fois contre le système des primes accordées par la France à ses armateurs à la pêche aux Grands-Bancs ; et en réalité ces primes sont l'unique cause de toute l'agitation organisée contre l'exercice de nos droits. Si le parlement français supprimait ces primes, la

question de Terre-Neuve serait résolue comme par enchantement, au grand désespoir des politiciens de St Jean. Les choses allèrent de mal en pis jusqu'en 1889. A ce moment Lord Salisbury fit pressentir le gouvernement français sur un projet d'arbitrage destiné 'à régler certaines questions soulevées par l'interprétation des traités en vertu desquels la France exerçait un droit de pêche à Terre-Neuve' (Note du 13 août 1889). Enfin en 1890 il fit de nouveau, par l'intermédiaire de Lord Lytton, son ambassadeur à Paris, proposer l'ouverture de négociations pour arriver au règlement de la question de Terre-Neuve sur la base de nouvelles concessions pour faciliter l'achat de la boëtte, ou le paiement d'une compensation en argent, puisque le parlement terre-neuvien refusait sa sanction à tout règlement qui n'avait pas pour base l'abolition de nos droits sur le French Shore. La réponse française fut que l'idée d'échanger nos droits contre une somme d'argent était chimérique (Note du 29 octobre 1890).

M. Ribot, alors ministre des affaires étrangères de la République Française, conduisit les dernières négociations, qui ne purent aboutir parce que Lord Salisbury, tout en proposant l'arbitrage, était impuissant à prendre l'engagement de faire exécuter la décision des arbitres contre l'opposition du gouvernement terre-neuvien. Mais le temps pressait; on prépara un *modus vivendi* qui fut mis en vigueur pour une première période de trois années, puis renouvelé d'année en année jusqu'au 31 décembre 1901. Lord Salisbury, dont l'autorité est aussi grande sur le continent qu'en Angleterre, à la Chambre des Lords dans la séance du 19 mars 1891, rendait pleine et entière justice aux négociateurs de la convention de 1885. Le noble Lord s'exprimait en ces termes:—

'When I succeeded him [Lord Granville] in the Foreign Office, I found that he had just concluded a most workable and capable arrangement. It fell to my lot to give the signature to it, but it was a treaty negociated by him. Most unfortunately, the colonists were persuaded in a political crisis to reject that treaty. I think that under the influence of the crisis the electors were scarcely cognisant of the responsibility attached to that rejection. It was a golden opportunity lost. Since that time we have struggled on as best we could.'

L'opinion exprimée par Lord Salisbury établit définitive-

ment les responsabilités ; et, pour tout homme impartial, le gouvernement français ne saurait encourir le moindre blâme pour l'échec de la longue série de négociations poursuivie pendant près d'un demi-siècle. Le succès eût été complet sans l'intransigeance du parlement de St Jean, réclamant sans cesse l'abolition des droits de la France et refusant de se rendre aux raisons de son propre gouvernement, comme un enfant terrible qui veut une échelle pour atteindre la lune. Il est de discussion courante parmi les adversaires des traités de soutenir qu'en fait la pêche à Terre-Neuve ne procure que des bénéfices insignifiants aux armateurs français, et d'affirmer que sans la prime, ceux-ci ne pourraient continuer leurs opérations déjà bien réduites. L'argument mis en avant repose sur le nombre décroissant des goëlettes françaises qui fréquentent le French Shore, et surtout leur absence totale pendant une série de saisons de pêche ; d'où l'on conclut que la France ne se sert de ces traités surannés que pour harceler la colonie anglaise sans le moindre profit pour elle-même.

Pour les lecteurs imbues d'idées préconçues, c'est perdre son temps que de raisonner ; mais pour ceux qui veulent connaître les deux positions de la question, il est indispensable de leur rappeler que la pêche sur le French Shore et sur les Grands Bancs fait vivre une population de plus de soixante mille âmes, de plus que la marine de l'Etat trouve dans ces pêcheurs des matelots parfaitement exercés. Dans l'intérêt de ces derniers, il intervient directement dans la fixation du taux de leurs salaires, qui ne peuvent être payés en nature. L'officier de l'instruction maritime protège et defend leurs intérêts. En compensation des charges et obligations imposées aux armateurs moruquiers, dont les dépenses d'armements sont ainsi largement augmentées, l'État leur verse des primes sur les marchandises réexportées sous pavillon français.

Tirer du simple fait de la diminution ou de l'absence totale des goëlettes françaises sur le French Shore, la conclusion que nos intérêts se retirent ou ont disparu, est un raisonnement facile à faire, mais qui est détruit par les faits eux-mêmes et les statistiques officielles. Dans tous les cas ceux qui les invoquent démontrent leur peu de connaissance de la question. Les armements à la pêche de Terre-Neuve sont de deux catégories, d'abord les navires

exclusivement armées pour les Grands-Bancs et ceux destinés à la pêche sur le French Shore. Ceux-ci ne sauraient diminuer pour des motifs que nous exposerons plus loin. Quant aux premiers, ils se montrent en plus ou moins grand nombre dans le golfe St Laurent selon la direction prise par la morue après la première fonte des glaces. Il est de notoriété publique que ce poisson est d'humeur vagabonde et capricieuse, et que pendant des années consécutives il se plait à modifier ses itinéraires. A cette première cause il faut en ajouter une autre. La nombreuse flotille qui passe l'hiver à St Pierre Miquelon se rend sur le French Shore et principalement dans la Baie de St Georges pour pêcher la boëtte de la première pêche, c'est-à-dire le hareng. Cette flotille n'avait pas besoin de se déranger puisque les pêcheurs terre-neuviens venaient eux-mêmes à St Pierre vendre la boëtte. Après le vote du Bait Act les goëlettes françaises firent leur réapparition sur le French Shore pour s'approvisionner d'appât, avant de se rendre aux Grands-Bancs.

Le nombre des navires de la seconde catégorie, c'est-à-dire de ceux destinés exclusivement à la pêche du French Shore, n'a jamais varié ; et le contrôle en est facile, car ils reviennent au même point de la côte pendant trois saisons consécutives. En effet tous les trois ans les capitaines des diverses goëlettes sont convoqués aux bureaux de l'inscription maritime de certaines villes pour tirer au sort leur emplacement triennal. Les règlements sur la pêche sont très sévères, et les capitaines ne s'aviseraient pas de les enfreindre. Cette présence des mêmes navires sur les mêmes lieux crée des relations de bonne camaraderie entre les pêcheurs des deux nations ; et les Français souvent prennent pension et logent dans les familles terre-neuviennes. Les excitations seules de quelques politiciens provoquent des conflits ; mais livrés à eux-mêmes les marins des deux nations vivent en bonne intelligence. Placés sous la surveillance bienveillante des officiers de marine, ils leur obéissent et acceptent sans murmurer leurs observations. Il serait à désirer que l'on pût les tenir éloignés de toute immixtion de la politique locale, et surtout leur épargner d'entendre les hâbleries des commis-voyageurs en patriotisme de mauvais aloi. Le *modus vivendi* en vigueur et contre lequel sont actuellement dirigées les attaques passionnées du parlement de

St Jean est à notre avis une œuvre de sagesse et de saine politique. Si la politique n'intervenait pas dans le règlement de cette question, il serait de l'intérêt général de n'y apporter aucune modification.

II.

It is not improbable that the Government of Newfoundland may again, and at an early moment, raise the question of their rights upon the west shore of the island, with a view to some final arrangement with France that may leave that shore unfettered by restrictions which hitherto have proved so great a hindrance to its development. That considerable public attention has again been drawn to the several claims of France and Newfoundland on the west shore is shown by many letters on the subject which have recently appeared in the French and English press. If a solution is to be found—and it is most desirable to each country that it should be found—it can only be reached by a thorough knowledge of the issues at stake on either side.

To form a clear appreciation of the subject it is necessary first to understand the leading geographical features of the island. Newfoundland is practically a triangle, with the apex to the north. The eastern shore, facing the Atlantic, has naturally little sunshine in the winter, and is intensely cold for many months; for, besides the lack of sun, it suffers terribly at times from the drift-ice and icebergs floating south from the coast of Labrador. These impinge on the Newfoundland shore during the easterly winds which prevail so much in the spring, filling the bays, which trend far inland—some over a hundred miles—lowering the temperature and killing the sprouting crops and budding trees, to the great loss and distress of the inhabitants. The conditions of life on the eastern shore are of the hardest; half-starvation is the common lot of many of these poor folk; it is difficult to make English people comprehend the struggle for life which is the ordinary lot in many of these eastern settlements. Yet this eastern and south-eastern shore has hitherto been practically the home of nearly all the people of Newfoundland.

The southern shore, for the most part, is unfit for settlement. Precipitous cliffs rise from the sea, and a wide stretch of barren country lies immediately inland. St Mary's Bay, the Bay of Placentia, and Fortune Bay, at the south and south-east corner of the island, are practically the limit of the settled portions, until one reaches Cape Ray on the extreme south-western corner of the island. The western shore, on the other hand, faces almost due west; the sun shines in the short days of winter and gives some warmth, while in the other seasons its rays spread broadcast over a district capable of maintaining a large population in comfort, freed from the disastrous visits of the northern drift-ice. Oats, barley, apples and other fruits, and vegetables of many kinds can be grown on this shore; and a plentiful harvest may reward people working under fair conditions.

Such being the great advantages offered by the west shore, why have not the inhabitants on the east coast crossed the island to enjoy its more genial climate and more attractive conditions? The answer is to be found in the apparent insolubility of the west shore problem, which has troubled successive Governments of France, England, and Newfoundland for many a long year.

In dealing with the west shore question in the short space of an article, it is not possible, nor for our purpose is it necessary, to quote at length the various treaties which deal with the subject. Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) contained a clause under which the island of Newfoundland became the property of Great Britain. The exact words are :—'The island called Newfoundland shall from this time forward belong of right wholly to Great Britain.' But the same article also contained the following words :—

'Moreover, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of France to fortify any place in the said Island of Newfoundland or to erect any buildings there besides stages made of boards and huts necessary and usual for drying the Fish, or to resort to the said Island beyond the time necessary for Fishing and drying the Fish. But it shall be allowed to the subjects of France to catch Fish and to dry them on land in that part only, and in no other besides that, of the said Island of Newfoundland which stretches from the place called Cape Bonavista to the Northern point of the said Island, and from thence, running

down by the Western side, reaches as far as the place called Point Riche.' *

More recent treaties, while they have modified the limits of the treaty shore, and include the cession of St Pierre and Miquelon, do not further affect the question of French rights in dispute, and do not require any further discussion until and unless the whole of the question of French rights under the various treaties is submitted in full to a court of arbitration or other authority that may be agreed on. That France has not kept strictly to what is clearly the limit of her rights is shown by the fact of the erection of permanent settlements in the island of St Pierre under conditions specially barred by the Treaty. The construction to be placed upon the extracts quoted above from Article 13 of the Treaty of Utrecht forms the source of all the difficulties between France and Newfoundland. It must be remembered, in considering their construction and interpretation, that the island of Newfoundland, at the time when these treaties were made, was only a fishing station, and was never regarded as anything but a temporary settlement, to be used only during each fishing season; and, further, that the Treaty, while no doubt made solely with the cod fishery in view, did not in any way exclude other fish. It cannot be reasonably argued that the treaties were entered into with the view of prohibiting the French from catching any other fish they might find on the treaty shore. It has been argued and seriously contended on the part of Newfoundland that the passage quoted above, from the words, 'to erect any buildings,' to 'dry them on land,' implies the limitation of the fishery to cod; but this contention cannot be maintained. Had the wider interpretation of the

* The French version runs as follows: 'L'Isle de Terre-Neuve, avec les Isles adjacentes, appartiendra désormais et absolument à la G. B. . . . Il ne leur [i.e. aux Français] sera pas permis non plus d'y fortifier aucun lieu, ni d'y établir aucune habitation en façon quelconque, si ce n'est des échafauts et cabanes nécessaires et usitées pour sécher le poisson, ni d'aborder dans ladite Isle dans d'autre tems que celuy qui est propre pour pescher, et nécessaire pour sécher le poisson. Dans ladite Isle il ne sera pas permis auxdits sujets de la France de pescher et de sécher le poisson en aucune autre partie, que depuis le lieu appellé Cap de Bona Vista jusqu'à l'extrémité septentrionale de ladite Isle et de là en suivant la partie occidentale, jusqu'au lieu appellé Point-Riche.' (Casimir Freschot: 'Actes, Mémoires, &c., de la paix d'Utrecht.' 6 vols, Utrecht, 1714, 1715.)

Treaty been admitted by Newfoundland, much of the recent trouble, arising especially from the lobster fisheries on the treaty shore, would have been avoided.

These lobster fisheries were not interfered with by the French till some years after they had been started by the Newfoundlanders on the treaty shore; but, when the French became aware of their existence, they took strong measures to suppress them. For a time serious trouble was threatened. The French themselves put up lobster factories; and this was resented by Newfoundland as being an illegal extension of French rights, which they held to be confined to the cod fishery. It became absolutely necessary, if France and England were not to be brought to the verge of war, to establish some kind of temporary arrangement which should give time for the settlement of the points in dispute; and it was mutually agreed that no more lobster factories should be put up until a settlement could be arrived at between France, England, and Newfoundland. Hence the *modus vivendi* accepted in 1887.

It will be seen, then, that two points of dispute in regard to the treaties arose out of this lobster fishing. Firstly, the French objected to the Newfoundlanders catching lobsters, because they said this was their own fishery shore; and they claimed an exclusive right to all fish in salt water within the limits of the treaty shore. The Newfoundlanders, on the other hand, claimed that the French rights were limited to the catch of cod, and that they had no right to include lobsters.

The contention of the French that they were not debarred by treaty from catching lobsters is tenable. An independent court of arbitration would, in all probability, uphold this contention, and read the Treaty as giving to France the right to catch fish of all kinds along the whole length of the treaty shore. The French, however, claimed a further right—a most serious claim if it could be sustained—namely, the *exclusive* right to catch fish along the treaty shore. If this contention could be seriously maintained, it would materially affect the chances of a final satisfactory settlement with France. There is nothing in the treaties which in any way gives exclusive rights to France. There is nothing which can be construed into an agreement to exclude the British or Newfoundlander from the west shore. It is quite true

that many efforts have been made by the French from time to time to get their exclusive rights admitted, but in no case has England ever admitted this claim; and it is not probable that France could maintain it if submitted to the test of arbitration. Does not this account for the refusal of France to submit the whole case to arbitration? The French Foreign and Colonial Offices are kept thoroughly well informed on all matters touching the west shore; and, in considering the action of France, one must assume that they possess full knowledge of their position. The weakness of their contention as to exclusive rights must be well known to them; and these, we may feel pretty sure, will never be submitted to arbitration.

The Newfoundland contention is that, given the right of the French to catch lobsters, they have no power under the Treaty to land and can them. Their only right is to dry fish on land; they are excluded from building permanent structures; and on no interpretation of the Treaty can it be shown that they have any right whatever to erect factories, as they did until stopped under the general arrangement to stop the construction of lobster factories by either party. From these two contentions it will be seen that both parties have put themselves in the wrong; and if any arrangement is to be arrived at, it is well that neither party should contend for rights which they undoubtedly do not possess.

If the differences in reference to the treaties were confined to the lobster catch, it would be a trivial matter to deal with; but a much wider question is involved. The French cod fishery has diminished to very small proportions on the west shore, and in a few years will probably be almost entirely discontinued; but, meanwhile, the action of Newfoundland in the protection of her own commercial interests, and particularly in regard to the catch of bait, has seriously increased the trouble on the treaty shore. To understand the action of Newfoundland, and her reason for passing what is known as the Bait Act, it is necessary to refer to the action of France in respect to the cod-fishing industry. The principal markets for the Newfoundland catch of codfish were being gradually taken from her by the enormous bounties given by France to those engaged in the cod fishery, whether fitted out in France or in St Pierre. These bounties were so great that they almost paid

for the entire cost of the catch of the fish. The Newfoundland fishermen gradually found themselves unable to compete with the French fishermen in the European markets; and, in order to retain a share of the fishery at her own doors, Newfoundland had to seek some means of getting on even terms with her competitors.

The Bait Act was a retaliation by Newfoundland against the bounty system of France. Under the Bait Act, the sale of bait for the cod fishery to the French was prohibited. The herring bait arrives first in the south-eastern bays of Newfoundland, namely, Fortune Bay and Placentia Bay, in January; and, since fresh bait is a great essential, and Fortune Bay and Placentia Bay are within fifty miles of the banks, it was a great deprivation to the French fishermen to be prohibited from buying from the Newfoundlanders in these bays. The nearest point where the French could find herring bait is St George's Bay on the treaty shore, but this is a long way from the banks; and even when the bait is obtained at St George's Bay, it cannot reach the banks in the fresh condition so necessary for the fishery. This, of course, seriously affected the French fishermen. They lost both in time and in quality; and there is no doubt that they were very seriously handicapped. It is true that they succeeded in obtaining a substitute on the banks; but the quality was much inferior and involved considerable trouble and time in obtaining it. It is easy to understand that this gave rise to a good deal of feeling on the side of the French; but it should be remembered that it was not wholly palatable to the fishermen of Fortune Bay and Placentia Bay, as they lost thereby the ready sale of their catch of bait to the French fishermen. Consequently, Newfoundland has never carried out the Bait Act thoroughly. Had she done so, as she might at any time, it would be an effectual set-off to a good deal of the harm done by the French bounty system.

The French, again driven to retaliate, prohibited the sale of bait caught by Newfoundland fishermen on the west shore to Americans, Canadians, or anyone but themselves, basing this action upon their right to exclusive fishery as against the claim of Newfoundland to concurrent rights. The cod fishery, it must be remembered, is divided in two parts. The Metropolitan Fleet fishes on the Grand Bank and confines itself entirely to what is known in the

market as green cod. The fleet from St Pierre and Miquelon, which is engaged chiefly in the dried cod fishery, dries the fish on the Islands of St Pierre and Miquelon; and a considerable population resides in these islands, varying from 5000 to 6000 in number according to the season, of whom about a sixth or seventh are British. The bait caught in St George's Bay is mainly for the use of the St Pierre and Miquelon Fleet; but, if the contention of Newfoundland as to the right of France being confined solely to the catch of cod is correct (and it must be admitted that this view is very strongly held in Newfoundland), then the French have no right to catch bait even on the treaty shore; while, if the Bait Act of Newfoundland were at the same time fully and efficiently enforced, the French would hardly be able to get bait in any other way. The seriousness of the obstacles which would thus be placed in the way of French fishermen can hardly be exaggerated.

With regard to the lobster fishery, the position in which matters are left by the *modus vivendi* is equally unsatisfactory. A monopoly has been created for the benefit of certain individuals, the majority of whom are Newfoundlanders; but they ignore all control by the Government of Newfoundland in regard to the lobster fishery, recognise no close time, and refuse to be bound by any regulation for the control of the fishing industry. They catch lobsters in season and out of season, just as they please, and are thus in a fair way to ruin the fishery, which it will take years to restore to its value, lobsters requiring at least seven years to come to maturity.

Let us, then, recapitulate the position in which matters stand to-day. On one side we have the French catching lobsters and bait, to which they may be entitled; and erecting lobster factories with their necessary permanent structures, which they are certainly not entitled to do by any possible interpretation of the Treaty. We find the French naval commanders arbitrarily removing seines and fishing plant belonging to the inhabitants of the western shore; and the French bankers, in many cases, despoiling these fishermen of the products of their labour by forcibly taking their catch of bait from their nets. Again, we have the French arbitrarily causing small piers and erections of all kinds on the treaty shore to be removed, whether they interfere with the French fishery or not, on

the plea that the harbour is French, and under French jurisdiction, and that Newfoundlanders have no right on the shore at all. On the other hand, we have Newfoundland contending, and contending strongly, that France has no right to the catch of bait or lobsters, or any other fish but cod; contending also that only Newfoundlanders have the right to catch bait or lobsters, and that to prohibit Newfoundlanders from selling bait caught on the west shore to Americans, Canadians, or British, is entirely beyond any rights conferred by the treaties on France. Newfoundland will certainly demand the removal of this prohibition and of the French lobster factories as soon as the *modus vivendi* expires.

It will be seen, therefore, how complicated matters have become; how, even under a state of things that has hitherto existed, the relations between the Newfoundlanders and the French engaged in the fisheries are such as to be a source of much anxiety; and how even the greatest precautions on both sides may be unable to prevent acts and retaliations which may lead to a serious international dispute.

It may be said in reply to this statement that, although the complications are great, yet no breach of the peace endangering our relations with France has occurred; and that there is no evidence of any urgent necessity for the removal of these complications by coming to an agreement with France. That this impression is erroneous will be apparent if we reflect on the different conditions of life prevailing on the eastern and the western shores, as sketched at the beginning of this article, and on certain recent changes which have been made. Until lately there have been no roads which people could follow from east to west. Travellers were obliged either to make their way through the pathless forests and across the wide barrens —an impracticable route for any but the hardiest of men —or they had to go round by the sea, which could only be done by a few persons and under many difficulties. But to-day there is a railroad running right across the island; and the frozen east is put within a few hours of the sunny west. Thousands of the people of Newfoundland will shortly crowd the bays and lands of the western shore; and instead of having to deal with a few poor fishermen eking out a bare existence, we shall have to face a situation

still further complicated by the presence of thousands of people demanding unrestricted freedom in the development of commerce, mining, and every possible industry that can be successfully carried out on that western shore. Large deposits of coal and iron and great forests of timber lie on or adjacent to the west shore; and the petty restrictions arising out of these antiquated treaties, made under conditions wholly unsuited to the present day, will have to give way to the demands of a more enlightened age. Neither France nor England can say that these treaties were ever made with a view to circumstances such as exist at the present day; and it behoves the statesmen of both countries to recognise this, and by mutual concessions to facilitate the conditions of the new life and the new development which is assuredly awaiting the island of Newfoundland.

Moreover, as the people crowd down to these bays and find themselves face to face with the rights of intervention and summary jurisdiction claimed and exercised by both French and English naval officers, who have not always proved themselves in treaty-shore matters the most politic or prudent of men, it is highly probable, nay, it is practically certain, that collisions of a more or less dangerous nature will occur, arising from the passions of men suffering from what they hold to be unwarrantable interference with their rights. Neither England nor France can regard it as conducive to the maintenance of good relations between them that they should leave untouched such a dangerous state of affairs. The necessity of permanently settling the matters in dispute must be recognised by the statesmen of both countries; and the question arises on what lines that settlement is to be approached. It is in the highest degree unlikely that the parties will be able to arrive at an agreement as to the terms of submission to arbitration. The settlement will have to be reached by a mutual compromise; and, inasmuch as it must be conceded that France has certain rights, she will naturally expect, and England must be prepared to give, a *quid pro quo* in some form or other.

To what extent is it advisable to ask France to alter the present state of things? Should she be asked to cede only her rights or part of her rights on the treaty shore, or should she be asked to cede also St Pierre and Miquelon?

There would be much greater difficulty, no doubt, in negotiating on the basis of the cession of St Pierre and Miquelon, in addition to the rights on the treaty shore; but in the long run it is most desirable, in the interests of both countries, that these islands should be ceded to Newfoundland. While they are no longer required by France for the purposes of the west shore cod fishery, and are of little importance to the bank fishery, they are a thorn in the side of Newfoundland, in that they are centres from which the smuggling of French brandy, spirits, and tobacco is carried on in Newfoundland; and, so long as they remain under France, the chance of trouble between France and Newfoundland will continue to exist. Far-seeing statesmen will recognise how desirable it is, in the interests of France and England, that the settlement should be made on a basis which will remove for ever a trouble which has from time to time caused great anxiety to statesmen of both countries. In the interests of a permanent good understanding on Newfoundland matters between France and England, France will, it may be hoped, see the necessity of not being too exacting, and of meeting England in a generous spirit; and England, for the same reason, while safeguarding the interests of the people of Newfoundland, should be ready to meet France half-way in a common effort to settle once for all the difficulties of the treaty shore.

It is essential to success in any new negotiations for a settlement, that the consent of the Government of Newfoundland shall be first obtained in respect to any matters affecting the interests of the colony. On two occasions in recent years, negotiations have failed by reason of the refusal of Newfoundland to accept the terms previously arranged between France and Great Britain. Only the other day, a Frenchman, holding a high position in the French diplomatic service, observed that it would not be possible for France again to enter into negotiations until the British Government had first agreed with the Government of Newfoundland as to the terms to be proposed.

Art. III.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL RADICALS.

1. *The English Utilitarians.* By Leslie Stephen. Three vols. London: Duckworth, 1900.
2. *The English Radicals: an Historical Sketch.* By C. B. Roylance Kent. London: Longmans, 1899.
3. *English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine.* By William Graham. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.
4. *History of Modern Philosophy.* By Dr Harald Höffding, Professor at the University of Copenhagen. Authorised translation. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1900.

ONE reflection which will occur to most readers in taking up Mr Leslie Stephen's volumes on 'The English Utilitarians,' is the rapidity with which even the most recent representatives of the school have passed into the region of history. When Mr Leslie Stephen published his 'History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century,' twenty-five years ago, John Stuart Mill was only three years dead, and the echoes had not yet died away of the famous controversy in which he led the attack upon 'Intuitionism,' as represented by Dean Mansel and Sir William Hamilton. And although the direct political influence of the 'Philosophical Radicals' was even then a comparatively remote tradition, their social and political theories still largely moulded the views of reform and progress held by Liberal and Radical thinkers of the day. John Stuart Mill's parliamentary experience in the previous decade was doubtless of little more than academic interest; but in the closing years of his life he was not only the most prominent English philosopher, but was reverenced as the fountain-head of economic and political wisdom by men like Henry Fawcett, Mr Courtney, and Mr Morley, with whom the future of advanced Liberalism seemed to lie. 'The foremost instructor of his time in wisdom and goodness,' are Mr Morley's words in the fine tribute penned immediately after Mill's death. The elevation of Mill's character, and the loftiness of his aims, are as heartily recognised now as then; but, on the other hand, the aspect of most questions, whether philosophical, ethical, political, or social, has changed so much during the last quarter of a century that 'the equable flow of didactic wisdom' in Mill's pages appeals somewhat coldly to the present generation. He

must always remain one of the most interesting figures of the nineteenth century in the region of pure intellect; but the interest will be more and more that of a transition figure, in whose inconsistencies we can trace the gradual break-up of the robust and self-sufficient creed of his youth, and the sympathetic anticipation of larger truths. The history of the century is in truth the history of the emergence and rapid growth of problems with which the rigid formulæ of the Philosophical Radicals were quite inadequate to deal.

Mr Stephen's volumes are in his best manner, and are a valuable contribution to the history of English thought. As he tells us in the preface, he was himself a disciple of the school during its last period. This account of the Utilitarians cannot, therefore, be censured as written by an unsympathetic outsider, and its clear recognition of the shortcomings of the school possesses something of the inexorable justice of history. For the rest, the subject is treated by Mr Stephen in a way which displays his qualities to the best advantage.

'I have devoted,' he says, 'a much greater proportion of my work to biography and to considerations of political and social conditions than would be appropriate to the history of a philosophy. . . . I am primarily concerned with the history of a school or sect, not with the history of the arguments by which it justifies itself in the court of pure reason. . . . I deal not with philosophers meditating upon Being and not-Being, but with men actively engaged in framing political platforms and carrying on popular agitations.'

Many of these by-gone platform-framers and 'leaders of revolts' are obscure enough to us now; and there are quaint, even sordid, figures among them. Mr Leslie Stephen's intimate knowledge of the by-ways of history and biography gives life and circumstance to his narrative, and his pages are lit up every now and again by humorous detail or flashes of sarcastic wit. As he proceeds, however, he becomes more absorbed in the history of the doctrines themselves, tracing them to their philosophical presuppositions, inherited, as he points out, from Hume, and most clearly expressed in James Mill's 'Analysis of the Human Mind.'

The main fault to be found with the book is perhaps

that too much space is given to the analysis of separate works, especially in the case of J. S. Mill. The continuity of the narrative is thereby interrupted, and the temptation is irresistible to introduce a considerable amount of matter which is irrelevant to the main thesis. The method is apt to convey the impression of a man printing his notes instead of working them up; and the third volume—that on J. S. Mill—has a somewhat straggling effect. The chapter on Mill's 'Logic,' for example, goes too much into detail; and, though the critical comments are excellent, the philosophical student of logic is likely to have seen them elsewhere, while other readers will probably wish both Mill's doctrines and Mr Stephen's criticisms away. It is only so far as the 'Logic' exhibits the general substructure of philosophical theory common to the school, that it bears directly upon Mr Stephen's historical demonstration. The last chapter, again, giving a *résumé* of the Hamiltonian controversy and a critical analysis of Mill's 'Essays on Religion,' with unexpected digressions on Maurice and Carlyle, Newman and W. G. Ward, is the least satisfactory in the book. Though added doubtless with a view to completeness, it has really the opposite effect. The Hamiltonian controversy about our knowledge (or ignorance) of the Absolute is, as Mr Stephen himself says, a weariness of the flesh; and much the same may be said of Hamilton's hopelessly entangled theory of Perception which Mill attacked. There is almost a painful sense of waste in watching the punctilious accuracy with which Mr Stephen restates this mass of obsolete arguments and forgotten distinctions. On other grounds, Mill's *obiter dicta* on religion and theology, though interesting in a personal study, have so little connexion with the history of Utilitarianism that we seem in this chapter transported to another range of questions, and to a different atmosphere altogether. The biographical method thus proves in the end something of a snare, and leaves a certain looseness of texture in the work. But when criticism has made these deductions, she has said her say and may join in the chorus of congratulation which has greeted Mr Stephen's brilliant and instructive work.

The three volumes are labelled with the names of the thinkers who represent the three generations of the school's existence as an active force in philosophy and politics—

Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill. The first was the founder and patriarch of the school. The second was its most active propagandist, and the most vigorous and typical example of its undiluted orthodoxy and supreme self-confidence. The third could not avoid parting with some of the most characteristic Benthamite tenets; his admissions and compromises mark, as has been already observed, the gradual break-up of the school and its submergence in a deeper tide of thought and feeling. The three volumes thus coincide with the successive stages of the sect—its rise and progress, its forceful activity, its decline and fall. Each volume introduces, besides the principal figure, a number of minor personages. In the first we have an elaborate analysis of those political, industrial, and social conditions of England in the latter part of the eighteenth century which constitute, as it were, the soil and environment in which philosophical radicalism grew up, and largely explain its vitality as a political force. In the second volume careful account is taken of Malthus and Ricardo, whose doctrines were incorporated as integral parts of Utilitarian theory and bulked largely in popular attacks upon the school; while the third volume, besides containing the chapter on Philosophy and Religion already referred to, touches on the various social and economic controversies which went to mould or modify Mill's political economy, and gives an account of John Austin, Grote, and Buckle, who represented the school in the departments of jurisprudence, history, and philosophy of history respectively.

Mr Stephen's account of the Utilitarian thinkers may be usefully compared with the admirable summary and criticism given by Professor Höffding in his 'History of Modern Philosophy.' This remarkably fresh and well-written treatment of an old theme deserves a specially warm welcome in England on account of the prominence given by the author to English thinkers, and the fulness of knowledge with which he writes of their theories. As a Dane, Professor Höffding takes perhaps a more cosmopolitan view of the progress of European thought than is to be found in the otherwise admirable histories of philosophy made in Germany; and the excellent translation which has just appeared is a distinct boon to the English reader. The seventy pages which deal with Bentham and

the Mills, Carlyle and Sir W. Hamilton, are a model of accurate statement, sympathetic appreciation, and incisive criticism. Professor Graham's 'English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine' will also be found useful by the student for the full and conscientious summaries which it gives of the chief socio-political works of Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, J. S. Mill, and Sir Henry Maine. The author also criticises at length both the methods and the conclusions of the thinkers he deals with, and generally to good purpose; but he has sacrificed unity of effect by his intermixture of summaries and copious running reflections. His book is therefore more likely to prove useful to the student of the works referred to than attractive to the general reader as a consecutive treatment of the progress of political thought during a certain period.

Utilitarianism can lay no claim to originality in its philosophical principles. Hedonism is as old as ethical speculation; and the genealogy of 'the greatest-happiness principle' may be traced back in England through Paley, Hume, and Hutcheson to the chapters of Locke's 'Essay' which deal with morality. Hutcheson not only lays down this principle unreservedly as a test of the moral quality of actions, but contributes also the famous formula of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' Bentham tells us that he came upon the phrase in Priestley; but Priestley (whose statement, moreover, is not so precise) had it from Hutcheson; and to Hutcheson it was probably suggested—as Mr Scott has recently pointed out in his excellent Life of that philosopher—by his readings in Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, the watchword of this hedonistic theory being thus traceable, by the irony of history, to the Stoic 'citizenship of the world.' In Hume the theory is already complete; and we do not wonder, therefore, when Bentham tells us that on reading the third volume of Hume's 'Treatise on Human Nature' he 'felt as if scales had fallen from his eyes.' From Hume to J. S. Mill, in fact, the doctrine received no substantial alteration.

'The writings in which Bentham deals explicitly with the general principles of Ethics would hardly entitle him,' says

Mr Stephen, 'to a higher position than that of a disciple of Hume without Hume's subtlety; or of Paley without Paley's singular gift of exposition.'

Yet it was under Bentham that the Utilitarians first became a school in any definite sense, and 'Benthamism' was for long the current designation of the doctrine. Under his initiative the doctrine ceased to be merely the speculative tenet of this or that philosopher, and became the active creed of a band of men bent upon applying it to political and social reform. With Bentham, therefore, the history of the 'English Utilitarians' or 'Philosophical Radicals' begins. The second title, by which the group was long distinguished, sufficiently indicates the nature of the new departure.

Mr Stephen's sketch of English political and social life in the eighteenth century may be instructively and agreeably supplemented by Mr Roylance Kent's well-informed and well-written history of 'The English Radicals.' Taking up his subject more exclusively from the political point of view and including in it all the prominent phases of Radical thought, Mr Kent gives many additional details, often picturesque and suggestive, and helps to elucidate the differences between the Utilitarians and other types of earlier and contemporary Radicalism. Mr Lecky places the birth of English Radicalism in the year 1769, when the conflict between Wilkes and the House of Commons was at its height; and Mr. Kent accepts this date as the starting-point of his narrative. The first Radical attack, it will be observed, was directed, not against the Crown or the House of Lords, but against the House of Commons, which, instead of being regarded as the bulwark of popular liberty, appeared to usurp the rights of the electors and to override their expressed wishes. Parliamentary reform was not, however, a monopoly of the Radicals; and public opinion had so far ripened in 1783, when Pitt moved his famous resolutions, that a few years would in all probability have seen the passing of a Reform Act, but for the blow inflicted by the French Revolution on all such movements.

The Revolution exercised a profound effect upon the course of political history in England. When it began, the cause of the reforming partly doubtless appeared full

of promise; and we all know how, for a time, the progress of the Revolution was hailed by the more generous spirits. But the licence and cruelty which stained its further course almost extinguished Liberalism in England for a generation. 'Till I see,' wrote Fox in 1801, 'that the public has some dislike (indignation I do not hope for) to absolute power, I see no use in stating in the House of Commons the principles of liberty and justice.' While this was the effect on the mass of the nation, the principles of the Revolution were presented in their undiluted and most obnoxious form by the small band of English Jacobins, or as they may be conveniently called, the Jacobinical Radicals. Of this sect Paine's 'Rights of Man' was the popular gospel, and Godwin's 'Political Justice' the more ponderous oracle. Mr Kent states very clearly the transformation which English Radicalism underwent in their writings. From being a scheme of parliamentary reform it became a virulent attack upon the constitution as a whole, and in particular upon the Crown and the House of Lords. 'Paine was perhaps the first to make the point of expense a prime argument against the retention of the monarchy.' Another point of difference was that of religious opinion and belief. The earlier Radicals had 'all professed some form of Christianity, but Paine and Godwin were strong agnostics and materialists'; and Paine's 'Age of Reason' completed the association of Radicalism and infidelity in the public mind. As Coleridge said, 'it was God's mercy to our age that our Jacobins were infidels, and a scandal to all sober Christians. Had they been like the old Puritans, they would have trodden Church and King to dust—at least for a time.' The congratulatory addresses of the new Radicals to the French National Convention roused a storm of popular indignation against these 'philosophising serpents,' as Walpole called them. The people wanted no French fraternity, said the first Sir Robert Peel to Fox; 'they preferred their religion and their legal freedom, with the good roast beef of Old England, to the atheism, the liberty and equality, and the broken breeches and soup-meagre of France.' The mob of Birmingham, shouting 'No philosophers,' burned Priestley's house over his head. Repressive legislation and political prosecutions were the natural outcome of these feelings. At the close

of the century English Radicalism had for the time destroyed itself; and even the old Whig party could scarcely muster forty members in the House of Commons. This was the juncture at which the teaching of Bentham became a force in politics. Radicalism had to be reconstituted in England between 1800 and 1832; and this was mainly the work of the Philosophical Radicals.

It is impossible to follow Mr Leslie Stephen in his genial sketch of the bustling boyish patriarch in whom selfishness had somehow taken the form of benevolence. Bentham was present at the trial of Wilkes, and his first important work was published in the year of the American Declaration of Independence; he was 'codifying like any dragon' at the age of 82; and he died on June 6th, 1832, the very day before the passing of the Reform Act to which his teaching had so powerfully contributed. Bentham began as a Tory, and his first bit of writing was a pamphlet in defence of Lord Mansfield. The 'Fragment on Government,' published in 1776, attracted the notice of Lord Shelburne, at whose house he met many prominent politicians of the day, and also two men who were to be of the greatest importance in the dissemination of his views—Dumont and Sir Samuel Romilly. It was the publication of the 'Traités de Législation de M. Jérémie Bentham,' by Dumont in 1802, which first gave him his wider reputation and influence. Partly translation and partly a vigorous and lucid statement of the pith of Bentham's doctrine in Dumont's own words, the 'Traités' carried his fame into all the countries of Europe. As many copies were sold in St Petersburg as in London, and a magnificent translation was ordered. Russian officials wrote comparing Bentham to Bacon, Newton, and Adam Smith, as the founder of a new science. 'The grand Baintham,' said the Spanish *alcalde* to Borrow, showing him all the master's works upon his shelves, 'he who has invented laws for all the world. I hope shortly to see them adopted in this unhappy country of ours.' Forty thousand copies of Dumont were sold in Paris for the South American trade. Russia, Spain, and South America form an ironical conjunction.

At home Bentham's influence grew more slowly, but had more permanent results. In 1808 he made the acquaintance of James Mill, who was to be the most powerful apostle of Benthamism, both in its philosophical and in its political

aspects. By that time the Jacobin controversies had receded into the background, and English Radicalism of the old reforming type was again beginning to make itself heard. Sir Francis Burdett was returned to Parliament in 1807; and his motion in favour of reform in 1809 may be regarded as the first serious beginning of the agitation which issued in the first Reform Bill. Bentham continued 'scribbling on in his hermitage,' as he called it, and taking no direct part in the political struggle; but the politicians came to dine with him at Queen Square Place, and he was thus in touch with most of the Parliamentary reformers, including at a somewhat later date such men as O'Connell and Lord Brougham. The letters of the latter to his 'dear grandpapa,' and Bentham's notes enclosing 'some nice sweet pap of my own making,' to 'my dear sweet little poppet,' are sufficiently curious documents. Bentham purveyed the philosophy of the Radical movement, wrote a 'Catechism of Parliamentary Reform,' and furnished Burdett with the series of resolutions which he proposed in 1818, in favour of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. In 1824, by which time the 'Benthamites' formed a compact and fairly numerous group, he supplied funds to start the 'Westminster Review' as an organ of thorough-going Radicalism.

The development of Bentham's views is an instructive piece of history. His ultimate political conclusions, as embodied, for example, in his 'Constitutional Code,' are practically identical with those of the Jacobins, as deduced from the rights of man. Yet he declared the American version of these rights, in the Declaration of Independence, to be a 'hodge-podge of confusion and absurdity,' and he wrote a treatise on 'Anarchic Fallacies' to expose the French Declaration of Rights. 'Natural rights,' he says, is simple nonsense; 'natural and imprescriptible rights' is 'rhetorical nonsense—nonsense upon stilts.' The whole abstract and deductive procedure is at fault. As Mr Leslie Stephen summarises his contention:

> 'The "rights of man" doctrine confounds a primary logical canon with a statement of fact.... The maxim that all men were, or ought to be, equal, asserts correctly that there must not be arbitrary differences. Every inequality should have its justification in a reasonable system. But when this undeniable logical canon is taken to prove that men actually are equal, there

is an obvious begging of the question. In point of fact, the theorists immediately proceeded to disfranchise half the race on account of sex, and a third of the remainder on account of infancy.'

All political arrangements must therefore be brought to the test of experience; they must be judged by their 'utility.' Applying this test to existing inequalities, Bentham believes himself to reach inductively the same practical conclusions. The difference in method is characteristic of the national temperament. Still more characteristic is the way in which Bentham was led step by step from an attempt to reform the penal law to a radical reconstruction of political society. It was the tradition of English reformers to start, not from abstract principles, but from an assault upon particular abuses. Bentham himself began life, as we have seen, with Tory sympathies. His original interest (and to the end probably his ruling interest) was codification; he desired to reform the monstrous abuses of the existing penal law, and generally to introduce order into the bewildering chaos of the English legal system. But there was no rancour in his zeal. 'I was a great reformist,' he says, 'but never suspected that the "people in power" were against reform. I supposed they only wanted to know what was good in order to embrace it.' This devout imagination was first shaken by the cool reception which the politicians he met at Lord Lansdowne's gave to his plans, and was finally shattered by the failure of the Panopticon, the great scheme of prison reform which occupied him, more or less, for twenty years. As might have been expected, he passed with almost equal *naïveté* to the opposite extreme. Lawyers of all classes, he now insists, have a common interest in multiplying suits and complicating procedure; and thus a tacit partnership (described as 'Judge and Co.') has grown up, which bars every attempt at reform. Hence the unmeasured terms in which he denounces Eldon as worse than Jeffreys, and expresses his belief that the most hopeless of reforms would be to raise a 'thorough-paced English lawyer' to the moral level of an average man. But the legal profession did not stand alone; it was in the closest relations with the whole privileged class. Presently he discovered, as Mr Stephen puts it,

'that behind "Judge & Co." were George III and the base Sidmouth, and the whole band of obstructors entrenched within the "matchless constitution," and thus his attack upon the abuses of the penal law led him to attack the whole political framework of the country.'

Bentham's constitutional gospel follows with charming simplicity from this new insight when combined with his fundamental principle of utility. The 'right and proper end' of government is 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' But, according to the equally primary principle of 'self-preference,' every man always desires his own greatest happiness, and therefore in every government the governors will legislate for their own advantage.

'Hence the whole problem is to produce a coincidence of the two ends, by securing an identity of interest between governors and governed. To secure that we have only to identify the two classes, or to put the government in the hands of all. In a monarchy, the ruler aims at the interest of one—himself; in a democracy its end is the right one—the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'

Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot are easily deducible. Members of Parliament are to be simply 'deputies,' not 'representatives,' and they are not to be re-eligible till after an interval, every precaution being thus taken against the possible rise of a class whose interests might be divergent from those of the community as a whole. On the ground that 'all government is in itself one vast evil,' let us 'minimise confidence': let all governors be directly responsible, and let us have as little government as possible. Industry in particular should say to government only what Diogenes said to Alexander, 'Stand out of my sunshine.'

The abstract simplicity of the perfect State corresponds to the abstract simplicity of the philosophical principles from which it was deduced. Unadulterated selfishness as the motive, universal benevolence as the end—these are the two fixed poles of Bentham's thought. They presented themselves to him in the first instance as a solution of his own specific problem, the creation of a science or philosophy of law, as a basis for practical reform. Utility, or the greatest-happiness principle, furnished him with a

universal test for the criticism of existing enactments, and the introduction of order and system into the chaos of English 'judge-made' law. The other problem of legislation is the encouragement of actions which promote the general happiness and the discouragement of actions which have a contrary tendency. This is solved by an appeal to the universal motive.

'Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do.'

The legislator, therefore, must annex pains or pleasures to those classes of actions which he wishes to discourage or promote. Pains and pleasures so annexed to courses of action are called 'sanctions,' and they should be so manipulated by the legislator that from dictates of self-interest alone a man shall be impelled to conduct which promotes the general happiness. As has been already hinted, these philosophical principles are in themselves neither very original nor very profound. The truth is, as Mr Stephen puts it, that Bentham

'founded not a doctrine but a method; the doctrine, which came to him simply as a general principle, was in his hands a potent instrument applied with most fruitful results to questions of immediate practical interest. . . . The characteristic of his teaching was not the bare appeal to utility, but the attempt to follow the clue of utility systematically and unflinchingly into every part of the subject.'

It is, in short, in the history of legislative theory rather than in philosophy proper that Bentham holds a place. Even his psychology, as seen in his 'analysis of the springs of action,' is rough and ready. Not unnaturally he expanded the principles which he found sufficient to solve his own practical problem, and used them as ultimate principles of explanation in psychology, ethics, and sociology. But working principles, sufficiently exact to yield valuable results in their own sphere, cannot be made absolute in this way without revealing their inadequacy to the task thus thrust upon them. Later criticism and the subsequent history of the Utilitarian school

itself have made this abundantly evident in the case of Bentham's abstract scheme of man and society. But this detracts little from his merit in his own sphere—a sphere in which, as Mr Stephen somewhat cruelly puts it, he 'got on very well without philosophy.' In the department of law, his success was so great that it has tended perhaps to obscure his merits. With the disappearance of the abuses against which his polemic was directed, and with the general acceptance of the canon by which he judged them, much of his writing has come to appear superfluous. He has been compared to Samson, who perished in the ruins of the temple he destroyed.

The philosophical defects of Benthamism will be best considered when we have the subsequent development of the school before us. We shall proceed, therefore, briefly to trace its fortunes under the leadership of the two Mills. The twenty years between 1820 and 1840 may be set down as the period during which the Utilitarians exercised their most direct influence upon English politics. They were during that time not only a group of thinkers with common principles, in constant communication with one another, but also a compact political party with clearly defined aims, active both in parliament and in the press. Their organisation in this two-fold capacity was unquestionably due in the main to the vigorous but repellent personality of James Mill. Mill was at once the systematiser and the prophet of the Benthamite faith; and there is some truth in Höffding's description of him as 'the intellectual father of the first parliamentary reform.' The best account of Philosophical Radicalism in the days of its confident youth is still to be found in his son's 'Autobiography.'

'This supposed school had no other existence than what was constituted by the fact that my father's writings and conversation drew round him a certain number of young men who had already imbibed, or who imbibed from him, a greater or smaller portion of his very decided political and philosophical opinions.... Bentham is a much greater name in history. But my father exercised a far greater personal ascendency.... I have never known anyone who could do such ample justice to his best thoughts in colloquial discussion.'

This is confirmed by the accounts of Grote and Mrs Grote.

Mill goes on to indicate the chief articles of the creed which they held in common.

'It was not characterised by Benthamism, but rather by a combination of Bentham's point of view with that of the modern political economy, and with the Hartleian metaphysics. Malthus's population principle was quite as much a banner and point of union among us as any opinion specially belonging to Bentham. This great doctrine, originally brought forward as an argument against the indefinite improvability of human affairs, we took up with an ardent zeal in the contrary sense, as indicating the sole means of realising that improvability.'

The Hartleian metaphysics, as it is here called, was James Mill's special contribution to the general body of doctrine. Bentham, as has been seen, was not a trained psychologist, nor was he interested in such questions. To Mill, on the contrary, as a Scotchman—one of the Scotch 'feelosophers' so passionately denounced by Cobbett—these investigations were part of his national inheritance. If he had time, he said in 1817, he could write a book which 'would make the human mind as plain as the road from Charing Cross to St Paul's.' In the doctrine of Association, as applied by Hobbes, Hume, and especially by Hartley, he thought he had found the instrument which effected this result; and in his 'Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind,' published in 1829, he supplied the world, as he conceived, with the book in question. He furnished the school at any rate with an official philosophy in which the very vigour and clearness of the exposition force into relief the startling inadequacy of its account of conscious experience. James Mill also provided the school with a complete political theory in a powerful series of articles, written for the supplement of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' between 1816 and 1823, and printed as a volume in 1824. As regards political economy, the Philosophical Radicals looked upon themselves throughout as the special champions of the science. Macaulay, indeed, accused them of discrediting it by the ostentatious way in which they took it under their protection. Ricardo became acquainted with Mill in 1811, and was induced by him to publish his 'Principles of Political Economy' in 1817. Malthus's 'Essay on Population' had appeared in 1798, and in a second, amended,

edition in 1803. The controversies which gathered round these two names are closely associated with the history of the Philosophical Radicals. By their rigid interpretation of the doctrines in question, and their uncompromising application of them in the discussion of practical questions, they were probably responsible for a large measure of the odium which the doctrines aroused in many quarters, and which in turn re-acted unfavourably upon the general political influence of the party. The decline of Philosophical Radicalism was indeed, from a variety of causes, as rapid as its rise.

But between 1810 and 1830 the party was still in process of consolidation. Able recruits were yearly gathering to its banners, and its members were full of the most unbounded confidence in the sufficiency of their own principles, and in their speedy triumph over the mass of ignorance and prejudice which was all that their magisterial assumption permitted them to see in the forces opposed to them. Among the practical workers in the cause, the most notable was perhaps Francis Place, the tailor, whose shop at Charing Cross was the centre of Radical activity in the Westminster constituency. Since the days of Wilkes, Radicalism had migrated from the City to Westminster, as it was later to move to Manchester and Birmingham. Place carried two Radical candidates for Westminster against the Whigs as early as 1807; and one of these, Sir Francis Burdett, retained his seat for thirty years. In the press, yeoman service was done by John Black of the 'Morning Chronicle,' and later by Albany Fonblanque of the 'Examiner.' Among members of Parliament, in addition to Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse, members for Westminster, there were Joseph Hume, a school-fellow of James Mill's, who, after he re-entered Parliament in 1818, made himself, as Mr Kent puts it, 'the self-appointed auditor of the national accounts'; and Roebuck, whose parliamentary career, however, only began in 1832 and eventually led him into other company. Sir William Molesworth's activity, as member of Parliament and one of the wealthy supporters of the cause, also belonged to the years after 1832. The intellectual leaders of the movement, besides James Mill and Ricardo, were Grote, who was introduced to Mill by Ricardo in 1817, and who, with Mrs Grote,

represented to the end the strictest sect of Philosophical Radicalism; John Austin, the philosophical jurist, and Charles Austin, his younger brother, whose brilliant rhetoric in the Cambridge Union introduced Benthamism to the younger members of that University and brought several recruits to the standard. Finally, there was John Stuart Mill, trained from his earliest youth for the apostolic succession, and already in 1823 or 1824 beginning to be a leader among the younger men. In 1824 the foundation of the 'Westminster Review' and James Mill's formidable onslaught in the first number upon the 'Edinburgh Review' and the Whig policy called general attention to the new party.

'So formidable an attack on the Whig party and policy,' says J. S. Mill, 'had never before been made, nor had so great a blow been ever struck, in this country, for Radicalism. . . . At a time when the current was already setting strongly towards reform, it is not strange that attention should have been aroused by the regular appearance in controversy of what seemed a new school of writers, claiming to be the legislators and theorists of this new tendency. The air of strong conviction with which they wrote, . . . the boldness with which they tilted against the very front of both the existing political parties; their uncompromising profession of opposition to many of the generally received opinions, and the suspicion they lay under of holding others still more heterodox than they professed; the talent and verve of at least my father's articles, and the appearance of a corps behind him sufficient to carry on a Review, and, finally, the fact that the Review was bought and read, made the so-called Bentham school in philosophy and politics fill a greater place in the public mind than it had held before, or has ever again held since other equally earnest schools of thought have arisen in England.'

Down to 1832, and later, the Utilitarians unquestionably claimed, as Mill puts it, to be 'the legislators and theorists' of the new tendency. They attacked both the great political parties with equal bitterness as representing the aristocratic principle in government; but their special bitterness, hatred, and contempt seemed reserved for the Whigs, with whom they were compelled to co-operate. The Whig creed was a 'see-saw,' and the Whigs themselves were selfish 'trimmers.' This was the gist of Mill's attacks in the 'Westminster Review'; and the feeling

grew more intense with the approach of a successful result of the agitation. The Radicals, who, as Mr Stephen says, had some grounds for considering themselves to be the 'steel of the lance,' saw the Whig politicians stepping forward to receive both the reward and the credit of their labours. The Whig legend of the Reform Bill is different. Macaulay, then in the first flush of his Cambridge reputation, ridiculed the claim of the Utilitarians to be the defenders of the true political faith. He would draw a broad line between judicious reformers and a 'sect which, having derived all its influence from the countenance which they have imprudently bestowed upon it, hates them with the deadly hatred of ingratitude.' He is afraid of 'the discredit of their alliance.' It had already (he said) disgusted people with political economy, and would disgust them with parliamentary reform.

This is clearly unjust to the real influence of the Utilitarians, in leavening political opinion and pushing on the cause of reform, but it is a wholesome reminder of the fate that awaits any extreme party in British politics. The Philosophical Radicals had apparently expected that after the first instalment of reform in 1832 they would increasingly dominate the Liberal policy of the future. Nothing could have been more unlike what actually happened. As the crisis actually approached, and the tide of feeling rose throughout the country, the Utilitarians were more or less lost in the crowd. Several of the party were returned to the first reformed Parliament. Besides Hume, Hobhouse, and Sir Francis Burdett, there were Grote, Roebuck, Charles Buller, Sir William Molesworth, and some others. The hopes of Mill and his father ran high. But none of them made any figure in the House. 'On the whole,' says Mill, reviewing this period in his 'Autobiography,' 'they did very little to promote any opinions,' and soon sank into 'a mere *côté gauche* of the Whig party.'

'I laboured,' he adds, 'from this time till 1839, both by personal influence with some of them, and by writings, to put ideas into their heads and purpose into their hearts. I did some good with Charles Buller and some with Sir William Molesworth. . . . On the whole, however, my attempt was vain.'

With more irritation, he describes some of them in a contemporary letter as full of crotchets, others as fastidious

and overloaded with petty scrupulosity, and all devoid of energy, except Roebuck and Buller, while 'Roebuck has no judgment, Buller no patient, persevering industry.' They gave, in fact, too much ground for the English prejudice that philosophical means unpractical; while the centrifugal tendency, so curiously characteristic of all bodies of 'advanced' theorists, soon showed itself in dissensions and mutual recriminations. 'I tell you what it is coming to,' Charles Buller remarked one night to Grote; 'in no very long time from this, you and I will have to "tell" Molesworth.' As Buller and Molesworth both died prematurely, there was thus at least some plausibility in Macaulay's witty description of the party as consisting of 'Grote and his wife.' Sir Francis Burdett became a Tory of the Tories, Sir John Hobhouse took office with the Whigs, and Roebuck became a law unto himself. Thus, by 1840, says Mr Stephen, the Philosophical Radicals, who had expected to lead the van, were almost disbanded.

'Grote, the ablest of Mill's friends, retired from Parliament to devote himself to the "History of Greece," about the same time as Mill set to work upon the completion of his "Logic."'

In the 'Autobiography,' Mill finds a partial explanation of this result in the fact that the years after 1832 were essentially a period of reaction, the public mind desiring rest after the Reform excitement, and being disinclined to listen to schemes involving further change. He also attributes it to the want of a leader:

'some man of philosophic attainments and popular talents who could have used the House of Commons as a rostra or a teacher's chair for instructing and impelling the public mind; and would either have forced the Whigs to receive their measures from him, or have taken the lead of the Reform party out of their hands.'

His father, he thinks, would have been such a leader, had he been in Parliament. But these considerations do not reach to the root of the matter. No doubt the presence of a man with the concentrated force of James Mill might have given more unity and fighting spirit to the band; but the main cause of the decline of the Philosophical Radicals was the abstract and negative character of their views,

and the want of insight and sympathy which they displayed in dealing with the concrete questions which now pressed for solution. The 'condition-of-England question,' as Carlyle called it in his 'Chartism,' had become clamant. In the most different quarters men were trying to diagnose the evils and proposing remedies. Among the Conservatives, Southey and Coleridge were feeling after a more adequate theory of the State and its functions, and insisting on the importance of the national Church as the organ of sound religion and morality. Among the non-philosophical Radicals, Cobbett was raging against the degradation of the peasantry, and denouncing the economists and all their works. Owen and his followers, tracing distress to the development of the manufacturing system, looked towards socialism for the remedy. Popular feeling was inflamed by hideous stories of child-labour and white slavery in factories and mines, and practical philanthropists like Lord Shaftesbury were promoting the Factory Laws to safeguard the human rights of women and children. The workmen themselves were seeking to organise trade-unions for the protection of their interests and the improvement of their position. But all these signs of the times were lost upon the 'paralytic Radicals,' as Carlyle sarcastically called them. They either refused to admit the existence of the evils, or pronounced them to be the inevitable results of economic laws. 'Laissez-faire' and unlimited competition were bound, they held, to work out the best results, if only the people would lay to heart the teaching of Malthus, and restrain the increase of population. Some of the Utilitarians, it is true, were better than their creed, and supported the factory legislation, but the school was opposed to it on principle. The Utilitarians were, in fact, as we have seen, the chief elaborators of the classical political economy, and they accepted its doctrines, not as abstractions and laws of tendency provisionally true in given circumstances, but as an absolute theory of society. They preached these doctrines as the one scheme of social salvation, in opposition to 'sentimentalists' of every colour. Small wonder that the dumb instinct of the multitude turned from men who were always preaching that nothing could or should be done; and that the guidance of popular aspirations passed into other hands.

'The Philosophical Radicals,' says Mr Stephen, 'represented rather intellectual scorn for old prejudices and clumsy administration than any keen sympathy with the sufferings of the poor. The harsher side of the old Utilitarianism was therefore emphasised by them, and Mill's attempts to enlarge and soften its teaching were regarded by his allies with a certain suspicion. . . . Their philosophy suited neither party. To the class which still retained the leading position in politics, they appeared as destructives, and to the classes which were turning towards Chartism, they appeared as the most chilling critics of popular aspiration.'

One of the most striking features of the Philosophical Radical movement, indeed, was its complete failure to enlist the support of the working classes. The effect of the Reform Bill had been to throw political power into the hands of the middle class; and the working classes, who had looked for far-reaching social changes as the result of the agitation, and who now sat, as Carlyle puts it, at a Barmecide feast, conceived a deep distrust of their would-be representatives in Parliament. This was the origin of the Chartist movement; and, though the aims of the Chartists were largely embraced in the Radical programme, there was no solidarity between the two parties. The Chartist agitation was a movement of the working classes themselves, carried on in a lower social stratum than that to which the Philosophical Radicals appealed. The Utilitarians mostly belonged themselves to the middle class—even to the prosperous ranks of that class—and, philosophers as they were, were firmly convinced of the superior wisdom and virtue of their own class. This is almost naïvely expressed by James Mill in his 'Essay on Government,' in which he deduces 'from the principles of human nature,' that the lower orders hold up the middle class as a model to be imitated by their children, and 'account it an honour' to adopt its opinion. Consequently, however far the franchise were extended, it is this class—which has produced the most distinguished ornaments of art, science, and even of legislation—which will ultimately decide upon political questions. 'The great majority of the people,' he concludes, 'never cease to be guided by that rank.' Twenty years later J. S. Mill, in an article deploring the failure of the Radicals to secure the sympathy of the working classes still emphatically maintains that the

motto of every Radical should be government for the working classes by means of the middle classes. The ideal of such government would of course, in Mill's conception, be the redress of practical grievances; but unfortunately the working classes and their Radical pedagogues were not agreed upon the remedies for social and industrial ills. The Utilitarians, therefore, disappeared from public life as a distinct party, although their economic doctrine survived in Cobden and the Manchester school, and was successfully applied by them to commercial legislation. But the Free-trade movement was essentially a manufacturers' agitation; and, apart from political economy, and a hatred of the aristocratic or land-owning class, Cobden and his friends had little in common with the Philosophical Radicals who preceded them.

The year 1840, therefore, may be said to mark the end of Utilitarian Radicalism, as preached by its founders with logical consistency and with an intellectual intolerance born of implicit confidence in the all-sufficiency of their own social scheme. By that time, J. S. Mill, opening his mind to various contemporary influences, had freely acknowledged the defects and one-sidedness of his inherited creed in the notable articles on 'Bentham' and 'Coleridge,' which appeared in the 'London and Westminster Review' in 1838 and 1840 respectively. So early as 1829, he says in his 'Autobiography,' he found the fabric of his old opinions giving way; and, as he never allowed it to fall to pieces, he was 'incessantly occupied in weaving it anew.' Macaulay's attack on the 'Essay on Government' convinced him that his father's premises were 'too narrow, and included but a small number of the general truths on which, in politics, the important consequences depend.' Through the writings of Coleridge, and through the Coleridgians with whom he was in personal intercourse, through Carlyle also and others, he had become acquainted with the modern philosophy of history, and accepted the position that—

> 'all questions of political institutions are relative, not absolute, and that different stages of human progress not only *will* have, but *ought* to have, different institutions.'

About this time, he came strongly under the influence of the St-Simonian school, and accepted from them the

theory of an alternation in the history of human progress between 'organic' and 'critical' periods.

'Their criticisms on the common doctrines of Liberalism seemed to me full of important truth; and it was partly by their writings that my eyes were opened to the very limited and temporary value of the old political economy.'

They gave him, in other words, his first impulse in a socialistic direction. A Utilitarian who could talk in this way of 'the common doctrines of Liberalism,' who had 'ceased to consider representative democracy as an absolute principle,' and looked upon political economy as of 'limited and temporary value,' had left the land-marks of his youth far behind him. So long as his father lived, Mill felt himself under restraint. He thought it the part both of prudence and piety to conceal, wherever practicable, how far he had wandered from the paternal creed; but after his father's death, he proceeded to liberate his soul in the two striking articles already referred to. These articles are truly remarkable for the insight and sympathy they display. It may almost be said that they already embody the most important criticisms that have been made upon Benthamism by succeeding thinkers, while they contain acknowledgments of the truths contended for by Bentham's opponents which could hardly be better stated by these opponents themselves.

In short, if Mill, at the time when this expansion of his ideas first began, had been an independent and solitary thinker, instead of being, as he was, one of a band of active propagandists, and pledged by all that he held most sacred to carry on the leadership of the school, the course of English philosophy in the nineteenth century might have been widely different. If he had been able to give free scope to the train of reflection on which he had now entered, the revision of his philosophical principles might have been so thorough that he would have realised that 'higher unity' of Bentham and Coleridge to which he pointed as the complete philosophy. But, as it was, his method of incessantly weaving the new into the fabric of the old, and thus maintaining a semblance of continuity and consistency, made such a thorough revision impossible. The old groundwork remained, and the new elements appeared as incongruous patches. Instead of presenting

a new synthesis, Mill introduced modifications and additions without perceiving their total inconsistency with principles which he nevertheless refused to abandon; consequently the bankruptcy of Associationism and the old Utilitarianism was not declared till nearly half a century later. This may be explained to a large extent by the fact that the changes which his social theories underwent never led him to reconsider the atomistic doctrine of Sensationalism and Associationism which he had accepted from his father as a theory of knowledge. It was late in life—in connexion with the Hamiltonian controversy—that he returned to deal more systematically with these matters; and the polemical nature of the occasion precluded any reconsideration of fundamentals. He was the recognised champion of one set of views, as Hamilton was of the other; and, although in the course of the discussion his candour led him to make important admissions, it was without any consciousness of their combined effect upon the structure of his philosophic edifice. His father's systematic training had, in fact, done its work more thoroughly than he was aware; and accordingly his subsequent works show him closer to his father's and Bentham's point of view than might have been expected from his critical attitude in the thirties. Those articles, written while he was still in close intercourse with Carlyle, Maurice, Sterling, and others, mark the point of his closest approximation to other ways of thinking; at bottom, however, they implied no breaking away from his moorings, but only (as he himself says) an attempt 'to give a wider basis and a more free and genial character to Radical speculations.' Later, he tells us that, except as regards his gradual advance in the direction of socialism, he 'completely turned back from what there had been of excess in his reaction against Benthamism.'

Mill says of his father that

> 'as Brutus was called the last of the Romans, so was he the last of the eighteenth century; he continued its tone of thought and sentiment into the nineteenth (though not unmodified nor unimproved), partaking neither in the good nor in the bad influences of the reaction against the eighteenth century, which was the great characteristic of the first half of the nineteenth.'

Similarly, in his account of the widening of his own mental horizon, he treats Benthamism throughout as synonymous with eighteenth-century thought. 'The French *philosophes* of the eighteenth century' were, he says, the example which he and his youthful companions sought to emulate in the salad days of 1824. This affiliation is beyond dispute. James Mill reproduces the psychological metaphysics of Hume, while Bentham repeats the selfish and hedonistic ethics of Helvetius. Without any disparagement of that much maligned, but indispensable and meritorious epoch, it will be admitted that the eighteenth century represents in philosophy the principle of analysis; that its analysis of man and society is conducted in an abstract fashion without reference to the teaching of history; and that the philosophers are throughout individualists, alike in their presuppositions and in their resulting dogmatic teaching—individualists often of so pronounced a type as to be more accurately described as Atomists or Anarchists. Mill mentions 'the Hartleian metaphysics' as the philosophical groundwork of the Utilitarian creed. But Hartley's doctrine is, in the main, simply that of the association of ideas done into terms of physiology; the seminal mind of the eighteenth century, in this as in so much else, is David Hume. James Mill's 'Analysis,' dropping Hartley's obsolete physiology, offers us sensations *plus* associations as a complete explanation of the mind and its operations, reproducing with almost startling exactitude Hume's fundamental positions in the 'Treatise.' The work is, indeed, as Höffding says, the most systematic attempt ever made to explain all mental phenomena by the association of ideas—all associations, moreover, being reduced to contiguity. Our experience consists of sensations, and ideas which are copies of sensations; both may be spoken of as feelings, a term which includes every phenomenon of mind. Consciousness is a succession of such sensations and ideas, which are conceived, both by Hume and by Mill, as separable atoms. There is no logical connexion between ideas; but, when two occur together, or in close succession, an association tends to establish itself between them, so that the one afterwards suggests the other.

The ideas, in James Mill as in Hume, appear to be not only separable atoms but self-subsistent entities, which

somehow cohere, and when aggregated into a cluster constitute the mind. J. S. Mill remarks that his father's theory of Predication omits all reference to belief. Now to believe is actively to judge or to make some assertion about reality; but mental activity and reality are conceptions for which Mill, like Hume, has no place. Belief can be no more than lively suggestion of one idea by another in the course of their rapid self-initiated transit. In other words, Mill omits the active function of thought altogether, and leaves us with a dance of passively apprehended images, which weave their mazes till they form in time a 'lively idea' of a mind or apprehending self, and of a real world which that self apprehends. Like Hume, he has, in the course of his analysis, got rid both of objective reality and of the mind itself; the two, indeed, stand or fall together. But it is hard, as Mr Stephen says,

> 'to conceive of mere loose "ideas" going about in the universe at large and sticking accidentally to others. After all, the human being is in a true sense also an organised whole, and his constitution must be taken into account in discovering the laws of "ideation."'

When J. S. Mill's candour long afterwards impelled him to his famous admission that the mind is more than a series of feelings, it was felt instinctively that he had surrendered the key of the position.

Bentham's ethics are the counterpart of this psychological atomism. Just as the mind or self is pulverised into separate and accidentally associated states, so each man, considered ethically, is a purely self-regarding creature, connected by no natural bonds of cohesion with his fellows, but actuated solely by the desire to attain selfish pleasure or escape selfish pain. Virtue being, nevertheless, defined as the promotion of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the problem of ethics becomes, in Carlyle's phrase, 'Given a world of knaves, to educe an Honesty from their united action'; or, as Mr Stephen puts it, to make universal cohesion out of universal repulsion. This is achieved by means of 'sanctions,' that is, pains and pleasures annexed to actions, which make it a man's private interest to promote the public good. Bentham is entirely occupied with this jurisprudential question of arranging 'tutelary motives,'

so that self-interest shall lead in the direction of benevolence. Dealing only with the overt act, and disregarding, as from the legal point of view he must, the motives which led to it, he is apparently indifferent as to whether a course of action be the outcome of selfish calculation or disinterested benevolence; and, as J. S. Mill confesses, the training of the affections and the will in the latter direction is a blank in his system.

'Man is never recognised by him,' says Mill, 'as a being capable of pursuing spiritual perfection as an end; of desiring for its own sake the conformity of his own character to his standard of excellence, without hope of good or fear of evil from other source than his own inward consciousness.'

Such a view, it is hardly necessary to add, amounts to a complete neglect of what constitutes virtuous action as such, and consequently to the disappearance of ethics as in any way distinguished from law.

The actual emergence of disinterestedly benevolent sentiments, and the logical justification of universal benevolence on a basis of universal selfishness, become, therefore, the special problems of the Utilitarian school. The attempt of J. S. Mill in his 'Utilitarianism' to deal with the difficulties, is, as usual, full of instruction, but ends in hopeless entanglement. It was at least convincing as to the impossibility of justifying the Utilitarian end on the basis of egoistic hedonism. The closest reasoner of the school—if, indeed, so broad and cautious a thinker as the late Professor Sidgwick may be ranked among the adherents of any school—proceeded, therefore, to take the final step of dissociating the two. By placing benevolence alongside of prudence, and accepting it as 'the most certain and comprehensive of intuitions,' he must be held, in spite of certain characteristic reserves, to abandon definitively the ethical atomism of the original doctrine.

To what extent can such a theory as that of Bentham and the Philosophical Radicals explain the structure and functions of society? Mr Leslie Stephen hardly improves upon the answer which J. S. Mill gave in 1838:—

'It can teach the means of organising and regulating the merely *business* part of the social arrangements. . . . It will enable a society that has attained a certain state of spiritual

development, and the maintenance of which in that state is otherwise provided for, to prescribe the rules by which it may protect its material interests. It will do nothing (except sometimes as an instrument in the hands of a higher doctrine) for the spiritual interests of society; nor does it suffice of itself even for the material interests. That which alone causes any material interests to exist, which alone enables any body of human beings to exist as a society, is national character. . . . A philosophy of laws and institutions, not founded on a philosophy of national character, is an absurdity.'

Bentham would probably have retorted that to talk in this strain of national character is to lapse into 'mysticism' and 'vague generalities'; for does not his legitimate disciple, Nassau Senior, tell us that 'a State is nothing more than the aggregate of individual men who inhabit a certain country'? Nevertheless Mill lays his finger in this passage upon the point where the Benthamite theory of society breaks down. Given a society and a government of some sort, utility, in the hands of the reforming critic, may furnish an important practical test of any of its particular institutions and arrangements; but you cannot apply such a test to the existence of the social organism itself. It was, no doubt, as Mr Stephen suggests, a dim feeling of this that prompted the theory of the social contract, which it is difficult to believe was ever regarded by its authors as embodying an historical fact. We may perhaps understand them to mean by it that the existence of society is, as Kant might have said, the result of 'an intelligible act'; or, to put it more simply, that it is the necessary presupposition of all further thought on these subjects. The modern view of the relation of the individual to society has obviated the necessity of having recourse to such a fiction. Through the influence of Hegel and of Comte, and partly through the reaction of biological conceptions upon philosophy and general thinking, the nineteenth century has seen the definitive abandonment of the individualistic or atomistic view of that relation. To Mr Leslie Stephen himself belongs the credit of having, in his 'Science of Ethics,' worked out with much impressiveness, from a Utilitarian basis, the conception of the organic nature of society, and the impossibility, therefore, of treating the moral individual apart from the society or the race whose product he is. With equal emphasis,

from another point of view, T. H. Green (who holds, against hedonistic theories of every shade, that the moral end must be formulated in terms of self-realisation) insists that the self to be realised is social, and that the moral idea is therefore the idea of 'a common good.' This is 'an ultimate fact of human history—a fact without which there would not be such a history.' Instead of being the unit from which we must start, the individual, it has been said, is a late product of evolution; and it is only, therefore, within certain spheres and with certain limitations that we can, by a convenient abstraction, discuss his conduct and qualities apart from the 'social tissue' in which he is, as it were, embedded, or out of which, rather, he is woven. If this be so, it is only with such qualifications that we can speak of an opposition between self-regarding and social qualities; and we are spared the impossible task of explaining how one of these abstractions produces the other—how pure selfishness gives rise to pure benevolence. We do not even require to justify Benevolence at the bar of Prudence. The cohesion of the race is secured by organic instincts which reach deep down beneath any such antithesis.

Mill signalises his father's unbounded confidence in the influence of reason over the minds of mankind; and, in so doing, he touches both the strength and the weakness of the Utilitarian position. Meagrely enough supported by the records of its constructive application in political and social history, this confidence in the power of conscious reflection is none the less a noble and necessary faith in the ultimate power of clear intelligence. In a sense, this faith can only be surrendered if we capitulate to the powers of irrationality and chaos. It is the privilege of the free human spirit eternally to criticise its own procedure and all the institutions in which it has embodied itself. Only by this unceasing criticism can the fabric of human institutions be kept sweet and clean, and be continuously adapted, with some measure of success, to new times and new needs. In the hands of reformers, utility, as the most practical test of rationality, may be applied with potent and beneficent effect to laws and customs which, useful in their day, have survived their usefulness and become a worthless anachronism, a harmful restriction, or a crying injustice.

There is no doubt that, in this sense, Utilitarianism rendered services of the most important kind to the true interests of mankind. T. H. Green does not hesitate to call it the moral theory which has been of most public service in modern Europe.

'Whatever the errors arising from its hedonistic psychology, no other theory has been available, for the social and political reformer, containing so much truth with such ready applicability. No other has offered so commanding a point of view from which to criticise the precepts and institutions presented as authoritative.'

To this extent, the Utilitarians undoubtedly represent the leading principle of modern thought and the freedom of the human mind. In their assaults upon indefensible privileges, irrational prejudices, and blind appeals to tradition, the truth was with them, and they prevailed. Law has been simplified, commercial activity has been freed from its fetters, privileges have been swept away, and the political machine reconstructed in accordance with Radical ideals. And yet the Radical Utopia has not been realised; the state of public opinion on fundamental points of social and national policy is as far removed as can well be conceived from that contemplated by Bentham and his followers. Philosophical Radicalism was, in short, essentially a negative and critical movement, and its strength departed from it just in proportion as its critical attack was successful. When effect was given to its legitimate criticisms, whatever hold it had upon popular support was lost, for it had no constructive suggestions to offer in the work of social organisation. Its impotence in this respect arose, as has been seen, from the inadequacy of its philosophic basis.

Art. IV.—THE DECAY OF OUR SEA FISHERIES.

1. *The Resources of the Sea.* By Professor W. C. McIntosh. London: Clay, 1899.
2. *Fishery Board for Scotland: Report of Investigation on the Life-History of Salmon.* Glasgow: Hedderwick, 1898. And *Seventeenth Annual Report, Part III* (Report on the Trawling Experiments of the 'Garland,' by T. Wemyss Fulton). 1899.
3. *Ueber die Seefischerei im Stralsunder Revier.* By Dr P. Schiemenz. (Abhandlungen des deutschen Seefischerei-Vereins.) Berlin: Salle, 1898.
4. *Naturgeschichte des Härings.* By Professor Fr. Heincke Two vols. Berlin: Salle, 1898.
5. *State of New York: Fisheries, Game, and Forest Commission.* Reports for 1897 and 1898. New York: Wynkoop.
6. *New South Wales: Report of the Royal Commission on Fisheries.* Sydney: 1895.
7. *Bulletin of the United States Fisheries Commission.* Vol. XVIII. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899.

THE Select Committee recently appointed to enquire into our sea-fisheries reported (July 19th, 1900) that 'in default of a remedy, the consequences to the fishing industry, in the diminished supply of flat fish, will at no very distant future be disastrous.' When, in spite of this admission, the Sea Fisheries Bill* was rejected, the rejection was not unreasonably interpreted in some quarters as indicating that little interest is taken in fishery matters by the legislature. This reading of the case was not quite just; but there is much to be said for the view that the fishery interest is less happily represented in the House of Commons than almost any other, certainly than any other of equal moment. It is not surprising that the graver issues of recent times, touching the integrity of an empire, should have temporarily shelved the claims of the sea-fisheries to an early hearing; but the same callousness regarding the fortunes of an industry that has afforded a schooling for many generations of our hardiest seamen has unfortu-

* The Bill merely proposed to prohibit the import, export, purchase, or sale of flat fish below a specified size.

nately characterised every parliament, in peace as in war, of the late reign. We are both islanders and men of business. Our fishing fleet is larger than any that sets sail from the harbours of any Continental state. Yet even in the search for scientific information, indispensable as the basis of all reform, we spend less public money and devote less public attention than many a European nation boasting less than half our interest or resources; while the Americans have, in such business, left us so far behind that, unless they should relax their endeavours, no effort on our part is likely to bring us level with them.

The case for interference is mainly based on a recognised falling-off in the yield of inshore grounds. The mere statistical establishment of a rise in price on any given part of the coast is of little value, for the simple reason that we do not in such returns find any indication of the varying efficiency of the fishing fleets, nor is there any assurance that fish returned for a certain market were caught in the neighbouring waters. The inspectors, moreover, attribute most cases of depression to adverse weather conditions. But the general deterioration of inshore grounds—with exceptional cases of renewed but temporary local prosperity—and the consequent necessity for making more and more extended expeditions to distant banks, seem to be phenomena broadly recognised by the fishermen and by the trade generally. Yet legislation, in this country, has hardly got beyond the preliminary stages of discussion. In Denmark alone we find some semblance of a logical sea-fishery law—coupled with what attempt at enforcement we are not prepared to say—whereby not only is the trawl excluded from territorial waters, but the landing or sale of undersized fish—to wit, turbot and brill under eight-and-a-half inches—is prohibited in the case of native and foreign fishermen alike. As, however, the Danish Minister of the Interior recently gave notice of some proposed modifications of these minimum sizes, raising the limits for brill and turbot by five inches, it will be seen that a considerable measure of uncertainty pervades the councils of the only power that seems so far to have grappled in a practical manner with the problem of undersized fish.

Before proceeding to the more technical consideration of our subject, it is not uninteresting, nor, indeed, is it un-

profitable, to contrast for a moment the position of fishery matters at home and in the colonies. Allusion is not here intended to the recently published report of the Government Marine Biologist at the Cape of Good Hope, for a sufficient time has not yet elapsed to admit of a proper appreciation of the work which that gentleman has in hand, though passing acknowledgment may be made of the apparent promise of his forecast. It is rather in the Australian colonies that we would, from personal knowledge, supplemented by official literature, seek a striking contrast with the depletion of our own grounds, the inevitable result of centuries of greed and improvidence. In the Australian colonies, where, it must be confessed, absorption in the golden treasures of the land long induced indifference to the silver wealth of the ocean, the Australians have in their apathy allowed the working of the fisheries to pass under the control of Greeks and Italians—nations admirably qualified by the hereditary traditions of their own Mediterranean waters to ruin the most promising fisheries in the minimum of time. Nevertheless, the first century of occupation has not sufficed for even such vicarious wastefulness to make a more than local impression on those wonderful shoals of snapper, king-fish, rock-cod, and black-bream, which patrol the rugged coasts between Moreton Bay and the Leeuwin. In time, no doubt, the Australian sea-fisheries will duly run the whole gamut of development, over-capitalising, overfishing, and exhaustion; but they are as yet undisturbed by such problems.

Such is not, unfortunately, the condition of our long-frequented waters; and we are suffering from the results of an improvidence which would have been fatal in most other trades. The miner, it is true, may legitimately exhaust his reef, but that is because he can do nothing else. Sea-fishing differs from the mining industry in that, on the one hand, the stock on which the fisherman draws is or can be replenished; and, on the other, that this stock is *res nullius*, and its protection is the concern of no one in particular. In the case of some inland waters, indeed, with their riparian rights of ownership, there are not wanting analogies with the case of the soil. But the sea knows no private ownership, and, save for a three-mile boundary, recognised for purely political objects by international

agreement, is public property. Those who exploit its wealth have hitherto treated it less reasonably than their fellows treat the mines, since, while doing their utmost to exhaust its stores, they persistently deny the possibility of such exhaustion. This appears to us suicidal.

It is the habit, or the privilege, of the permanent officials of the Board of Trade to surrender periodically to such eminent men of science as from time to time tender expert evidence before Royal Commissions and Select Committees. It would not be difficult to cite a number of these pronouncements, but it may suffice to recall one which, in deference to the great eminence of its author, has enjoyed a longer lease of life than most. We refer to the late Professor Huxley's remarkable opinion that the supplies of food in the sea are inexhaustible, and beyond the influence of the fishermen, operating how, when, and where they please. It would almost seem as if this amazing assertion, probably unwarranted even in the light of data available at the time of its promulgation, and certainly discredited by subsequent results, had been handed down in official circles as a sacred tradition, so strong a hold does it still take of otherwise intelligent and independent thinkers. The favourite argument, with which the cry for fishery reform is met, amounts to this—that there will always be more fish in the sea than we can catch, and that the term 'exhaustion,' or 'depletion,' is in consequence a misnomer. Not quite so crudely, it is true, is the position always stated, but this is what it amounts to. It is, in a sense, a truism. There will likewise always be gold or copper left in mines long after they have been closed; but in the absence of some unforeseen provision for reducing the cost of working, these unexploited residues may for all practical purposes be left as a negligible quantity in the bowels of the earth. Collectively they may amount to a bulk of the precious metals far in excess of all that has, in the whole history of mining, been brought to the surface; but they cannot be recovered at a profit to the worker. Similarly many fish may be left in the sea, but if the quantity is reduced below a certain point, they will cost more to catch than any one will give for them on shore; and we appear to be nearing that point in home waters.

In discussing this difficult question, we must first con-

sider such episodes in the life-history of our typical marketable sea-fish as may be found to bear on the problems connected with their protection. To begin with, the fish in question may be conveniently classified as either flat or round, the plaice being a familiar example of the first, the herring of the second. Furthermore, the herring is a typical migratory fish that lives near the surface during a great part of the year, while the plaice, on the other hand, is a fish of stationary habit, and resides for the most part on, or close to, the bottom. The importance of these distinctions in any discussion as to the proper measures for protecting them against over-fishing is too obvious to need comment; but it may here be stated, in anticipation of a *résumé* of the methods of fishing, which it is our intention to offer below, that, contrary to what might at first sight appear reasonable, it is the flat fish, which hide near the bottom of the sea, and not the round fish, many of which show themselves fearlessly near its surface, that are in present danger of extermination. The reason of this is simply that no apparatus has yet been devised capable of sweeping the surface waters as the trawl-net sweeps the waters near the bottom.

There is another distinction between the plaice and the herring, which, although interesting in the present connexion, must not be applied as a distinction between flat and round fish generally. It is a peculiarity of the herring, and one which it shares with only one or two insignificant sea-fish which we may leave out of consideration, that its ova sink to the bottom when fertilised, whereas those not of the plaice alone, but of all other commercially valuable sea-fish, float near the surface. In more scientific terms, the spawn of the herring is demersal, while that of the rest is pelagic. The herring and the plaice thus follow converse lines of progress in the course of their early development. The former quits the egg near the bottom and close inshore, and the first impulse of the young fish is to steer for the surface and the open sea. The plaice, on the contrary, is hatched out at the surface some distance from the land, and the goal of its early efforts is the bed of the sea, particularly in the shallow waters that lie within the three-mile limit.

To Professors Malm, of Gothenburg, and Sars, of Christiania, belongs the honour of first establishing the pelagic

nature of the spawn of the cod and plaice respectively; and this reminds us that Scandinavia has ever been in the forefront of marine biological research. That river-breeding fish, like the salmon, should shed demersal spawn is obviously natural; for the eggs of freshwater species, on which salt water has a fatal effect, would stand no chance of survival did they not sink to the river-bed and thus avoid being carried out to sea. On the other hand, the eel and the flounder, both of which breed only in salt water, though generally reckoned among river-fish, shed, contrary to the rule, floating or pelagic spawn. Salt water is powerless to affect their eggs; indeed fresh water would in all probability destroy their chance of fertilisation; so that there is no need for them to take refuge in the weeds and gravel. Apart from these considerations, science does not furnish any simple explanation of this difference between floating and sunken spawn, or of the advantages respectively accruing from either principle. Excessive fertility is the only satisfactory provision hitherto noticed against the total extinction of the pelagic eggs of sea-fish, which would seem to drift at the mercy of every wind and tide. Thus whereas the salmon, jealously secreting its eggs in gravel beds, produces only some 28,000 eggs, the cod, taking all risks and no precautions, gives no fewer than 6,000,000 hostages to fortune, of which, in all probability, not one per cent. ever get through the larval stage.

Why the herring should stand alone, among the sea-fish that we shall have occasion to name, in this peculiarity of laying demersal eggs, does not appear; but the practical significance of the distinction will be more apparent when we come to a comparison of the relative destructiveness of the several methods of fishing in vogue. It must here suffice to point out that, as the spawn of the herring, alone among important sea-fish, rests on the bottom, and that chiefly on rough or rocky ground not in favour with trawlers, the charge of damaging fish-spawn, gravely brought against the trawl at intervals during the past quarter of a century, cannot be sustained. The simple fact is that there is no spawn on the sandy sea-bed which the trawl, with the worst intentions in the world, can damage.

Only certain familiar episodes in the life-history of a fish bear directly on the problems that confront the law-makers; but it would be a great mistake to deprecate

academic research in directions apparently unprofitable, so long as added knowledge may indirectly influence the settlement of some obscure point. Thus the renal organs of *decapod crustacea* and the nerve-elements of embryonic lobsters—we quote at random from the book-shelf of the Marine Biological Association at Plymouth—may at first sight appear to be fitting objects of solicitude for the medical student or the comparative anatomist only; but such intricate investigations in the realm of marine biology may quite conceivably lead us by easy gradations to a more perfect and harmonious understanding of the creatures which inhabit the great waters. Such an understanding, by whatever means attainable, is indeed indispensable before our sea-fisheries can be benefited by laws worthy of serious consideration. Many years, we fear, must go to the collection of such facts and figures as shall finally determine the exact relations of our food-fishes, on the one hand, to the mammals, birds, and larger fishes that prey on them, and, on the other, to the smaller fishes and *copepoda* and other invertebrate hordes on which they in turn prey; nor must we overlook the very important economic part played by marine plant life. It may even be better that the fisheries should meanwhile run the risk of further depletion, than that they should be bolstered up by amateur enactments based on fragmentary knowledge of what is vital in the settlement. On the main question at issue the scientific men of two hemispheres are by no means in accord. Those in favour of *laissez faire* number in their ranks the late Professor Huxley, Professor McIntosh of St Andrews, and Professor van Beneden, while we believe that Mr Spencer Walpole and Mr Shaw-Lefevre used also to regard legislation with suspicion. A scarcely less distinguished muster of advocates of reform might easily be enumerated, including the officers, past and present, of the Plymouth laboratory, with Professor Ray Lankester at their head, the officers of the Scotch Fishery Board, represented by their secretary, Dr Wemyss Fulton, and the Lancashire Sea Fisheries Board; to which we may add the executive of the Fishmongers' Company and that of the National Sea Fisheries Protection Association which meets under its auspices.

On the side of free fishing it is, not without some show of reason, urged that the fishes must surely be safe from

all danger of extermination, since even such fixed or virtually fixed animals as corals, sponges, anemones, mussels, and cockles, dredged for bait or other purposes, are only with great difficulty exhausted in any particular locality. Without endeavouring unduly to depreciate this argument, we must, however, not ignore the important part played by the free-swimming larval young of these fixtures, which invariably escape to keep up the numbers of the species at such time and in such fashion as to render themselves wholly immune from the majority of their natural enemies, and beyond the grasp, as they are indeed beneath the notice, of man himself. As a case in which the fishermen have scant reason to return thanks for this wonderful provision of nature, mention may in passing be made of the starfish, which, while acting as the deadliest enemy of the oyster-beds, is placed by this provision of nature beyond all means of repression. Lobsters and crabs, though more easily controlled, likewise continue to hold their own, in spite of a general disregard of dead-letter regulations for their capture, on most parts of the coast. How, therefore, it is asked, can animals so mobile, so mysterious in their movements, so prolific in their reproduction as fishes ever suffer extinction, or even, save in localities subject to other unreckoned influences, sensible diminution at the hands of man?

The advocates of control, on the other hand, take their stand on the evidence laid before Select Committees, notably that of 1893, as showing the deterioration of the fishing-grounds near home, as well as the consequently increasing necessity of travelling further, by sail or steam, in search of remunerative takes. Special opportunities have thus been enjoyed by the Fishery Board for Scotland of collecting a mass of evidence from trawling experiments, conducted for the most part within such closed areas as the Firth of Forth and St Andrews Bay; but it must be confessed that, at any rate to the unpractised eye, the conclusions appear unmistakably to show the futility of closing inshore areas, and the promise of deriving greater benefits from a closure of spawning-beds more distant from the coast.

The distinction between round and flat fishes has already been formulated, and it is mainly in respect of the latter that the need of legislation has been urged. The

shoals, more particularly those of the mackerel, herring and pilchard, are so capricious and uncertain in their movements along the coast as frequently to pass the fishing craft lying idle at the quays, as a hostile fleet, with lights masked, may pass forts in the night. The practice of posting 'huers' on the higher cliffs, who, at sight of the passing shoals, signal their message to the seaners lying on their oars below, has in some measure provided against such surprise visits in Devon and Cornwall; but the surprises occur in spite of such provision, and the shoals pursue their course untaxed, save by the porpoises and gannets that harry them by the way. In a somewhat less degree, the cod and whiting are in like manner shielded from extermination by the uncertainty which attaches to the exact period of their autumn inshoring, as well as by their absence from the regularly worked trawling-grounds during several months of the year. The plaice and soles, on the other hand, frequent the trawling-banks throughout the year, and the wonder is that their exhaustion is not more speedily achieved.

It will now be necessary, before carrying our enquiry further, to form some superficial acquaintance with the chief methods and forms of apparatus, in respect of which restrictive measures have been suggested. There are, broadly speaking, two means by which fish are extracted from the sea—the hook and the net. Of these the latter only is important in this connexion. Four different kinds of net may be enumerated. The trawl scrapes the sandy bed of the sea, scooping up everything that moves in its path. The trammel is a fixed wall of meshes, generally laid among the rocks, with deep purses in which the wandering fish entangle themselves. The drift-net, which may be likened to a moving trammel, drives through the water ahead of the smacks and enmeshes every herring, mackerel, or pilchard that strikes it with its gill-covers. Those who have spent a night on board a pilchard-driver, as the writer has often done, will have noticed that the nets are laid as a rule parallel with the shore, and that some ninety-five per cent. of the fish strike the net on the landward side, the reason for this being that, as the fishermen well know, the pilchards have a habit of assembling in the shoal water at sundown and dashing out to feed on the larval crabs as darkness falls over the cliffs. This is the critical

moment in which the drift-net is spread to end their career. Omitting some less important patterns of net, we have as our fourth type, the seine, or sean, a corked and leaded net, which is 'shot' with the aid of a rowing boat close inshore in a circle. Its method of working is thus a compromise between trawl and trammel.

Although we have no desire to embroider these notes with any imposing array of figures showing the mileage of nets of every description that daily fringe our coasts, we think that it may help the reader to a clearer understanding of the fishery problem if we tabulate in simple form the length, depth, size of mesh and number (or, as it is technically called, 'fleet') of nets normally worked by each smack or lugger. These dimensions vary at different ports, but the following table will be found to give figures that may be regarded as typical and proportionate, and they have been carefully compiled from actual inspection and reference to the ports themselves.

Style of net.	Length.	Depth.	Size of mesh.	'Fleet.'
	Fathoms.	Yards.		
Cornish Pilchard Drift-nets	40	8	40 rows to a yard.	16
,, Mackerel ,,	20	5½	28 ,, ,,	80
,, Herring ,,	40	8½	36 ,, ,,	16 to 20
Scotch ,, ,,	30	18		
Trammel (for red mullet and peal)	40	3	24 ,, ,,	10
Bag-net for salmon . . .	80	2 to 2⅔		

The trawl (for a boat of 42 ft.) has a 32-ft. beam, and increases in proportion to size of boat.

Each method of netting has its followers, and the trawlers, drifters, and seaners of any large fishing community may be regarded professionally, and in some parts, indeed, socially as well, as distinct castes, the adept at one method being often totally unfitted to earn his living at any other. Dire necessity, it is true, may compel fishermen of one class to turn their hands to another, but such transferred activity is rare. This distinction between the various sections of the fishing population is scarcely common knowledge with those who have not resided for a time in their midst; and we have even encountered instances of profound ignorance on the subject in gentlemen who sit for these fishing constituencies in the

House of Commons, and are proudly alluded to with a conscious dignity of ownership by those hard-worked electors, with the nature of whose occupations they are so slightly acquainted. To the uninitiated, fishing appears to be unskilled rather than skilled labour. A fisherman is just a fisherman, and not a drifter, or seaner, or hooker; and few persons are aware of the deep-rooted prejudices and jealousies that demarcate the men of different methods.

For example, the trawler has been execrated by non-trawlers, seaners as well as hookers, for ages; and regulations against German trawlers were framed at Stralsund so early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Increase of competition, it is true, has called for the innovation of steam-trawling, and has even led to such practices as the use of a second trawl, shot on the port side as soon as the first is hauled clear on the starboard. But it is also beyond question, however much we may deprecate the wholesale operations of the steam-trawler, that the small-meshed shrimp and sand-eel seans, fishing in those inlets and shallow estuaries that teem with post-larval fish-life, work incalculable mischief; and it is patent to many dispassionate thinkers that any restrictions on off-shore trawling, with these insidious and unobtrusive offenders overlooked, would entirely fail of their effect. It may, however, be as well to examine the five main counts on which, at all times, and in every land, the trawler has been condemned by his rivals. These are—

1. Over-fishing.
2. Disturbance of school-fish and damage to spawn.
3. Crushing immature fish in the beams.
4. Strewing the ground with *débris*.
5. Destroying other classes of fishing gear.

Touching the first of these grievances, we cannot but recognise over-fishing as characteristic of every method and every class. It is the abuse of trawling, and not the method itself, that can be assailed; and the utmost that can in fairness be conceded is that the trawler may enjoy somewhat greater opportunities, as already mentioned, in having the flat-fish continually on the grounds and within the sphere of his operations. With reference to the second count, we cannot see any reasonable ground on which the trawl should be accounted a more injurious

disturber of school-fish (by which is meant the shoals) than any other method of netting; while the accusation touching fish-spawn was dealt with above in distinguishing between the pelagic spawn of the plaice and the demersal spawn of the herring. The third charge has more to support it, but it is believed that the more recently devised otter-trawl would lay even this ghost. To the subject of the fourth clause we must return when discussing the proposed closure of areas against trawling; and as to the fifth, we can only adduce our own experience, that the trammel is a far more insidious destroyer of tackle. The trawl at any rate works only over certain known grounds, and it cannot approach unseen. The trammel, on the other hand, is hidden among the rocks, its tell-tale corks often carried under water by a strong tide, and there lies in wait for every whiffing- or hand-line that comes its way.

We have now taken some account not only of the different fishes, but also of the chief methods in vogue for their capture, and, in turning to the legislation hitherto proposed—most of which we shall have to regard as either inadequate or impracticable—we shall find our enquiry narrowed to the case of the flat-fish and the trawl. The round fishes are, as already stated, in no danger of diminution; and public attention, while apparently missing the shrimp-sean, has fixed itself on the misdemeanours of the trawler. It is chiefly in respect of his over-fishing of soles, plaice, and turbot that attempts have from time to time been made to frame restrictive measures; and both prevention and cure have come in for their share of attention. We may first deal with suggested methods of prevention, which group themselves as follows:—

1. Closure of areas for either a portion of each year or for a period of years.
2. Extension of the three-mile limit.
3. Statutory increase in the mesh of the trawl.
4. Prohibition of landing and sale of (*a*) immature or (*b*) undersized fish.

It is here that we must, by way of momentary digression, differentiate the three points of view to one or other of which the study of the fishery question must lead those who bestow on it sufficient attention. There is the afore-

mentioned attitude of *laissez faire*, the optimistic acceptance of Huxley's belief in the unfathomable resources of the sea and the impotence of man to exhaust its supplies. Secondly, there are those who—while recognising the mischief already done by over-fishing, and fearing the further damage which, if it is unchecked, is likely to increase by a kind of geometrical progression—hope much from restrictive measures imposed in good time. Thirdly, there are the pessimists who admit the gradual depletion of the inshore waters, yet see no hope in any legislative measures hitherto proposed, nor, indeed, look for remedy, except in the continued improvement of the machinery of fishing, more particularly in the direction of searching more and more distant grounds, and bringing the catch in good condition to the best markets. The holders of this view, for which we think there is much to be said, would not necessarily despair of attempts to restock the sea, or of efforts in another direction, of which we shall, at the conclusion of this article, offer some outline.

1. *Closure of inshore areas, either for a part of each year or over a period of years.*—This is a tempting proposition, and it would attract us more if the guarantee of its receiving practical effect were a more simple and less expensive matter. But we have, sooner or later, to face the unpalatable truth that the protection of our fisheries, being everybody's business, is nobody's business. Candidates for fishing constituencies may, quite lately, have gone to the poll with honeyed words that promised jealous safeguarding of the fishery interest, yet none know better than they how hopeless it is to look for any greeting but a yawn for such questions when 'laid on the table'; above all, how sanguine must be the champion who should expect state aid in adequately patrolling the proscribed waters. Even the occasional despatch of a gunboat to warn off foreign interlopers—their nationality, rather than their offence against fishery law, being that which challenges the watchdog—is invariably criticised, by a retired admiral widely credited with political ambitions, as a species of affront to the service. Any scheme, therefore, which has for its object the closure of areas, whether against foreign trawlers or poachers nearer home, must, in the present state of the public mind, be drafted in such form as contemplates its enforcement not through the direct super-

vision of a paid police analogous to the water-bailiffs who guard our salmon-rivers, but by the unrequited co-operation of the very class against which such protection is thought to be needed. Such a revolution in human nature is, we sadly think, beyond the achievement of even the latest-returned Imperial Parliament.

We are willing, however, for argument's sake, to waive the insuperable difficulties in the way of executing such a law, and, assuming the possibility of its enforcement, to examine dispassionately its certain results. In the first place, it must be premised that it has never been proposed to close such areas to any mode of fishing other than trawling. One immediate result would, therefore, be that the long-liners would take possession of an area hitherto closed to them by their dread of the sweeping trawl. Thousands of hooks would soon search every available corner, and tons of fish, small as well as large, would presently be caught, many of the smaller destined for no better use than to bait the lobster-pots—an ignoble purpose for which even young turbot are used on some parts of the Scottish coast. Storms would periodically keep the men ashore for days together; and all the fish on the abandoned lines would then be so much garbage to feed prowling crabs and dog-fish. All that can, on the other side, reasonably be urged in favour of the hook against the trawl is that it spares the smallest fish; that hook-fish are perhaps, on the average, in healthier condition while alive; and that the condition known to the biologist as *rigor mortis*, and to the fishmonger as the state of saleable freshness, endures somewhat longer in hooked than in trawled fish. Again, the closing of the three-mile waters to trawlers would facilitate the accumulation of rubbish on the inshore grounds, mud and silt quickly settling over the spawning-beds, and suffocating the young fish-life. Lastly, it must be confessed that a careful examination of the results of the Garland's hauls in the waters closed to trawling by edict of the Scotch Fishery Board, whether we directly peruse the returns summarised by Dr Fulton, or follow the excellent analysis furnished by Professor McIntosh, hardly tends to support a more general application of the closure principle.

2. *Extension of the three-mile limit.*—With this proposal, seeing that its adoption would take us further than is ad-

visable into the intricacies of international law, we need not concern ourselves, beyond pointing out that any extension of the kind would merely accentuate in proportion both the advantages and drawbacks of the existing 'territorial' limit; that the requisite police supervision, already inadequate, must in like measure be augmented; and that even the existing limit is a fruitful source of individual annoyance and international friction. Moreover, once we admit the principle of undefined extension of these at present not too obtrusive limits of jurisdiction, where is such extension to stop short? Is it not reasonable to suggest the hypothesis of an ultimate extension of these limits by two maritime states occupying opposite shores of the same sea—as, for instance, France and Great Britain on the Channel—to such a degree as would not only ensure a long water frontier, fertile in charges of trespass on either side, but would also exclude the fishing fleets of every other nation from those waters? As matters stand, the policing of the three-mile limit affords quite sufficient grounds of disturbance among the subjects of the high contracting parties; and the powers vested in the supervising officials—the British sea-fishery officers, including naval and customs officers, the officers of the Scottish Fishery Board and Board of Trade, and officers of the coastguard—have been, and will be, only too fruitful of unpleasantness to themselves and resentment in the fishermen.

3. *Enlargement of the mesh of the trawl.*—We have now briefly to consider the arguments for and against a remedy that has occupied the attention of every conference, committee, and commission for the past twenty years. Reduced to its lowest terms, the proposition has the appearance of meriting at least careful consideration, if not, indeed, unreserved approval. Briefly, it is suggested that the universally condemned destruction of undersized flatfish might be reduced to a minimum, if not altogether determined, by legal prescription of a mesh so wide as should allow of the immediate escape of the undersized fish in question. This, on paper, is one of those self-evident propositions that invite unquestioning endorsement. Nothing, in fact, seems simpler than the provision of an easy way of egress for unmarketable fish—the conversion of the trawl, in short, into such a sieve as would separate the large from the small. Practice and theory, however, are

not always reconcilable; and this well-intentioned contrivance, so wholly admirable in imagination, breaks down hopelessly in the water. In the first place, the normally square mesh of a trawl-net assumes, under the strain of the ropes, the pressure of the water, and the increasingly heavy contents of the bag, the form of a rhombus, finally approximating to a straight line, the sides of the rhombus approaching more and more closely under the added strain. This natural operation would of itself suffice to neutralise much of the benefit that might otherwise accrue from the larger mesh; but this is not all. The trawl, working with its beam a foot or two above the sea-bed, picks up not only fish, but also such stones, weed, and wreckage as lie in its path; and these form a weighty conglomeration of *débris* sufficient to churn and batter the smaller and more fragile fish to a jelly, and at any rate capable of rendering a very large percentage quite unfit for any purpose whatever. This objection applies equally to the proposed compulsion to return undersized fish to the water. It is, of course, not improbable that a very great increase in the size of the mesh, from, say 4½ to 7 inches, together with a restriction of the haul to a period of one hour only, would result in the capture of appreciably fewer undersized fish; but such penalised conditions of fishing are impracticable. They may commend themselves to scientific gentlemen experimenting for biological purposes, but would be rebelled against by those compelled to fish for their living.*

4. *Prohibition of landing or sale of undersized or immature flatfish.*—This proposal, which was the only object of the recent Bill, carries on the face of it a greater measure of sound sense than any of the foregoing. While it can easily be shown that any prohibition of capture is quite impracticable, since the trawl takes small and large alike —and the same may, with some reservation, be said of the hook—this prohibition of the landing or sale of all fish which should fail to satisfy a fixed test of length might confer benefit at least to the extent of removing inducement to capture. The trawler, it is hopefully urged, might, in face of such a law, refrain from scraping those inshore nurseries where such small fish predominate. The disagreeable alternative, however, which at once presents

---

* See 'Lancashire Sea Fishery Reports,' Dec. 31st, 1899.

itself to the view of those who are better acquainted with the fisherman and his ethics, is that he would still prefer to work these accessible grounds, merely heaving overboard—in a state, as already shown, precluding all chance of recovery—such undersized fish as the new regulations might prevent him from landing.

This objection apart, the question next arises as to whether the restriction shall apply to undersized or to immature fish. The standards are clearly different. The latter, it will be apparent, is a scientific limit, answering to the linear measure at which each species attains to sexual maturity. The advantage of, if possible, postponing the capture of the individual until it has presumably reproduced the species is obvious; and if there were any argument to be advanced against the principle, it would be that biologists are not yet agreed on the precise size at which maturity is reached. Indeed, comparative investigation of a considerable series drawn from different localities and seas confirms the view that the dimensions vary according to environment. The limit of 'undersized,' on the other hand, is a purely arbitrary trade standard, and becomes, in fact, a matter of popular opinion. But the great objection to the restriction against capturing immature fish is that, regarded merely from the standpoint of present food supply, most fish are fit for food at a period of their growth considerably anterior to their arrival at sexual maturity. Moreover, unless adopted with the joint consent of all the maritime states of western Europe, such a law would necessarily fail of effect, since it would merely entail the extra labour of carrying the undersized fish to some market where the law was not in force.

Some there are, however, who, while unable to confer scientific or commercial approval on these suggested measures, find in the case of the fisheries the exception to the rule that prevention is better than cure. It seems to them that where the evil has gone so far that prevention is hopeless without at any rate costly and cumbersome interference in old-established interests, something may be said for cure, in this instance taking the direction of re-stocking the depleted waters and keeping down the natural enemies of the fish. With regard to such proposals we can make only a few suggestions.

The magnitude of the results achieved by trout-hatchers in more than one country was doubtless in the first place responsible for the bolder conception of applying the same principle in practice to the sea. That the cases are vastly different, and that the difference is one not merely of degree, is at a glance apparent. Yet the Americans, whom problems of this nature appear to attract in proportion to their magnitude, have, commencing with that half sea- half river-fish, the shad, set themselves to grapple in earnest with the difficulties of the task. That Dr Cheney has attained wonderful success with his fresh-water hatcheries is certain; and this has doubtless encouraged the Americans to try yet bolder experiments. The magnitude of their inland establishments is far in excess of any in Europe, where such improvements on nature are, for the most part, left to the resources of private enterprise. From the Adirondack hatchery alone we learn that the output of one year has amounted to upwards of 6,000,000 of trout and other fry. From the Fulton Chain hatchery upwards of 5,000,000 fish were in the same period turned down. The Sacandaga, conducted on more modest lines, shows close on 3,000,000. A more adequate idea of the prodigious scale on which America takes these matters in hand is perhaps to be derived from the contemplation of the aggregate yearly results of the efforts of the Fisheries Commission of the State of New York, showing, in the year 1896, upwards of 190,000,000 fish of all ages turned into the waters of the State, while in the following year the grand total is set down at close on 214,000,000. Such figures read strange lessons to older Governments at home. Even if we make allowance for the large deductions on which, without scientific data for their contention, it is the fashion of those who sneer at state enterprise to insist, such generous operations cannot fail to have a great lasting effect on the inland waters. Whether proportionate benefits can be secured in dealing with the ocean we may take leave to doubt; but the issues are of such magnitude that the experiment is surely worth trial. It is satisfactory to see that we too have caught the infection, and that the Piel laboratory has in a single season liberated in the sheltered waters of Morecambe Bay upwards of 14,000,000 fry of the haddock, cod, plaice, and flounder; while there was, until recently, at any rate, in

the Plymouth aquarium, a tank of very promising turbot reared from the post-larval stage on the premises.

With the turning down of the 'alevins,' or young fish fry, the artificial assistance which can be given to sea-fisheries obviously ends; for we have not yet formed any satisfactory plans for the subsequent safeguarding of the marine fry against human and other poachers, while the violence of tidal waves and storms is certain to operate in a manner far more destructive than similar phenomena in inland waters. There is, however, another way by which human agency can help nature, and which has recently been suggested to the Board of Trade by Mr C. E. Fryer, one of its inspectors. This is the collection, fertilisation, and prompt return to the open sea of the spawn—now wasted—of newly-caught fish. If the intelligent co-operation of the fishermen themselves can be enlisted—and without their aid, indeed, most legislation over an area so wide must of necessity be nugatory—this method may have a future, though, as Mr Fryer frankly admits, the remedy will not affect the most valuable of our threatened fishes, since, whereas the spawn of the cod is easily obtainable, that of the more valuable and more menaced sole is the reverse. The Marine Biological Association of Plymouth publishes an instructive brochure giving the correct procedure in such cases.

We come finally to a measure which the theoretical biologist and the practical fisherman agree in commending. Professor McIntosh agrees with Dr Schiemenz, of Berlin, in attributing a very great proportion, perhaps not less than ninety per cent., of fish destruction to causes other than the operations of man; and an echo of these sentiments comes from Matthias Dunn, a practical student of the fisheries in Cornwall, who has again and again demonstrated that the over-protected gulls gorge themselves on post-larval turbot. We have no inclination to advocate any hasty measure that would eradicate such picturesque elements of coast scenery as the gulls and gannets and tumbling porpoises; but it may be that sentiment should give way to the pressing needs of a great and already sufficiently handicapped industry. No one who has any sense of fairness blames the trout-hatcher for dealing summarily with the herons, otters, chub, pike, and eels that invade his stews; and, if it becomes clear that there

are no longer fish enough for both ourselves and the cormorants, it may be in like manner necessary to decide that charity shall begin, and end, at home.

We have tried to state the case of the sea fisheries as it stood at the end of the century that witnessed their greatest development. Scientific dissension, disagreements between the men of Grimsby and the men of Aberdeen and the men of Brixham, jealousies, adumbrated in the foregoing pages, between trawlers and drifters and seanners, all militate against early settlement of the issue and lend some justification to the weary indifference with which the question is invariably received in the House of Commons. Legislation is clearly desirable, but its postponement is not to be deplored if, in the meanwhile, science throws new light on the hatching problem and on the mysteries at present surrounding the food, breeding, and migrations of our edible fishes. We have already lamented the inadequacy of existing statistics, more particularly in the matter of exact locality of the hauls, as distinct from the ports of landing and sale; and it is therefore satisfactory to learn that the Committee—of which Mr J. Wrench Towse, Clerk to the Fishmongers' Company, is an active member—appointed to consider the best means of remedying existing defects in such statistics, has been giving close attention to this matter. If the Committee can succeed in collating accurate reports of catches from the North Sea, West Coast, Iceland, and other grounds, there may be some hope of arriving at the correct amount of alleged deterioration on the grounds specified; and representatives of the various fishery districts, as well as experts attached to the chief laboratories, have been carefully examined with this in view. What we need is knowledge. More light must be shed on a darkness which was lamented by the Trawling Commission in 1884 and again deplored by the Select Committee of 1893, and which even yet, though scientific enquiry has in the interval sent an occasional shaft of light into its recesses, is not appreciably enlightened.

Art. V.—NEW LIGHTS ON MILTON.

1. *Milton.* By Walter Raleigh. London: Edward Arnold, 1900.
2. *Poetical Works of John Milton.* Edited after the original texts by the Rev. H. C. Beeching. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.
3. *Milton's Prosody.* By Robert Bridges. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893.
4. *Milton's Poems.* Edited by A. Wilson Verity in 'Pitt Press Series.' Cambridge University Press, 1897, &c.
5. *Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's Minor Poems preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.* Cambridge University Press, 1899.

POLITICAL economists in former days puzzled themselves over the attempt to find a constant standard of value. Literary critics may congratulate themselves upon possessing such a standard for their own purposes in Milton's poetry. Many reputations have risen and set, and sometimes risen again, while he has been shining as a fixed star. Dryden recognised his genius in the days of Charles II; Addison paid him homage on behalf of the wits of Anne's reign; Johnson's prejudices against the republican only emphasise his testimony to the enduring fame of the epic poet; and Wordsworth, while renouncing the style sanctioned by Milton's authority, was among the most reverential worshippers of Milton himself. The unsurpassed industry of Professor Masson is a sufficient indication of Milton's power in later years; and we have before us ample proofs of the loving zeal with which he is still studied. Mr Bridges has examined his prosody; Mr Beeching has edited the poetry, reproducing for the first time the spelling and punctuation of the early poems; a facsimile of the invaluable manuscripts in the library of Trinity has been published under the superintendence of Dr Aldis Wright; and the University Press of Cambridge has issued a series of poetical works elaborately annotated by Mr A. W. Verity. The student who desires to investigate the minutest secrets of Milton's art will be at no loss for an appropriate critical apparatus. Such services perhaps deserve more gratitude than they will get. Mr Beeching has made himself so well known as an appreci-

ative critic that we may doubt at first sight whether his talents are employed to the best account in regulating commas and deciding in which cases 'wee' is a misprint and in which a deliberate correction of 'we.' Still, everything helps. The microscope has been so useful in natural science that we are encouraged to apply it to literature; and the genuine lover of a great poet shrinks from no labour which can bring out a particle of new meaning.

Milton has had obvious attractions for commentators ever since Bentley's days. His peculiarities of spelling and grammar, his obligations to previous literature, his geographical, astronomical, and theological theories all call for elucidation. Those who have come under his spell will be grateful for help in innumerable directions. The mass of subsidiary information supposed to be necessary may to others suggest a certain misgiving. The series of poems excellently edited by Mr Verity is intended for educational purposes, and the notes answer exhaustively all the questions which may reasonably occur to students. They remind us, however, that ingenuous youth in these days has an eye to the ubiquitous examiner. He reads the invocation to Sabrina, and is told—most undeniably—that it is 'golden.' He takes that for granted. The examiner will not ask him for rhetoric, but enquire, Who was the 'Carpathian wizard'? What is the *locus classicus* describing the wizard's wiles? Who had previously told the story of Sabrina? The attendant spirit, he will notice, has learnt from 'Melibœus' the right mode of invoking her; and Professor Masson thinks that this is 'a somewhat sarcastic allusion' to Geoffrey of Monmouth (the 'sarcasm,' it must be admitted, is carefully hidden). This suggests the desirability of reading Geoffrey's narrative, and then of remarking how it was modified by Milton in his history of England. Some young gentlemen will wish by this time that Sabrina had been left at the bottom of the Severn. It is presumed that one who understands the allusions will be so far better qualified for enjoying the melody. We could wish to be more sure that he will begin by his enjoyment, and not regard the poem as a mass of pegs on which to hang questions. We are told that English youths ought to study English literature. That is undeniable; but there is a way of compelling them to study it which will make them loathe the subject for the rest of their days. 'Does

anybody,' we once heard a young gentleman ask, after cramming 'Hamlet' for such purposes, 'does anybody ever read Shakespeare for pleasure?'

This, of course, is not intended to decry such books as Mr Verity's. We would only point out that there is a wrong as well as a right way of using them; and it is not for him, but for teachers, to do their best to discourage the wrong method. They cannot do better than by accepting the method of Professor Raleigh. Professor Raleigh admits that the task of literary criticism is at best one of 'disheartening difficulty.' To appreciate a great author, he says, requires knowledge and industry, and in the end 'it is the critic, and not the author, who is judged by it.' That is clearly true if 'appreciation' means a reasoned estimate of the author's qualities. 'An appreciation of Milton,' said Pattison, 'is the last reward of consummated scholarship'; and yet it is probable that the unlearned John Bright 'appreciated' Milton in another sense as well as Pattison, and incomparably better than Bentley. The first and essential step is the spontaneous love of the poet; when that exists, learning and critical knowledge may reveal new beauties and deepen the sense of the old; to explain and justify the fully-developed sentiment requires the knowledge and industry of which Professor Raleigh speaks, as well as his conspicuous impartiality and power of analysis. Writers of all schools have felt Milton's power. What has changed has been, not their admiration, but the grounds upon which they proposed to justify it. Successive critics have tried to prove, with more or less plausibility, that Milton's poetry conformed to the canons which they accepted as orthodox. Their reasons often strike us as obsolete—even when we accept their conclusions. We judge not only the critic, but the code of criticism. As to Milton, Professor Raleigh can hardly say anything absolutely new in the way of eulogy, but he can give tenable grounds for the faith that is in him. He can extricate the real causes of his predecessors' enthusiasm from the sham reasons intended to justify it. Moreover, though he has enlightened his judgment by studying previous critics, he is a thoroughly independent thinker, and accepts no dictum without careful scrutiny. Perhaps here and there he takes the slightly supercilious tone of the æsthetic expert anxious to rebuff the Philis-

tine. But he can flout the 'New Criticism'—whatever that may be—and, unlike most Miltonians, he speaks with emphatic respect of Johnson's opinions. Professor Raleigh, that is, values the masculine common-sense which to many more squeamish critics has appeared to be the embodiment of brutal iconoclasm. The critic who can be subtle and delicate without losing touch of Johnsonian common-sense would represent the ideal eclecticism. Professor Raleigh approximates at least to that desirable combination; and he has also the merits of an admirable style, and most commendable conciseness of exposition.

Professor Raleigh begins by speaking of Milton himself. The singular simplicity and dignity of Milton's character could never have been quite missed by any reader. His superb egoism is unrivalled in literature; and Pattison gives the obvious answer to his own rather superfluous question, why such egoism is not offensive. It is because Milton's egoism is identical with consciousness of a lofty vocation and a great responsibility. From his earliest years his powers were dedicated to a great cause, and his life was governed by the desire to be worthy of his calling. A smaller man, indeed, who claimed such a position, might strike us as presumptuous, perhaps as simply ridiculous. As Professor Raleigh puts it, Milton virtually anticipated Dryden's saying: 'This man cuts us all out and the Ancients too.' Milton had announced his intention of cutting them out in one of his first pamphlets, and requested his readers to let him 'go on trust' with them for a few years. 'His most enthusiastic eulogists are compelled merely to echo the remarks of his earliest and greatest critic, himself.' They can only say, that is, that the pledge was not disproportionate to his power, and that he redeemed it amply. Though Milton's mood changed under hard experiences, the essential Milton remains identical from boyhood to age; and, to exhibit the man fully is also to characterise his work. The old critics assume that epic poetry is to be judged by certain rules equally applicable to the 'Paradise Lost' and the 'Iliad,' and make no more reference to Milton's personality than to Homer's. Biography had not formed an alliance with criticism. Though Johnson's admirable 'Lives' marked the growing importance of biographical data, he still keeps the two subjects apart. A poem must, of course, stand upon its

own basis. If we knew as little of Milton as we know of Shakespeare, we might find the same pleasure in 'Paradise Lost'; and the 'Comus' would be equally exquisite if it were anonymous. Yet even in 'Comus,' that excellent elder brother, who has unkindly been called a prig, speaks more clearly when his voice becomes that of the young poet taking up his function as the laureate of virtue.

In any case, biography enables us to divine better the secret of the charm already felt. Johnson, as even Professor Raleigh has to admit, was a little hard upon 'Lycidas.' 'In this poem, there is no nature, for there is no truth. . . . Nothing can less display knowledge, or less exercise invention, than to tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must now feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping; and how one god asks another god what has become of Lycidas, and how neither god can tell. He who thus grieves will excite no sympathy; he who thus praises will confer no honour.' Perhaps a young reader would really learn more from such remarks than from the critic who simply shrieks at them. They are so undeniable in a sense that he may be driven to justify his pleasure by detecting their inconclusiveness. We cannot quite agree with Professor Raleigh's view that the musical lamentation may, in spite of Johnson, be considered 'as the effusion of real passion.' 'Lycidas' does not convince us that Milton's appetite suffered when he heard that King was drowned. It is more to the purpose that Milton was 'thinking as much of himself as of his dead companion.' Lycidas was Edward King, but he also personified the Cambridge culture struggling against the dry scholastic stupidity of the college authorities. The poetry in this sense represents a genuine emotion. Milton is still steeping his mind in literary studies, reading alternately classical tragedy and the comedy of learned Jonson and 'sweetest Shakespeare,' losing himself in old romances, calling up

him that left half-told
The story of Cambuscan bold,

out-watching the Bear with thrice-great Hermes; and holding that our 'sage and serious Spenser . . . is a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas.' The college, the dons, certainly Mr William Chappell, represented spiritual

slavery equally in literature and theology. They embodied the obscurantism against which he felt himself to be already set apart as a champion of liberty. St Peter therefore introduces himself quite naturally in company with Father Camus and the 'herald of the sea.' Laud is the common enemy of both; and Milton is already preparing himself, as he puts it, to 'blow a dolorous and jarring blast' at the divine command. 'Lycidas' becomes intelligible as Milton's utterance when 'looking to his equipment' (as Professor Raleigh says) 'if perchance he may live to do that in poetry and politics which King had died leaving unaccomplished.' In his mind, the cause of Puritanism is identical with the cause of liberal culture in general. Mr. Verity makes the remark, natural to a Cambridge man, that it might have been better had Milton been sent to the great Puritan college, Emmanuel. Its Puritanism, he thinks, would have made Cambridge life more congenial; at Emmanuel, we may add, he would have been brought into relations with the remarkable set of men known afterwards as the Cambridge Platonists. Whichcote was nearly his contemporary, and Cudworth, Culverwell, and John Smith a little his juniors. With them, perhaps, he might have 'unsphered the spirit of Plato' to better purpose; and found out that there was a more philosophical method of escaping from the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud than the acceptance of the harshest Puritanic dogmatism. Milton, however, was as little as possible of a philosophic reasoner; and for the present, his vocation meant an uncompromising hostility to the prelates by whom he was 'church-outed,' and unconditional adherence to their most determined opponents.

This suggests the problem discussed by previous critics —the diversion of Milton's energies from poetry to politics. Pattison gave the uncompromising view of the pure scholar. Milton's pamphlets, he says, now serve only as 'a record of the prostitution of genius to political party. They never did any good to the cause.' The man who was meditating the erection of an enduring monument was unfortunately distracted into 'the most ephemeral of all hackwork.' He was writing, in his own phrase, 'to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and image-doting rabble.' This sweeping condemnation is pleasantly characteristic of the critic; and,

moreover, expresses what most readers feel. If we could exchange all the prose pamphlets for another 'Comus' or even a 'Christmas Hymn,' the modern world would certainly be the gainer. Professor Raleigh answers the complaint as Dr Garnett has done. No 'dainty shy poet-scholar,' he urges, could have given us anything half as good as 'Paradise Lost.' Milton's purpose even in poetry was essentially patriotic. He would not, he said, make 'verbal curiosity' his end, but would be 'an interpreter of the best and sagest things among his own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect.' To keep Milton out of politics, that is, we should have had to emasculate him; and the emasculation would certainly have been fatal to the great poems. The modern 'stylist' is generally an 'interesting invalid,' with a voice too weak to be heard in the market-place. We quite agree that we would not exchange Milton for a dozen invalids, interesting or otherwise. But is this really the dilemma? Must we choose between the 'invalid' and the savage pamphleteer? Was Milton, because a patriot, bound to be scurrilous? It is easy to recall the fierceness of the time: we may possibly admit with Professor Raleigh that the use of Latin is an apology for abuse, and that the English tracts, equally abusive, were written for people accustomed to controversy in Latin. The argument from the 'standard of the time,' and the proof that at any given period that standard was exceptionally low, has become a trifle commonplace. Milton's abusiveness scandalised even his contemporaries, and their reproofs extorted from him a sufficiently lame apology. Some people could carry on controversies decently even in those days; and we might have hoped that a man distinguished above all men for lofty self-respect would have set a good example instead of sanctioning a bad practice. Milton might have taken a lesson from Hooker, who wrote in the spirit of his famous saying: 'Your next argument consists of railing and of reasons; to your railing I say nothing; to your reasons I say what follows.' Milton never perceives the immense advantage which railing gives to the man who can reply by ignoring it. Therefore he allows a controversy about the rights of Englishmen to degenerate into a squabble about Morus's behaviour to a cookmaid. He is, as Pattison says, like a blind Ajax

castigating sheep instead of the Achæans. It is quite true that we still see the Ajax, though his blows might be better directed. Milton invariably convinces us of his absolute fidelity to his lofty vocation, and his noblest utterances of scorn for base motives are wrung from him by his passionate indignation. Still his irascibility perverts his reasoning, though it does not degrade his character.

In Milton the personal element is always present. It disfigures his first controversy upon Church government. He writes upon divorce because he has quarrelled with his wife; and upon the freedom of the press because his writings on divorce are censured. He cannot abstract his cause from himself. Since he represents virtue, his adversaries must be embodiments of vice. He not only assumes that his enemies are in the wrong, but he often seems to expect that they will grant so obvious an assumption. He complains, for example, that the 'table of communion' is fortified 'with bulwark and barricado to keep off the profane touch of the laics whilst the obscene and surfeited priest scruples not to paw and mammock the sacramental bread as familiarly as his tavern biscuit.' Why must the priest be 'obscene and surfeited'? Simply because he is a priest. That may be true; but the priest can hardly be expected to admit the fact. Controversy which starts from such assumptions must degenerate into personal abuse. The divorce pamphlets give the other side of the method. Milton, arguing from his own case, thinks only of the hardship upon the good man linked to an unworthy partner. He complains quaintly in one passage that on account of his chastity, he has not had that practical experience of transitory connexions which often enables a loose liver to make a happy choice in marriage. The good man is to have the same opportunity for making experiments, and it does not occur to him that the practice might be demoralising.

This example illustrates what, for want of a better name, must be called Milton's method of reasoning. He generalises from a single case, and that case his own. 'Logical Milton always was,' says Professor Raleigh; 'he learnt little or nothing from the political events of his time.' The 'logic' which rejects experience has a strong resemblance to the simpler process of dispensing

with logic. Milton, no doubt, was, as Professor Raleigh calls him, 'an idealist, pure and simple,' and expected to realise the dream of setting up in England a republic on the old classical model. He may be so far compared to theorists of the Rousseau type, who went upon *a priori* principles and were equally scornful of appeals to experience. But the 'rights of man' doctrine admitted at least of being set forth as a coherent system of reasoning. Its first principles might be erroneous, but they led by logical process to its conclusion. Milton does not reason to his conclusions; he simply jumps at them. He feels intensely, and judges by his instincts. He does not formulate theories clearly enough to make them consistent or to distinguish between the accidental and the universal element. The most serious disenchantment awaited him in his political doctrine. His strongest political passion was a really noble love of liberty; and by liberty he understood at once the removal of all obstacles to the full moral and intellectual development of a Milton, and the voluntary subordination of the nation to its Miltons and Cromwells. The time came when the two ideals became inconsistent. Set the nation free and it would restore Charles II. Milton had accordingly to propose, in the name of liberty, that it should be permanently ruled by an irresponsible oligarchy. He was, of course, untouched by democratic ideas of modern growth; but it would be hard, even on his own terms, to construct any coherent theory out of his instinctive aversions and enthusiasms.

The 'Areopagitica' survives alone among Milton's prose works; partly because he is endeavouring to conciliate instead of to brow-beat, and can therefore keep his temper, and partly because Milton's own case happened to be the typical case. His arguments have become commonplace, but they are still to the point. Professor Raleigh denies the assertion that the other pamphlets are neglected because their subjects are obsolete. The proposal for freedom of divorce, as he remarks, is so far from obsolete that it is only too prominent at the present day. Milton's argument, however, is obsolete enough. As Bagehot remarks, he is frankly and honestly anxious not for the rights of women, but for the rights of the man. He may be dealing with modern questions, but from a point of view so dependent upon his own prejudices and the

accidents of the day that it has ceased to appeal to us. We may go further. 'Neither in politics, theology, nor social ethics,' says Lowell, 'did Milton leave any distinguishable trace upon the thought of his time or in the history of opinion.' His speculations on such topics are forgotten, because they were never really effectual. The theories of Hobbes may be as obsolete in some senses as Milton's; but no one could write the history of political thought without acknowledging their remarkable influence. Even Harrington—insignificant as his actual value has become—probably made a greater mark than Milton upon the speculations of the day. Political theories have an unpleasant way of falling into oblivion; but some of them have at least counted as affecting contemporary thinkers; and it is difficult to say that even that is true of Milton's performances.

When, therefore, Professor Raleigh says that Milton's prose works 'raise every question they touch' even if they do not 'advance it,' we must make a reservation. He approaches his problems from a lofty point of view, and desires that politics should be the incarnation of morality. The tone is as rare in political writings as it is admirable. No one can wish that Milton should be one whit less high-minded and patriotic or less anxious to see his ideals applied to practice. It may be as unseemly for politicians to grumble 'as for the herdsmen of Admetus to complain of the presence among them of a god.' Still we may regret that the god so lost his temper as to join in a mere 'rough and tumble'; and, moreover, that he devoted so much energy to a fray in which, as he admits, he was fighting with his 'left hand.' No one ever saw more clearly what a long and arduous training was desirable for a great poet; but to be a great publicist, he assumed, it was enough to be in a towering passion. Professor Raleigh, indeed, argues ingeniously that it was good for Milton occasionally to give 'a loose to his pen and his thought.' 'Irresponsible paradox and nonsense' may be 'a useful and pleasant recreation-ground.' We will not argue the point. To us it seems that fierce indignation might have been turned to better purposes. His good genius might have persuaded him to remain upon the level of his 'Areopagitica,' and to keep clear of the personalities which only injured his cause. But a good genius rarely secures the

attention which he deserves. Without arguing 'might-have-beens,' we can admit that Milton was going through an ordeal which was not thrown away when it bore fruit in 'Paradise Lost' and 'Samson Agonistes.' The prose works are not easy reading; but it is worth while to study them in order to understand more clearly the sources of the unapproachable majesty of Milton at his best. The heroic attitude of his last days shows the essentially noble elements of the old passion, and is in turn made intelligible by the previous emotions.

When Milton at last turned to his true function, and spoke to a backsliding generation as a prophet of high thinking, he had to fulfil two conditions. He was to announce a theodicy, or in his own words 'to justify the ways of God to man'; and he had decided that his teaching was to be in the form of an epic poem. He therefore gives both a creed, as Professor Raleigh says, 'and a cosmical scheme of imagination.' The creed may not bear examination; but the scheme appears all the more wonderful as a work of art. 'By the most delicate skill of architecture this gigantic filamented structure has been raised into the air. . . . That it should stand at all is the marvel, seeing that it is spanned on frail arches over the abyss of the impossible, the unnatural, and the grotesque.' Milton's creed, of course, is the creed of contemporary theologians. He accepts unhesitatingly the speculative position represented by the Westminster divines. He holds, indeed, that most of them were wrong in their conclusions, but he has not the least doubt that truth is attainable by their methods. A complete theodicy may be reached by hitting off the right mean between Calvin and Arminius. He is indeed so little of a philosopher that he is hardly aware of the difficulties. When Pope complains that 'God the Father turns a school-divine' and asserts the compatibility of prescience and freewill, he does injustice, says Professor Raleigh, 'to the scholastic philosophers. There was never one of them who could have walked into a metaphysical bramble-bush with the blind recklessness that Milton displays.' This is perhaps an overstatement, for Milton is simply repeating a familiar dogma of scholastic and contemporary divinity. But Pope, at any rate, is fully justified. To introduce the Creator as a moderator, if not as a disputant, in such discussions is

certainly offensive, and shows the characteristic weakness of Milton's position. He not only accepts the dogmatism of the time at a period when it was already losing its hold upon the philosophic thinkers, but identifies it with the essence of religion. He holds, as Professor Raleigh puts it, that 'everything is as plain as a pikestaff'; he is convinced that there are no mysteries in the government of the universe which cannot be solved by our dialectical skill. The weakness is connected with the most obvious limitations of Milton's intellect. In theology as in politics he can be a thorough partisan, and supposes with the ordinary man that the whole truth can be packed into dogma. That is partly due to his characteristic want of the sympathy which enables a man to see the world from other points of view. He is the exact antithesis to Shakespeare, who could throw himself into every character. He is equally incapable of the mysticism of some contemporaries. Professor Raleigh draws a striking contrast between the 'solid materialism' of Milton's heroics and the spiritual vision of Vaughan the 'Silurist.' The interminable controversies of the day had led some keen intellects to scepticism and others to the mystical view which sees in all human dogmas and systems the 'broken lights' of absolute truth. Milton remained an uncompromising and unhesitating dogmatist. The 'scheme of salvation' could be expounded as clearly and definitively as a body of human law, though nobody but himself had perhaps hit upon precisely the right set of formulæ.

Milton's 'theodicy,' therefore, was already becoming obsolete; and even his first readers seem to have paid no attention to his merits or defects as a justifier of Providence. Indeed, the justification is obviously preposterous. The relations between man and his Creator are expressed, according to him, by a definite legal code. The defect of 'Paradise Lost,' says Bagehot, is that it is 'founded on a political transaction.' It treats of a rebellion against an absolute, and moreover an arbitrary, sovereign. The offence committed by Adam and Eve is an offence against a 'positive' law, not against the essential principles of morality. As Professor Raleigh puts it, the ruler of the universe becomes a 'whimsical tyrant,' issuing commands from time to time, often utterly incapable of being carried out, and given merely to test the submissiveness of his

subjects. The corruption of human nature is a Christian doctrine, the plausibility of which was admitted, as we have been lately reminded, by such a freethinker as Huxley. With Milton it seems to be a superficial phenomenon. His morality usually rests upon a lofty sense of the dignity of human nature. 'A pious and just honouring of ourselves,' he says, 'is the radical moisture and fountain-head whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth.' He claims for himself an 'honest haughtiness and self-esteem,' 'which let envy call pride.' In 'Paradise Lost,' Satan's pride has so strong an affinity to this honest haughtiness that we feel his error to have been rather of the head than of the heart. He has miscalculated his position, and applied a noble quality to a mistaken end. Milton, therefore, has more real sympathy with the Stoic than with the Christian ethics. He tells us how, during his study of 'Greek and Roman exploits,' he had 'found many things both worthily done and nobly spoken,' but that when he turned to the history of the Church under a Christian emperor, he was amazed to find it all 'quite contrary'—nothing but ambition, corruption, contention, combustion. The Catholic version of Christianity, at least, is altogether repugnant to him; and Newman couples Milton with Gibbon (not a very similar pair in other respects), 'each breathing hatred to the Catholic Church in his own way; each a proud and rebellious creature of God; each gifted with incomparable gifts.' Dislike to Milton was for that reason one of the 'notes' of the literary representatives of the 'movement.'

If Milton took for pure Christianity a system into which it is hard to fit the doctrines of corruption or of humility, his heterodoxy was combined with the most absolute faith in the historical revelation. As his theodicy is also to be an epic, he has to make his 'fable' out of the events entwined into the whole system of Protestant theology. The first chapter of Genesis, taken as literally and absolutely true, gives the catastrophe to the accomplishment of which the action of all the characters concerned is exclusively directed. If, therefore, we are to accept the book as a theodicy, our interest must depend upon our belief in the facts. Milton's poem, says M. Scherer, is intended to support a thesis. We cannot separate the form from the contents in a didactic work.

If the thesis collapses, the poem will cease to interest, except, of course, in its parentheses. Pattison argues that the change in our conceptions has already sapped our interest in the poetry, and that, if the process continues, the 'possibility of epic illusion' will be lost. But why, one asks, should the decay of our belief be fatal to the poetry? We need not be pagans to enjoy the 'Iliad,' and we may give up Dante's material hell without much loss of interest in the 'Divina Commedia.' One possible answer is suggested in a striking passage of Ruskin. Milton's history, he declares, 'is evidently unbelievable to himself.' The war in heaven is adapted from Hesiod, and throughout the rest of the poem every artifice 'of invention is visibly and consciously employed.' Milton, of course, knew when he was inventing the allegory of Sin and Death that he was not writing history. The visions which he created could only be a projection upon his imagination of realities essentially beyond human perception. But we cannot doubt that he believed that the visions reflected realities, and especially that the biblical story of the Fall was true. He held his beliefs so strongly that the tortures of the Inquisition would not have extorted a recantation.

The question, however, from the poetical point of view is not whether he could believe, but whether, in modern phrase, he could 'visualise' the objects of his belief; and in this respect, the contrast with Dante is significant. Dante can hardly have believed that his elaborate plan of the Inferno was precisely accurate. When a man is deliberately contriving an imaginary world, he cannot, unless he is actually insane, suppose that he is mapping a real world. He must know that he is creating, not surveying. But Dante's vision could, at any rate, be as distinct and definite as reality. The circles of hell are as visible to Dante, and therefore to us, as the streets of Florence, while Milton's scheme is so vague that he does not even know clearly whether the Ptolemaic or the Copernican system is correct. And the reason is obvious. Dante was a profounder student of theology and philosophy than Milton; but he does not mix his philosophy with his statement of facts. Throughout his journey, he is still in presence of matters of fact, which, however startling, are continuous with the realities of actual ex-

perience. The problems about freewill and foreknowledge are not supposed to be solved by stating the facts. He may be 'justifying Providence' in the sense that his personages obviously (to him at least) deserve what they get; but he does not profess to explain why there should be a hell and a purgatory and a heaven. They are there, and we must behave accordingly. Milton, on the contrary, has to be at one and the same time a philosopher and a historian. He tells a story as the embodiment of a dogmatic system. The supernatural characters must be anthropomorphic for the purposes of poetry, but they are also principles of a philosophy. Milton, we are told, believed sincerely that the pagan gods were the fallen angels. Still, the devils have almost become personified abstractions of pride, greed, and lust. In his early drafts of a drama, Milton has a number of such actors as Death, Hatred, Conscience, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Though they become angels and devils in the actual poem, Satan is still abstract enough to hold conversation with Sin and Death. The devils are utterly unlike the concrete and grotesque devils of mediæval superstition. They not only discuss metaphysical puzzles, but are themselves metaphysical entities. The difficulty reaches its height when it compels him to introduce the Creator as an actor in the story, and leads to those strange incongruities upon which it is needless to dwell. If we do not accuse him of profanity, it is because he is plainly abashed by his own daring. Most people—in spite of enthusiastic critics—agree with Johnson that no one ever wished 'Paradise Lost' longer. Readers are generally bored when a poet is bored himself; and Milton, if not bored, is clearly writing under constraint, which has much the same effect. His imagination, if not quenched, is paralysed. He has to cling closely to the text, or moves cautiously, and diverges into a commonplace historical summary. The contrast between the incomparable majesty of the opening, and the flagging which begins when he ventures into heaven, makes itself felt in spite of the continued dignity of style.

The criticism represented by Addison did not trouble itself with this problem. The theodicy dropped out of sight. Addison, indeed, though he declines to admit with Le Bossu that every epic poet 'pitches upon a certain

moral' as a starting point, agrees that from every 'just heroic poem' some one great moral may be deduced. 'Paradise Lost' teaches us the unexceptionable but simple moral that obedience to the will of God makes men happy. But the metaphysical problem which Milton took himself to be solving was handed over to the directly didactic poets. Addison takes occasion to puff the good Whig Blackmore, whose poem on the 'Creation' confuted Lucretius and supplied the reasoning omitted in the seventh book of 'Paradise Lost.' Pope was to take up the task of 'vindicating' the 'ways of God to man.' He 'vindicates' instead of 'justifies,' as Warburton explains, because he 'has to deal with unbelievers.' The controversies of his day had made it impossible to fuse the theodicy with the epic. The epic poem therefore came to be treated, in spite of Le Bossu's moral, as simply a work of art, to which the justification of Providence is really irrelevant. Homer, Virgil, and Milton, it is assumed, devised the 'fables' and the 'machinery' of their poems by an equally deliberate and artificial process, though in the two first cases the Pagan mythology, and in the last the book of Genesis, supplied the necessary materials. The epic poem, no doubt, was becoming slightly absurd, as is shown by the famous recipe in Martinus Scriblerus. Still it was accepted as the highest form of poetry; and when Wilkie in 1757 published the 'Epigoniad,' he was hailed by the patriotic Hume as a 'Scottish Homer.' That poetry was quite independent of the vitality of the conceptions which it embodied, was taken to be too obvious for demonstration. 'Paradise Lost' was accepted on these terms simply as the noblest English specimen of the class; and if Johnson shows a certain sense that Milton had been too daring in venturing into the highest regions, the audacity was pardonable in the absence of any irreverent intention. Ordinary readers could shut their eyes to incongruities and refuse to see profanity where so clearly none was intended. The critic could take 'Paradise Lost' simply as an epic; and the ordinary reader accepted it as a kind of gorgeous paraphrase of the book of Genesis.

In more modern times the difficulties presented by the combination have obviously increased. Are we to admit with Pattison that our interest in the poetry will inevitably be sapped; or can we throw ourselves back into

his intellectual position sufficiently to revive the classic for the time? We may, it is suggested, arrive at 'that willing suspension of disbelief for the moment which constitutes poetic faith.' That is a difficult attitude of mind to preserve. The truth, we think, is indicated by Professor Raleigh in a striking remark. The more we study 'Paradise Lost' the more we see the hand of the author. 'The epic poem, which in its natural form is a kind of cathedral for the ideas of a nation, is by him transformed into a chapel-of-ease for his own mind, a monument to his own genius and to his own habits of thought.' As the tombs of the Medici suggest, not Lorenzo or Giovanni, but Michel Angelo, 'Paradise Lost' suggests Milton; and 'the same dull convention that calls "Paradise Lost" a religious poem might call them Christian statues.' The denial that 'Paradise Lost' is a religious poem would have startled Milton and many modern disciples. It should perhaps be qualified by saying that it represents Milton's religion, and is one product of very genuine convictions of the day which had varying outcomes in the faiths of Cromwell and Baxter and George Fox, and again in that of the more narrow and bigoted Puritans. To define its essential nature would be a very difficult and very interesting problem. The inference, however, remains. To read 'Paradise Lost' without a shock, we must not only 'suspend disbelief' but get rid of our positive beliefs. We must forget as far as possible that the supernatural actors are really the personages suggested by the names. So long as we are in hell, that is easy. We are in presence of gigantic figures, with heroic impulses and intelligible motives—if only we do not ask too closely what was the warfare in which they were engaged. When we venture to the highest regions, the discord is harder to resolve; and we are painfully aware that Milton is writing 'in fetters.'

This, in fact, is implied in the opinion which Professor Raleigh shares with the best critics since Dryden's day, that Satan is the hero of the poem. If 'Paradise Lost' be really a religious poem, that would seem to imply a stupendous blunder somewhere; and yet it is inevitable. Johnson quaintly praises Milton because 'there is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear.' That is perhaps the last compliment that we could have expected the genuine devil to deserve. In fact, it is im-

possible not to feel a strong admiration for so heroic a being, and to be even glad that he has found so sympathetic, we might say so loving, a portrait-painter. The first book of 'Paradise Lost' holds the very first place in English, if not in all existing, poetry; and the marvellous passage in which the 'Dread Commander' presents himself to his comrades enthrals the imagination and casts into utter oblivion the irrelevant question as to the accidental goodness or badness of his cause. He is not only himself the embodiment of heroic endurance, but obviously deserves the absolute confidence of his followers. He preserves his grandeur even when he is detected in stratagems, and rises to meet overpowering enemies

'Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd.'

We have, in short, to put aside our theological and philosophical prepossessions; to be content without forcing Milton's imagery into too close a contact with fact or asking too curiously who are the personages and what their motives. We must accept the transcendent grandeur of the actors, and admit in general that the grandeur is somehow the outcome of Milton's own character. His poetry is like the 'spectre of the Brocken'—a gigantic shape which is really a reflection of himself.

Yet Milton's conviction that he is in some sense writing true history has important results, admirably explained by Professor Raleigh. Milton's method is at the opposite pole to Shakespeare's. He gives the general type, where Shakespeare gives the concrete individual. He describes the emotion excited, where Shakespeare gives the specific details which excite the emotion. The danger of the Shakespearean method is that it may suggest grotesque and trivial associations and injure the unity and symmetry of the whole. Milton's method involves the danger of becoming vague and insipid. The general is apt to be commonplace. Milton, as Professor Raleigh points out with great clearness, is saved from this weakness by his 'concrete epic realities.' Keats's 'Hyperion,' he says, fails by want of Milton's 'exact physical system.' The world in which the history takes place is so shadowy and indefinite that there is 'nothing for the poem to hang on by.' Milton is anthropomorphic and materialistic, and in his posthumous treatise explicitly defends himself on principle.

Even in heaven events happen in the time and place of human chronology and geography—though at vast distances. The angels and devils, therefore, though vast and shadowy, have still tangible clothing of flesh and blood. They do not become properly abstractions, however nearly they approach that consummation. They are but highly generalised types. Milton has 'no deep sense of mystery.' His figures are of superhuman proportions, but vagueness and dim visions of remote perspectives take the place of the properly mystic. There is always a firm and definite outline behind the shadowy figure; Death has a head and a crown, though they are such as become a phantom. Milton's weakness in metaphysics, and his undoubting acceptance of rigid dogmas, naturally go with the conviction that he is dealing with history and fact; and, so to speak, prevent the poetry from evaporating in the thin air of philosophical concepts. Hence we have one aspect of the extraordinary power in which Milton is unrivalled. 'His natural port,' as Johnson puts it, 'is gigantic loftiness'; and every critic has to say the same and illustrate it by the same famous passages. The famous 'Far off his coming shone' is enough to recall his special power of concentrating the most majestic effects in a single image. It would be idle to insist upon this specially Miltonic magic, which, besides informing particular passages, animates the whole poem and gives a fainter glory even where we cannot deny the flagging power.

How, precisely, is this effect produced? Critics would fain get beyond generalities, and seek to detect the finer secret of Milton's power in the style which reflects his idiosyncrasy. Sometimes they investigate the mechanism of the versification and hope to learn something from minute examination of Milton's stresses and 'assonances' and alliterations. Professor Raleigh remarks that the passage describing the heavenward procession, in the seventh book, would 'justify an entire treatise.' A treatise would be amply justified if it could really reveal the secret of the music. Professor Raleigh appears, however, to admit that the prospect is a bad one; the 'laws of music in verse are very subtle . . . and, it must be added, very imperfectly ascertained.' Are they ascertained at all? Or, if ascertained, would they help us? There can, of course, be no doubt that a poet must have the musical power.

Milton could not have produced his organ-tones on a 'scrannel pipe'; and a character of equal grandeur might have been combined with as little power of expression as was possessed by Cromwell. But a consideration of the instrument abstractedly, apart from the performer, can tell us little. It could only reveal that part of the charm of the poem which depends upon the sound and would be equally enjoyable in 'nonsense verses' or to a foreigner ignorant of the meaning. That is a very small part of the charm of 'Paradise Lost.' The musical power is an essential condition of uttering the thought effectually, hard as it may be to explain the connexion. But the ultimate secret must always lie in the grandeur of the thought, without which the best verses would be mere jingle; and no skill in arranging sibilants and aspirates and labials can be a substitute for the poetic inspiration.

When a man is moved by the 'serious and hearty love of truth, his words, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and in well-ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.' Milton is speaking of his prose, and, of course, laboured his poetic style most carefully. Only, the words followed the thought. Professor Raleigh describes admirably the characteristic results. He points out how every word is of value: 'In Milton's versification there is no mortar between the stones; each is held in place by the weight of the others, and helps to uphold the building.' Milton himself says that one secret lies partly in the 'sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.' 'He varies the verse,' says Professor Raleigh, 'till he has hardly a rule left, save the iambic pattern, which he treats merely as a point of departure and reference, a background or frame-work to carry the variations imposed upon it by the luxuriance of perfectly composed art.' The metre is like the canvas which shows through the pictures woven in tapestry. In some early blank verse the sentence is forced to conform to the music; while the later Elizabethans had taken such licences that the verse became indistinguishable from prose. When Milton, for the first time, applied blank verse to a great narrative poem, he entirely reformed this laxity and reached the perfect balance, in which the sentences and the line reciprocally strengthen each other. No one has ever equalled him in this. The 'secret is lost'—

as Professor Raleigh puts it—or, rather, no later poet has possessed the delicate instinct which arranged Milton's words in their 'well-ordered files.' The 'secret' was never expressible in a formula. It means simply that Milton had a marvellous ear; but even if we could assign certain 'laws of verse' which he unconsciously obeyed, we should still be as far as ever from the power of applying them.

Milton is a master of the 'grand style' because the exquisite ear was also at the service of a character of unique dignity, moved by intense convictions, contemptuous of all that was mean and trivial; hard, dogmatic, and unsympathetic, but constantly under the stress of intense and massive emotion, which finds its natural clothing in his unequalled diction. The impossibility of adopting the diction when the thought is feeble is curiously illustrated by Milton's influence on the eighteenth century. Professor Raleigh declares that 'English verse went Milton-mad' during the reign of Pope, and exemplifies the remark abundantly from such men as Thomson, Young, and Akenside. Milton is partly responsible for the mannerism which excited Wordsworth's revolt. Addison already gives the theory. A poet who seeks for 'perspicuity' alone is in danger of becoming vulgar. He must avoid that fault by 'guarding himself against idiomatic ways of speaking'; and for that purpose, among other expedients, he may use the idioms of other languages; as Milton indulges in Latinisms, and in grammatical inversions. To the school of Pope 'perspicuity' became the cardinal virtue, as suited to an age in which the imagination was kept in strict bondage by the reason; Pope's language was simply that of the most cultivated society of the day. It was quite adequate for purposes of satire or argument in verse: when, that is, the metre was used only to give point and smartness to the substance of prose. But when the writer was ambitious of some more distinctively poetic effect, he had to 'raise his language' by some judicious artifice. Pascal had shown how this is done. As men do not know, he says, in what poetic beauty consists, they invent 'certains termes bizarres, "siècle d'or, merveille de nos jours, fatal laurier, bel astre," etc., et on appelle ce jargon beauté poëtique.' So shepherds in English become 'conscious swains,' and their sheep are the 'flocks that graze the verdant mead.' 'Paradise Lost' for such purposes was an

invaluable treasure-house, and applicable almost in pro portion to the prosaic nature of the subject. The excellent Dr Grainger undertook to write a didactic poem about the sugar-cane. He had written, so Boswell tells us, 'Now, muse, let's sing of mice'; and substituted 'rats' for 'mice' as more dignified. But he made a more promising attempt when he echoed Milton:

> 'Spirit of Inspiration, that didst lead
> Th' Ascrean poet to the sacred mount,' &c.

Thomson, says Professor Raleigh, is like a man trying to win a wager by describing the country without giving the plain name to a single object. Birds, for example, become 'the feathered nations.' Pope, as afterwards Gray, often laid hands upon Milton, though both were well enough read in poetry to convey spoils from many other authors. Gray's excessive use of personification—the practice which culminated in Coleridge's favourite 'Inoculation, heavenly maid'—illustrates the process in another way. When Voltaire set up as an epic poet, he had to use for his 'machinery' such personages as 'La Discorde,' 'La Politique,' and 'Le Fanatisme,' instead of Satan and Beelzebub. Milton's famous precept, that poetry should be 'simple, sensuous, and passionate,' became impossible when passion had to be made logical and the abstract concept took the place of the 'sensuous' imagery. The peculiar jargon of 'Ossian' which especially irritated Wordsworth might suggest other illustrations of the difficulty of 'raising the language.' The tendency of poetry to fall into the dead flat of rhymed prose was so strong that men who, like Thomson, had true poetic feeling, had to catch at some distinguishing mark, and used an artifice which could be adopted by men like Grainger, with no poetic feeling at all. Milton's turn of phrase could be imitated, and became a mere trick when divorced from the thought. Milton, says Professor Raleigh,

> 'invented a system of preternaturally majestic diction, perfectly fitted for the utterance of his own conceptions, but, when divorced from those conceptions, so monstrously artificial in effect that his imitators and followers, hoisting themselves on the Miltonic stilts, brought the very name of "poetic diction" into a contempt that lasted for more than a century and is not yet wholly extinct.'

We should qualify this judgment by adding that they had to find some stilts; and that, if their gait was awkward on the inappropriate elevation, Milton's magnificent power helped to preserve an ideal of poetic excellence through a period in which the highest sources of inspiration were almost closed by the general attitude of thought. We return, in short, to the point from which we started. When we criticise Milton as a religious poet, as the expounder of a theodicy or the creator of an epic, we are forced to justify admiration at the cost of condoning palpable absurdities. It becomes evident that we must rather seek to justify ourselves by showing what a surpassing power was manifested in spite of innumerable trammels imposed by the task and by the conditions of thought which made his conception of it inevitable. The diction is admirable because it gives the man himself, but, for that reason, could be effectively used by no one but himself. The gigantic figure stands out more clearly by the help of his last interpreter; though Professor Raleigh would be the first to admit that to see Milton clearly is not to explain him. The full analysis of a personality is beyond the reach of any psychologist. We can only say that Professor Raleigh's portrait is the most life-like in existence; and that he has discussed many interesting topics at which we have not been able even to glance.

Art. VI.—RECENT MOUNTAINEERING.

1. *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram Himalayas.* By Sir W. M. Conway. Two vols. London: Fisher Unwin, 1894.
2. *The Exploration of the Caucasus.* By Douglas W. Freshfield. Illustrated by Vittorio Sella. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1896.
3. *The Annals of Mont Blanc.* By C. E. Mathews. London: Fisher Unwin, 1898.
4. *Through the High Pyrenees.* By H. Spender. Illustrated by H. Llewellyn Smith. London: Fisher Unwin, 1898.
5. *Mountaineering.* (Badminton Series.) Third Edition. London: Longmans, 1899.
6. *Alpine Memories.* By E. Javelle. Translated by W. H. Chesson. London: Fisher Unwin, 1899.
7. *The Early Mountaineers.* By Francis Gribble. London: Fisher Unwin, 1899.
8. *The Highest Andes.* By E. Fitzgerald. London: Methuen, 1899.
9. *Travels through the Alps.* By J. D. Forbes. New Edition, revised and annotated by W. A. B. Coolidge. London: Black, 1900.
10. *The Ascent of Mount St Elias by H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi.* By Dr de Filippi. Translated by Signora Linda Villari. London: Constable, 1900.
11. *The Rockies of Canada.* London and New York: Putnam's Sons, 1900.
12. *Ball's Alpine Guide.* (Alpine Club Edition.) Vol. I. (The Western Alps.) London: Longmans, 1898.

THE future historian of the nineteenth century will have to reserve some space in his pages for the development of mountain travel which has recently taken place among the nations of Western Europe. He may possibly feel difficulty in deciding whether to class 'Mountaineering' as a special form of travel or of gymnastics; as a branch of research or of sport; as a pursuit or as a pastime. Probably most of those who have followed its annals from the beginning will conclude that it partakes of all these characters. English men of science, following in the footsteps of Forbes, the conscious pupil and imitator of De

Saussure, at first treated Alpine travel, in Forbes's own words, 'not as an amusement, but as a serious occupation.' On the other hand, our professional men, the hard-worked barrister or college tutor, with a six weeks' annual holiday, discovered in the early fifties that the extension of railways to Central Switzerland and Savoy had brought within their reach a new and delightful playground. Among the Central Alps they were able, at moderate cost, to invigorate both their bodies and their minds, and at the same time to gratify the passion for overcoming obstacles, and for flavouring pleasure with a touch of pain, which is characteristic of Englishmen.

Between these two classes of mountaineers—the few who climb mainly in the pursuit of knowledge, and the many who climb primarily for health, for the love of scenery, or for the sake of adventure—there has been from the first some occasional misunderstanding. Each has tried to convert the other. Even Forbes, one of the most wide-minded and sympathetic of men, shook his head sadly over the members of the Alpine Club who 'do not love a theodolite,' and who engage in 'unpremeditated and casual pastimes' and 'break-neck trips.' But the latter, finding a powerful champion in Mr Leslie Stephen, have declined to make their submission. They have firmly refused to apply to Science for a passport to their playground, and have ventured to suggest that some of those who carry such passports are pleasure-seekers like themselves, and only differ in being less honest in their pretensions. In truth, no hard and fast line can be drawn between the seekers for health or pleasure and the natural philosophers. The contributions to science made by climbers in whose lives scientific observation has been only a relaxation have been considerable; and there are many philosophers—Tyndall amongst them—who have come to the conclusion, stated in an unguarded moment with admirable frankness by Forbes, that 'the attainment of an exalted elevation is a pleasure, peculiar, exquisite, and impossible accurately to define.'

For some thirty years the Alps, with occasional excursions to the Pyrenees or the Carpathians, offered a sufficient field for British energy. But the time came when they ceased to satisfy the tastes they had nurtured. The mountains were still there, but the fine flavour of dis-

covery and conquest had become rare. The great peaks had almost all fallen: all but the most remote valleys had been visited and described. Even the mountains were not quite the same, for foreign societies, calling themselves Alpine Clubs, had sprung up; and their objects were in some respects adverse to those of their English prototype. These societies, while doing much towards the increase of knowledge of the mountains and their phenomena, took a popular view of the situation. They aimed at the greatest happiness of the greatest number, at what they called the 'vulgarisation of the summits.' They bespattered the great peaks with huts, they hung them with chains, they painted little arrows over them to show their weak places. They removed some of the difficulty from the mountains, and with it something of their charm.

Hence arose a new and real distinction among mountaineers. The fortunate few who could find the time and spare the money sought more distant ranges. They went to the Andes or the Caucasus: they became explorers. Others revisited their old haunts in winter, and made the surprising discovery that mountaineering was not impossible even at Christmas. A select band found a resource in educating themselves to climb without guides. In so doing they encountered at first some expert as well as much ignorant criticism; but they have on the whole justified themselves by results, and have shown by more than one example that the mountaineer can be made as well as born. A larger section sought the excitement which seemed to be wanting on the Matterhorn or Jungfrau in 'trips' which Forbes might justly have called 'break-neck.' They despised and broke the rules of the game. They preferred not the best but the worst routes, so long as the worst routes were new. They neglected snow- and ice-craft, proficiency in which requires careful observation, some reasoning power, and much patience, for the less abstruse problems of rock climbing. They borrowed some of the least appropriate features of sport; they babbled of 'form' and gloried in 'time-records.' In short, they made themselves better gymnasts at the cost of becoming inferior mountaineers. The two have much less in common than is sometimes supposed.

We have touched on the changes in the character of Alpine travel and the varieties of the Alpine tourist,

because an understanding of them is needful to the appreciation of the development of Alpine literature since we noticed it last in 1892, in connexion with Mr E. Whymper's work on the Andes of Ecuador. That development has assumed proportions embarrassing to the reviewer, and still more embarrassing to the mountain enthusiast whose shelf-room is limited. Two extraneous causes, a change in the market and the new methods of photographic illustration, have contributed to the growth, both in numbers and in individual bulk, of books on mountain-climbing.

During the rise of mountaineering, Alpine books were not written for money; their publishers had not learnt to make them pay—at any rate pay their authors. Nor were they written for the love of fame; one of the best, Mr A. W. Moore's 'The Alps in 1864,' was privately printed. They were rather the spontaneous productions of a fine enthusiasm, of a desire on the part of their authors to communicate their enjoyment to kindred spirits beyond the circle of their personal friends. Mr Edward Whymper was perhaps the first climber who, by the studied style of his narrative, the skilful use of a tragical catastrophe, and the more or less sensational character of his illustrations, aimed at the general public. He succeeded in re-creating the popular taste for mountaineering books, which had apparently subsided after the issue of the first series of 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers.' Nor did his influence stop here. By his work on the Andes he again gave a stimulus and a new direction to Alpine literature, in the wider sense of that term. The vogue of that literature has not as yet apparently subsided, since a high business authority on such matters recently assured us that works of travel were superseding fiction in popularity at the lending libraries; and there seemed no reason to suspect that any malice lurked under this somewhat surprising statement. At all events, the recent output of mountaineering books has been so large that, in the remarks which follow, we can do no more than make a selection from them.

The extension of an interest in all that appertains to mountains, and their influence on mankind, has led to fresh research into the origins of mountaineering, and

to the consequent compilation, both in this country and abroad, of several books dealing with those who are called 'The Early Mountaineers.' Some inaccuracy or confusion of thought is generally covered under this phrase. The word 'mountaineer' implies nowadays one who ascends a mountain for the sake of science or pleasure. The pilgrims or travellers who were forced to cross the Alps on the way to Italy, from our Anglo-Saxon ancestors who shivered 'sub gelidis glacierum flatibus' of the Great St Bernard onwards, were in no sense of the word mountaineers.

Coryat, 'the Odcombian Legstretcher,' the 'picked man of countries,' of the Mermaid Tavern, never climbed any thing higher than the Mont Cenis, though he threatened a 'vilipendious linen draper' with legal proceedings for belittling this feat. The illustrious names of Petrarch and Leonardo da Vinci have better claims to stand at the head of the roll, since each climbed at least one mountain for pleasure. To Leonardo the attraction of the great ranges was partly artistic, partly due to the universal curiosity of one who was at heart as much a man of science as an artist. But the authentic father of 'mountaineering' was Conrad Gesner of Zürich, who, both as a botanist and a humanist, left behind him an European reputation. He was among the first to express delight in the temporary hardships and bodily exertion involved in a night in a hay-chalet and a climb of several thousand feet. His ascent of Mount Pilatus in 1555 marked an epoch.

But these great men never set foot on the Alpine snows; Pilatus, the Stockhorn, and the Rochemelon, were at that time the limits of human ambition. The first adventurers on the snows, the founders of ice-craft, were the peasants of the Pennine valleys. They were driven to it by the stretch of snow and ice that separates the Rhone Valley from the Val d'Aosta. Had there been an easy grass-pass between the Great St Bernard and Monte Rosa, glacier-passes would not have been tried. In crossing the St Theodul and the Col de Collon, the Valaisans learnt the use of ropes, alpenstocks, veils, and snow-spectacles. The ice-axe apparently came first from Chamonix, and was an adaptation of the tool used by the crystal-hunters for breaking out specimens. The recorder of this commercial climbing is Simler, who wrote in 1574. Systematic attacks on snow-peaks, involving the adapta-

tion of this old craft to modern uses, did not begin until two centuries later, until the days of De Saussure in Savoy, and Placidus a Spescha in Graubünden.

In the seventeenth century the Grindelwald glaciers, 'rarum sane Naturæ miraculum,' began to attract the attention of men of science and became the subject of communications to our Royal Society. A school of naturalists, mostly natives of Bern and Zürich, wrote about the mountains, but did not climb them. It was from Geneva and De Saussure that modern mountaineering took its start. Its development was arrested by the Great War, to be renewed before its close by the ascents of the Meyers (1811–12) in the Bernese Oberland.

Three recent volumes supply English readers with fresh or more detailed information on the stages of mountain travel which we have just indicated. Mr Gribble's book is a praiseworthy attempt to collect in a single volume the most noteworthy descriptions of mountain ascents up to the end of the last century. To experts he may appear to be rather on the footing of an interviewer than on that of an old friend with the company he introduces to the general reader. But his volume contains an interesting selection of reprints of ancient documents. Amongst them will be found Petrarch's account of his ascent of Mont Ventoux; the 'Stockhornias,' a poem in Latin hexameters describing an ascent of the Stockhorn by one Johann Müller in 1536; and some letters written in May 1699 from Chamonix by one René le Pays, whom Boileau mentions as a 'buffon plaisant,' and who justifies the title by the comparison he draws between the cold brilliancy of the Chamonix glaciers and that of his fair correspondent: 'cinq montagnes qui vous ressemblent, Madame, comme si c'estoit vous-même . . . Oh! ne riez point tant. Cinq montagnes qui sont de glace toute pure depuis la teste jusqu'aux pieds.' Strange to say, Mr Gribble has altogether omitted De Saussure, and this is by no means the only serious omission in his chapters, which form rather an ingenious patchwork than a connected or complete survey of his subject.

Mr C. E. Mathews takes up the story of the Alps with the advent of De Saussure. His subject is Mont Blanc. He has climbed the mountain no less than twelve times; he has explored its glaciers in his summer holidays, and

made its literature the material of his winter fireside recreations. He gives at length the quaint narrative of the first English visitors, Pococke and Windham, who brought the valley, until that time only visited on official tours by bishops and tax-collectors, to the notice of society. He recounts the early attempts to climb Mont Blanc, and the two ascents immediately preceding the famous one of De Saussure. The central figure of his chapters is naturally the Genevese philosopher, while round him are grouped Bourrit, De Luc, and others. De Saussure's relations with his followers are well indicated. Under no form of government are social distinctions more sharply drawn than under an oligarchy like that of Geneva in the eighteenth century. De Saussure was a thorough aristocrat, living in the finest house in the upper city and moving in a society altogether different from that of such men as De Luc, the watchmaker's son, Bourrit, the cathedral precentor, and Paccard, the village doctor. Bourrit was employed to illustrate his books; Paccard supplied him with useful observations; De Luc, when he once ventured to differ from his master on some scientific matter, was very firmly dealt with. It was the one occasion on which De Saussure is recorded to have shown temper. Forbes displayed his usual acuteness when he alluded to De Saussure as 'the sedate Genevese,' 'frugal in his excitement'; when he emphasised his 'calm foresight,' and his deliberateness in observation and still more in drawing conclusions. No doubt it was to this cautious disposition and to a certain lack of scientific imagination that the failure of De Saussure to make any serious contribution to glacial science was mainly due. But it is also fair to remember that he lived in an age before specialists, and that his ambition was nothing less than to found a 'Theory of the Earth.' Those who wish to appreciate the breadth of his researches should study the 'Suggestions' which he left in the fourth volume of his 'Voyages,' as a legacy to his successors. He was too much employed in discovering how mountains are made to give any great share of his attention to their icy covering.

Mr Mathews gives us a translation of the elder Alexandre Dumas' wonderful interview (Dumas was an interviewer born before his time) with Jacques Balmat. On the authority of this farrago of the recollections—already

forty-six years old—of a vainglorious and hard-drinking Chamoniard, and the embroideries of an unconscientious Parisian *raconteur*, history has hitherto been written. A corrective is now supplied by a manuscript journal, which Mr Mathews was fortunate enough to discover, written by the Dr Paccard who disputes with Balmat the chief credit of the conquest of the mountain. Paccard was a man of repute, a Corresponding Member of the Academy of Turin, and is always spoken of with respect by De Saussure. His diary unfortunately does not decisively clear up all the moot points in the story. Mr Douglas Freshfield has attempted this in the 'Alpine Journal' (Feb. 1899), and has shown good ground for believing that Paccard was the real hero of Mont Blanc. It is impossible to go into the details here; but it seems beyond doubt that Balmat was jealous and unscrupulous as well as adventurous, and that his object throughout was to gain both the reward and the glory of the first ascent for himself alone. The tradition in the De Saussure family, as expressed by the philosopher's grandson a few years ago in a paper read at an Alpine Conference at Geneva, is entirely in accordance with this view.

The details given of later ascents are often entertaining. Thus in 1830 Colonel Wilbraham carried 'vinegar for drinking purposes, and Eau de Cologne to relieve the acute headache which usually attacks persons at a great height.' A Count de Tilly in 1834 thought he saw Venice from the summit. In 1850 Mr Erasmus Galton 'after rubbing his face with hot tallow and stopping his ears with paper, started' (from the Grands Mulets) 'exactly at midnight.' At seven a.m., when a little above the Grand Plateau, Mr Galton 'fell down on his face till his lungs were inflated . . .' He became at times 'almost unconscious and partially blind and stupefied, and tumbled about like a drunken man.' He got to the top, however. This is only a specimen of the accounts which respectable and trustworthy persons used to give of their sufferings. Now that a good bed can be found at the Grands Mulets and a hot breakfast obtained at the Cabane Vallot, within an hour and a half of the top, the sensations which used to be considered the inevitable accompaniments of altitude have become both less frequent and less severe.

Among these retrospective works a high place must be

given to the very handsome and complete new edition of the late Professor Forbes's Alpine writings, edited by the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge. Forbes was the precursor of English mountaineering, as De Saussure was of European. The scientific and literary merits of his 'Travels' have been generally recognised. There is a singular charm in his balanced thought and the equally balanced English in which it is expressed. He knew how to describe the details of travel without triviality, and to convey scientific information in plain language. 'To combine speculation with action,' the pursuit of truth with the delight of the eyes—this, he tells us, was his leading motive. Such a union of mental and physical energy must be esteemed as the highest form of travel.

Mr Coolidge has brought to the task of editing Forbes a general knowledge of the Alps, their history and bibliography, which is undoubtedly unique. He has annotated Forbes's narrative with the most minute care, bringing by his footnotes almost every topographical remark or statement of his author up to date. The scientific chapters have been much less closely scrutinised. Mr Coolidge anticipates our criticism on this point by alleging that he deals with the volume as 'purely narrative' (Preface, p. v). As, however, he has to admit that some of the chapters (no less than seven) 'deal with scientific matters in a more or less popular fashion,' we cannot hold that he is altogether free from inconsistency in this respect.

On another matter we must join issue with Mr Coolidge, since his high authority makes it dangerous to allow even his 'obiter dicta' to pass unchallenged. The former Editor of the 'Alpine Journal' has gone out of his way to assert that 'the vague idea that the exploration of the High Alps has been mainly due to English travellers . . . is so far from being accurate that it would be truer to assert as a general proposition that the contrary was the case.' In striving to be cosmopolitan Mr Coolidge has here become unjust. He can be confuted on the same page, and out of his own mouth. Since the middle of the fifties he allows that our countrymen have come to the front. Now, whatever sense Mr Coolidge may give to the phrase, what the world knows as the 'exploration of the High Alps' has been almost entirely accomplished since that date. What had been done by the Swiss and others before Forbes may best be

gathered from Professor G. Studer's 'Ueber Eis und Schnee' (2nd edition).*

The changes that have taken place in recent years in the aims of mountaineers are more or less reflected in the works relating to recent travel and climbing in the Alps that lie before us. On one side are the followers of the old school, who, not content to be fixtures in a centre such as Zermatt or the Montanvers, delight in change of scenery and surroundings, and appreciate the kind of climbing which calls for skill and patience rather than for the dexterity which may be learnt in a gymnasium.

We may take as a typical product of this class Sir M. Conway's 'The Alps from End to End.' The volume is a practical illustration of how much may be seen in a single summer by an energetic traveller. The author's party followed the chain from the Maritime Alps to beyond the Gross Glockner. The method is that of the early Alpine clubmen—with a difference which may be felt. The journey was confessedly made and the chapters were written to order for a newspaper. Even so able a writer as Sir M. Conway cannot escape the influence of his environment, and we find in his pages an absence of the 'first fine careless rapture' of the pioneers of the craft.

A larger share of this early sentiment is to be found in the pages of M. Javelle's 'Alpine Memories,' excellently translated into English by Mr Chesson. M. Javelle, though a Frenchman by birth, belonged to the school of sentimental schoolmasters and philosophers which seems to flourish on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. He was, at least spiritually, the fellow-countryman of Oberman and Amiel, if it is permissible to imagine a climbing Amiel. A greater contrast can hardly be found in mountain literature than that between his emotional chapters and the prosaic records of the average clubman. The divergence is pointed by the almost pedantic footnotes supplied by the translator. M. Javelle's slightest divergence from accuracy is unfailingly noted; but the feeling left on the reader's mind is that the Swiss writer, whatever his slips in detail, conveys a more vivid and truthful impression of the

---

* See also, for a full account of the share taken by the Swiss in the early exploration of their own mountains, the recently published volume, 'La Suisse au xixme Siècle,' with a chapter on the exploration of the Alps, by Dr Dübi.

beauties and the terrors of the High Alps than do most of our English climbers.

The new school, as is natural, is more strongly represented; but we can do no more than mention the volumes contributed by the widow of Mr Norman-Neruda, Mr O. Jones, Mr Haskett Smith, and Mr Mummery.* It should, however, be said that Mr Mummery's spirited descriptions of his 'Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus' must rank among the best records of climbing adventure.

It is painful to have to point out that three of the writers mentioned have 'perished in their daring deeds.' Such a tale of fatal accidents—and it might be largely added to—even though in each case there may be no proof of immediate contributory recklessness, is surely enough to cause all sensible mountaineers to use their influence in enforcing the rules by attention to which mountaineering has been made a craft. These rules and recommendations are set out at full length, and, on the whole, with admirable clearness, in the volume of the Badminton series on 'Mountaineering,' which has now reached a third edition, fully brought up to date and enriched with a new chapter on 'Mountaineering in far-away Countries' by Mr James Bryce. In guidebooks, also, the tendencies of the day can be discovered. The Alpine Club has done a service to the intelligent traveller, and honour to itself and its late President, by bringing out a new edition of Ball's 'Western Alps,' re-edited with the most scrupulous care by Mr Coolidge, whose unique topographical and historical knowledge of the Alps is skilfully engrafted on the high scientific and literary qualities of Mr Ball's original work. It is not a book for the average tourist—he can learn from other sources where meals are cheapest and beer is best—nor even for the peak-hunting gymnast; but it has been truly termed the Bible of the intelligent and educated Alpine pedestrian—a light to guide him to regions which Cook has never known, to mountains and valleys where the only whistle heard is that of the marmot, and the only bell that of the village campanile, to inns where the tourist

---

* 'The Climbs of Norman-Neruda.' By Mrs Norman-Neruda. Fisher Unwin, 1899. 'Rock Climbing in the English Lake District.' By O. Jones. Longmans, 1897. 'Climbing in the British Islands.' By W. P. Haskett Smith. Longmans, 1894–5. 'My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus.' By A. F. Mummery. Fisher Unwin, 1895.

who dons dress clothes is taken for a waiter. Excellent district maps add to the value of the volume. Many of them are of peculiar utility as combining information only obtainable otherwise by carrying a double set of French and Italian Ordnance maps. The revised 'General Introduction' to the 'Alpine Guide,' is an independent volume full of useful information on the Alps and the art of Alpine travel.* Mr Coolidge has contributed an interesting new chapter on peasant-life and property, founded to a great extent on his own experience at Grindelwald; and Mr Percy Groom a valuable botanical chapter on the Alpine flora and the influence of environment on mountain plants; while Professor Bonney has almost re-written the article on Alpine geology.

The energies of our countrymen, driven further afield by the assumed exhaustion of the Alps, have recently been exercised in every quarter of the globe. The Pyrenees, it is true, have been almost forgotten in this country. Their failure permanently to attract English travellers has been doubtless due to their poverty in ice and snow, and the consequent lack of the glacier air which is so great an inducement to most mountaineers. Their summits also, it must be confessed, are as a rule blunted, and lack the bold outlines of the Swiss Alps. But they abound in clear torrents and exquisite flowers, in romantic valleys and abrupt cliffs; they are open at seasons when the Alps are least accessible; and it seems strange that Mr Packe and Count Henry Russell should have had so few followers. Mr Spender's pleasant description of a trip through the eastern valleys from Andorra to Eaux Bonnes comes as a timely reminder of how much enjoyment may fall to the lot of a party prepared to rough it on the Spanish slope as men roughed it thirty years ago in the French Alps or in Tyrol. Such a journey as that which he describes is full of new experiences, not only of scenery but of people, and leaves behind more fresh impressions than a dozen tours on the cars of an ordinary Swiss merry-go-round. Those who have seen the limestone glens below Mont Perdu or the pastures round the Pic du Midi d'Ossau in early summer, when the pools left by the melting snows of winter are

* 'Hints and Notes for Travellers in the Alps.' Longmans, 1899.

surrounded by golden rings of daffodils, when every stream is brimming and every slope a wild garden, must wonder that the vogue of the Pyrenees is so limited.

The Apennines and Algeria, Corsica and the Carpathians, have attracted a few wanderers. Iceland has had its votaries; Spitsbergen has been visited by Sir Martin Conway and Mr E. Garwood, and furnished the former with material for two volumes. Norway has been found a congenial field, and Alpine craft learnt in Switzerland has been brought into use within the Arctic circle. But, excepting in Spitsbergen, these journeys have added little to our knowledge, geographical or other.

It is different with the Caucasus. There the campaign was opened so far back as 1868 by Mr Douglas Freshfield, with two companions and an Alpine guide. Twenty-seven years later Mr Freshfield published two sumptuous volumes, which contain a physical description of the chain, with a summary of the work done by himself and others. His main purpose is to bring the Caucasus and its inhabitants before his readers' eyes, to paint a picture of the whole region above and below the snow level, its peaks, passes, and glaciers, its forests and flowers, the towered hamlets of Suanetia and the grass-roofed villages of the northern valleys. Into this framework he fits his own climbs, the conquests of other climbers, the tragic story of the loss of Mr Donkin and Mr Fox with their guides on Koshtantau in 1888, and the discovery, in the following year, of their last bivouac by the search party of which he was himself a member. From the description of this remarkable incident we cannot refrain from quoting the following passage:—

'The scene we looked on as we lingered on the rocks beside it [the stone-man] was strangely beautiful and impressive. The silence of the upper snows was broken only by the constant ring of the axes and the voices of our comrades, which rose clearly through the thin air as they still laboured in their sad task of seeking all that might be found under the icy coverlet. Their figures were thrown out on the edge of the crags against the surface of the Tiutiun snowfields, as are those of sailors on a masthead against the sea, when seen from some high cliff. The day was cloudless, the air crystalline; space was for a moment annihilated. . . . The many passes and heights of the central ridge of the Caucasus lay literally

at our feet. . . . Every detail was distinct as on a mapman's model, yet the whole was vast and vague, wonderful and strange, creating an impression of immeasurable shining space, of the Earth as it might first appear to a visitant from some other planet. The splendour of nature on this day of days seemed not out of harmony with the sadness of our errand. It affected the mind as a solemn and sympathetic music. While I gazed, four white butterflies circled round the little monument, and again fluttered off. An ancient Greek would have found a symbol in the incident.'

Mr Freshfield spares his readers by relegating to an appendix a mass of orographical detail which may some day form the groundwork for a 'Climbers' Guide' to the Caucasus. In an elaborate map he has made public much new orography and laid a solid foundation on which future writers on the Caucasus may build with some security. Much of the credit of this is given to the Russian surveyors, who very generously placed at Mr Freshfield's disposal all their material, published or unpublished, relating to the portion of the great chain in which he was interested. His descriptions are aided by a number of excellent photogravures provided by Signor Vittorio Sella, who vindicates nobly the claim of photography to be an art. His views are the most satisfactory representations of snow-scenery ever linked with literature, and he often attains wonderful atmospheric effects. The pictures of the peaks and valleys of Sikhim, exhibited last year in London, show that he is still progressing in skill, and that his success is independent of altitude. In no way have Alpine travellers done more to increase our knowledge of mountains than by their efforts as photographers.

At the present moment there seems to be a pause in English activity in the Caucasus. But it will doubtless be resumed, since, in respect of time, its fastnesses are now little, if at all, farther from London than the Oetzthal or Zermatt were when the Alpine Club was founded. Our explorers have hitherto worked chiefly in the central portion of the chain, where every valley has been visited, the high snow-passes known to the natives traversed, new passes discovered, and all, or nearly all, the great peaks over 16,000 feet climbed. As a consequence of these journeys the conception of the chain entertained by geographers and embodied in the old official maps has been radically

altered. Its glaciers have been shown to rival in extent and dimensions those of the Alps, its structure not to consist of a single range but of several ridges, the limestone, as in the Alps, running more or less parallel to the gneiss and granite of the central elevation, which is not always the watershed. The wonderful forests, probably the noblest in the temperate zones, that fill the upper valleys of the streams flowing to the Black Sea, have been penetrated. Suanetia, the Paradise of the Caucasus, an upland basin the size of the Val d' Aosta, cut off from the outer world for nine months of the year, has been studied. Its strange churches, or rather chapels, dating probably from the twelfth century, have been photographed; while researches, carried on chiefly by Russian ethnologists, have been made into the obscure history of the mixed race which inhabits the district.

From the Caucasus, the limit between Europe and Asia, it seems natural to turn to the Himalaya. To these heights four parties of climbers have set forth since 1892. Sir Martin Conway, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, first attacked the Karakoram. He crossed the legendary Hispar Pass, and explored the snows of the Biafo Glacier, gaining a crest of 23,000 feet at its head. In 1895 Dr N. Collie, Mr Mummery, and Mr G. Hastings made an assault on the great peak of Nanga Parbat, which looks down on the road from Kashmir to Gilgit. Their expedition was brought to a sad and premature conclusion by the disappearance of Mr Mummery and two Ghoorkhas, while endeavouring to force a pass over one of the spurs of the mountain. Mr Douglas Freshfield and Mr E. Garwood, with Signor V. Sella and his brother, effected in 1899 the tour of Kanchinjinga, passing through a portion of Nepal and traversing a vast waste hitherto unknown to Europeans. Major Bruce has trained and led some of his brave and active Ghoorkhas over many snowy heights; and finally an American lady, Mrs Bullock Workman, has shown * that with the help of Zurbriggen, Sir M. Conway's guide, any hardy tourist can follow in his footsteps. The Hispar Pass, like the Matter-

---

* 'In the Ice-World of Himalaya.' By F. B. Workman and W. H. Workman. Fisher Unwin, 1900.

horn, has fallen from the unattainable to a 'stiff walk for a lady.' Mrs Bullock Workman accomplished several other serious climbs, but it is to be regretted that she should have been led to follow some recent bad examples in planting her own name on the map of Asia. It is time that a formal protest was made against the modern habit among travellers of affixing at random on natural objects their own or some other personal name. We have no desire to limit the proper use of personal names in geographical literature. It is within the province of an explorer to suggest to the survey officers, where a country is already mapped, or to the Governments or Geographical Societies concerned, names that appear to him appropriate. But the practice of affixing new names without reference to any authority is a growing nuisance, which we learn with pleasure the Royal Geographical Society is taking steps to abate.

Mr McCormick's vigorous drawings of the Karakoram, and Signor Sella's splendid photographic panoramas, have brought before our eyes the great glaciers of the Himalaya, buried under piles of rubbish loosened by heat and frost from the impending ranges, and the broad snow-lakes from which they flow, fenced in by rock-pinnacles compared to which the Aiguilles of Chamonix are needles indeed. In the western ranges beyond Kashmir the traveller has such pleasures as he can find

'In height and cold, the splendour of the hills.'

But the torrents rush down to no forested or vine-clad valleys; the rents through which they escape are treeless, almost flowerless, ravines choked by mud-torrents from lateral gorges, or blocked by gigantic rock-falls. In Sikhim, on the other hand, the pedestal of broad tablelands on which the Central Asiatic summits rest is absent. Nature here combines every feature of mountain scenery in a single view. The sojourner at Darjiling has before his eyes, within a distance of forty miles, a slope of over 27,000 feet, from the waters of the Rungit, sparkling in the valley depths, to the snows glittering on the rocky crest of Kanchinjinga. The tracks to the glaciers lead through subtropical forests where the tall stems of flowering trees, draped with ferns and orchids, form endless colonnades, through Alpine woods of pine and juniper, up to pastures

mottled with the deep greens of the rhododendrons and gardens of edelweiss and gentians. The snows of eternal winter and the verdure of perpetual summer are seen separated by a belt where the seasons assert themselves; where spring adorns the hills with a blaze of blossom and autumn colours them with her richest dyes.

Sir Martin Conway's map of the Karakoram, in which a vast mass of detail has been added to the Government surveys, is an important contribution to our knowledge of the chain. Exact knowledge of our frontier must be of advantage in preventing the disputes which are so often based on the ambiguities of maps. To this day there is no agreement in the official maps as to the northern boundaries of Independent Sikhim and Tibet.

Sir Martin's work may also be indirectly useful in furnishing an example of the methods of delineation of a glacier region in use in Europe. Hitherto most official Indian mountain maps have been, to say the least, obscure, owing chiefly to the draftsman's ignorance of what is meant by a glacier. The surveyors seem, in many cases, to have restricted that title to the portions below the *névé* and above the moraine-covered tongues. Hence, just as in the Caucasus we used to be told that glaciers were few and far between, so, in the Himalaya, the public were officially informed not long ago that there were 'no glaciers worth notice' on Kanchinjinga. Mr Freshfield, however, describes three about the size of the Aletsch Glacier.*

That there should be a field for the Alpine Club in Central Africa would scarcely have been credited a few years ago. Ptolemy† had indeed told us of snow on the Mountains of the Moon; but such stories were held to be 'travellers' tales.' Travellers have now discovered two iceclad volcanoes, Mounts Kenia and Kilimanjaro, and a whole snowy range in Ruwenzori. The Nile has been shown to be partially at least a glacier stream. Kilimanjaro has been explored and climbed by the Germans to whom we made a present of it. Mount Kenia, a British mountain, has, as was fitting, attracted the attention of two very competent travellers—Dr Gregory and Mr Mac-

---

* 'Alpine Journal,' Feb. and Aug. 1900.

† Ptol. 'Geog.' iv, 9.

kinder.* The latter has completed the work of his predecessor by climbing to its summit, and has given us a full account of the structure of the peak. It displays a fine set of rock teeth, the remnants of the crater of an ancient volcano; small glaciers lie in its hollows; and the upper slopes are covered with a strange vegetation excellently depicted in Mr Mackinder's photographs. Ruwenzori, which seems to be the fabled Mountain of the Moon, has been recently visited by Mr Scott Elliot, Mr Moore, Mr Grogan, and Sir H. Johnston. It proves to be a range some eighty miles in length, rising in several summits to a height of at least 16,000 feet, and clothed in glaciers. No mountaineer has as yet assailed its highest crests.

Turning to the New World, we must first notice the fresh field that has been opened for mountaineering by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The line traverses the Rocky and Selkirk ranges, passing within sight of some of their finest peaks and glaciers. In this region, as in New Zealand, the Rev. W. Spotswood Green was a pioneer. His pleasant volume† doubtless had a share in inciting young Americans from the Eastern States to join in the exploration of their own continent. An excellent account of what climbing and exploration is like in the Far West will be found in the finely illustrated volume‡ which has been compiled by Mr Dwight Wilcox. The charm of the scenery is greatly enhanced by many highland lakes. The mountain formation appears to be mostly limestone, the peaks resembling those of Sixt, as the Sixt district would be if the snow-level were 2000 feet lower. As in most wild and thinly inhabited countries, the difficulties of travel beyond the narrow belt accessible from the railway are very great. The forests are traversed only by trails which often fail the explorer, who finds himself ensnared in a maze of rotting trunks and rank vegetation. The exertions of Dr Collie and his friends in this region have led to the mapping of a considerable district north of the railway, the discovery of some great glacier groups, and the despatch of the legendary Mounts Brown and Hooker, at one time supposed to be among the highest summits of North America, to the same limbo as Mont Iseran. Since

---

* 'Alpine Journal,' May 1900.

† 'Among the Selkirk Glaciers.' By W. S. Green. Macmillans, 1890.

‡ 'The Rockies of Canada.' By W. D. Wilcox, F.R.G.S. Putnam, 1900.

we learn that the veteran climber Mr E. Whymper, in company with four leading Alpine guides, intends to devote several seasons to the survey and exploration of the Rocky Mountains of Canada, a speedy increase in our knowledge of these vast ranges may be confidently anticipated.

The tremendous series of peaks and glaciers which fringes the south-west shore of Alaska was long supposed to culminate in Mount St Elias, a mountain that boasts a literary history. La Pérouse, the French navigator, who was one of the first to see it, measured its height as only 12,672 feet; but North American mountains are almost as elastic as Little Alice. It has now risen to 18,060 feet, but, after enjoying for a short time the reputation of the highest peak in North America, has had to yield to its neighbour Mount Logan. It was once said to be a volcano. Tennyson was struck by the early descriptions, and framed on them one of the stanzas in his 'Palace of Art.' As the mountain that shows the longest snow-slope on the face of the globe, Mount St Elias remains remarkable. In the Himalaya you may—if you can—climb on ice 16,000 vertical feet, since the glaciers of Sikhim and probably those of Nepal descend to about 13,000 feet above sea-level. But in ascending Mount St Elias you are on ice all the way. It is, to be sure, a long walk. It took the Duke of the Abruzzi and his party three weeks from the coast to reach the camp at 8861 feet from which they made the first ascent of the peak. The Italian expedition was admirably organised, and thoroughly deserved the success that attended it throughout. The handsome volume which records it is as perfect as pains and money can make it.

In South America, among the highest Andes, Mr Fitzgerald and Sir Martin Conway are found in friendly rivalry. Mr Fitzgerald was not content with a mere mountaineering excursion. His party was a thoroughly organised scientific expedition, consisting of three Englishmen besides himself, the famous guide Zurbriggen, and five Alpine porters. His first object was to climb the highest mountain in South America, but he also made provision for the thorough physical exploration and mapping of the surrounding region. The undertaking proved a very arduous one; and, although Mr Fitzgerald's objects were accomplished, it would seem that the moun-

taineers found less than the usual amount of pleasure mingled with their toil. The region which they had undertaken to investigate proved unexpectedly and singularly repulsive. 'The valleys,' writes one of the party, Mr Gosse, 'were desolate, monotonous, and dreary in the highest degree. A feature of the life was the hot gale which blew every day from about 10 a.m. to sundown, burying everything in a wind of dust.' The precipices of Aconcagua were surrounded by 'wide bleak wastes of grey stones, bounded by black crags or red or brown slopes ending in glaciers.' The climate proved to be execrable, and the snow-storms a source of constant discomfort and even danger during many months of the year.

It would seem that in Chili, as in the Karakoram, the lover of scenery must be content with the grandeur of the great peaks and their glaciers. But the American summits, judging from photographs, compare unfavourably with the giants of Asia. Their forms are less striking, their snowfields fewer and scantier. Many of the lofty ridges are snow-striped rather than snow-clad. Yet the great cliffs of Aconcagua show in the illustrations as a noble piece of nature's handiwork, and the dome of Tupungato towers against the sky like a larger and loftier Kasbek. It can hardly be said that the merits of man make up for any shortcomings in the scenery of the Andes. The half-caste muleteers are a vile race, and the prudent traveller eats with his revolver on the table and barricades his bed-room door. Mr Fitzgerald even suggests that it may be judicious for him on occasion to sleep under his bed in order to avoid being shot at through the roof. The key-note of the whole narrative is toil and suffering; and the reader is led to doubt whether, when once the attraction of novelty and conquest is removed, the Chilian Andes will attract many lovers of the picturesque or even of the sublime.

Much survey work was effected by the party, and two of its members, Mr Vines and Zurbriggen, attained on different occasions the top of Aconcagua, over 23,000 feet—one of the greatest elevations yet reached by man. Another point on the summit ridge has since been climbed by Sir Martin Conway. When a shelter has been erected on the mountain, there seems good reason to believe that it will be frequently visited, as the climb is rather fatiguing than

difficult. The records of Mr Fitzgerald's expedition, lately issued in a handsome volume, show that good scientific work was done by its members in addition to the climbing and surveying which were their first objects. Every reader will sympathise with the gallant leader in his disappointment at being unable, through ill-health, to reach the final goal.*

The snowy ranges of Bolivia that look down on the upland sea of Lake Titicaca have been explored by the ubiquitous Sir Martin Conway, who has ascended Illimani and reached a point some 300 feet below the summit of Sorata. Here the mountaineer is carried up to his field of exploration by a railway which, after crossing a pass 14,666 feet high, lands him at an altitude of 12,600 feet on the shores of an inland sea 'fourteen times as large as the Lake of Geneva.' Sir Martin Conway acquiesces in the recent Government triangulation which has reduced Sorata by nearly 3000 feet. Aconcagua is thus left the supreme summit of the New World.†

The last snowy range that comes within our survey is that of the New Zealand Alps. Its exploration was begun many years ago by two Austrian men of science in the employ of the Government, Von Haast and Hochstetter. A fresh impulse was given by Mr Spotswood Green, who nearly got up Mount Cook, and wrote a lively account of his scrambles.‡ In recent years the glaciers have been explored by Mr Harper and other young colonists, who for a time kept up a mountaineering club; and the hardest of the great peaks were stormed by Mr Fitzgerald and Zurbriggen in 1894–5. If the range is lower than the Alps, the snowline is also lower, so that the scale of the peaks and glaciers is not very different. The unique charm of the New Zealand Alps is to be found in the wilds of the western coast, where the glaciers descend to the sea beaches, and long fiords, enclosed between slopes

---

* M. Zurbriggen has given a somewhat egotistical account of his own doings in a book entitled 'From the Alps to the Andes,' published by Mr Fisher Unwin, 1899.

† Sir Martin Conway has not yet published a full description of his journeys in the Andes, but short notices have appeared in the 'Alpine Journal' during the last two years.

‡ 'The High Alps of New Zealand.' By W. S. Green. Macmillans, 1883.

of subtropical vegetation and cliffs bright with falling waters, run up into the heart of the mountains. Mr Harper and Mr Fitzgerald have both published very readable accounts of their adventures and ascents in this region.*

On one question, of the first importance to the future of mountaineering, the records of the last ten years' experience fail to throw any certain light. Does mountain-sickness necessarily increase with altitude to such an extent as to render the ascent of mountains over 25,000 feet impossible? Has the limit attainable by human beings been nearly approached by Sir Martin Conway and Mr Fitzgerald? Sir M. Conway argues that it has. Mr D. Freshfield, who stopped 1000 to 1500 feet lower than Sir M. Conway, on a point fixed by the Indian survey at 22,000 feet, takes the opposite view. Had he not been handicapped by deep fresh snow and a baggage-train of heavily-laden coolies, he might possibly have supplied some more conclusive evidence in support of his belief. Mr Clinton Dent, a surgeon, a physicist, and a climber, and competent therefore to speak both on scientific and practical grounds, takes the hopeful view. On the other hand, Dr Mosso, an Italian physician who has studied the physiology of the question deeply on Monte Rosa and elsewhere, and written a volume on his experiments, is less sanguine. We cannot enter here into a discussion of his theories, which are at present far from meeting with general acceptance among experts.†

In truth what is still most wanted is more experiments. Those we have are somewhat contradictory. Sir M. Conway was thoroughly indisposed at 23,000 feet in the Himalaya and fairly fit on Aconcagua; Zurbriggen fared better on the whole in the Himalaya than in the Andes; Mr D. Freshfield and Mr Garwood suffered most between 15,000 and 17,000 feet, and felt no discomfort at 21,500 feet beyond a certain lassitude; while Mr Dover, a European officer resident in Sikhim, enjoyed apparent

---

* 'Climbs in the New Zealand Alps.' By E. A. Fitzgerald. Fisher Unwin, 1896. 'Pioneer Work in the Alps of New Zealand.' By A. P. Harper. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

† See, for the latest examination of these theories, a paper by Dr Hepburn in the 'Alpine Journal,' May 1901.

immunity from any effect of altitude at 20,000 feet and over. On the existing evidence, considered by itself and still more when it is compared with the experiences of a former generation in the Alps, there is in our opinion no reason to believe that human beings will be found incapable of walking up to 29,000 feet. That they will not do so without considerable difficulty may also be inferred. At the elevations hitherto reached, mountain-sickness varies as much in individual cases as sea-sickness; but climbers unconscious of any indisposition at over 20,000 feet are exceptional persons. The average man suffers from lassitude above 15,000 feet, but appears to be more or less capable of acclimatisation; though on this point again experiences are somewhat conflicting, the same climber going on one day without a halt from 13,000 to 16,500 feet and on another failing at 14,000 feet. Is the difference due to a change in his condition or in that of the atmosphere? This is one of the many points on which further research may be expected to throw light.

We are far from having exhausted the recent achievements of English climbers in far-off regions, nor have we been able even to touch on those of foreign mountaineers. But enough has been written to show that the Alpine Club has, perhaps unconsciously, been turning over a new leaf. It has become in fact what it was from the first in intention—an Orographical Society in the widest sense of the term. The work which its founders did forty years ago for physical knowledge in Europe is being carried on by their successors in every part of the globe. They take with them wherever they go the craft of mountaineering and the methods of mountain cartography in the delineation of ice and snow. They are specialists in a branch of geography which, like oceanography, forms a pursuit in itself, and which had been but inefficiently pursued and studied by the general geographer. An accurate appreciation of the features of the great ranges of the world is an essential part of science. A detailed knowledge and adequate maps of the mountain frontiers of our Empire would be no small addition to its defences. What we have suffered by leaving the hills of Natal an unmapped, or in General Buller's famous phrase an 'unknown,' country, will not, we trust, be soon forgotten.

Art. VII.—THE DATE OF DANTE'S VISION.

1. *Esercitazioni cronologiche, storiche, &c.* By Filippo Vedovati. Venice: Tip. del Commercio, 1864.
2. *Che l' Anno della Visione di Dante è il* MCCCI. By Giusto Grion. Udine: Foenis, 1865.
3. *Sulla Data del Viaggio Dantesco.* By F. Angelitti. Naples: University Press, 1897.
4. *Per la Data della Visione Dantesca.* By Angelo Solerti. In the *Giornale Dantesco*, 1898.
   And other works.

WAS the year assumed by Dante for the Vision of the 'Divina Commedia' 1300 or 1301—the beginning of the new century in the popular imagination, or in actual fact? The last few years have witnessed the revival of a controversy which seemed to have been finally closed in favour of 1300—a date which is still maintained by the vast majority of writers ancient and modern. The controversy has recently been reopened by some Italian scholars with very great wealth of learning and minute investigation, both historical and astronomical; and the date 1301 has again received the adherence of some whose names cannot fail to carry weight. The recurrence of the 600th anniversary of the epoch has naturally revived interest in the question. The same reason may perhaps justify us in presenting to our readers a summary of the evidence, especially as that anniversary marks the close of a century in which the revival of the study of Dante, both at home and abroad, has been nothing less than phenomenal.

The point at issue may, at first sight, seem trivial and unimportant, and so perhaps intrinsically it is. But its chief interest lies not so much in the actual result as in the nature of the controversy itself, in the arguments upon which it depends, and the light which the possibility of such arguments throws on the mind and methods of the author; also, we may add, in the connexion which the date has with the incidents and experiences of Dante's life.

First of all, it may be taken as generally known that Dante assumes a definite day in a definite year for the commencement of his Vision or Journey. He feigns that he entered the Inferno at nightfall on Good Friday, in a

year which he describes as a 'centesimo anno,' which was also the central year (*mezzo cammino*) of his own life; and this, as we learn from the 'Convito,' would mean his thirty-fifth year.

Next, this assumed date he never forgets. That is admitted on all hands. No one is represented as dead who was living at that date, or *vice versa*. No event that happened after that date is referred to unless under the guise of prophecy, with one exception, easily explained, which will be noticed presently. One or two illustrations of this may be given. The Emperor, Henry VII, died in 1313, before the 'Paradiso' was written. Yet Dante refers to his becoming Emperor (1308) in the language of prophecy. See 'Par.' xxx, 136: 'l'alma che *fia* giù agosta.' A typically bad reading is found here, '*fu già*.' This was evidently due to some dull copyist who was not aware of Dante's practice, and was unfortunately troubled with 'a little knowledge' of chronology. In 'Purg.' viii, 121, Dante declares that he has never yet been in the territories of the Malaspina family, but prophesies that before seven years are past he will receive their hospitable protection. This occurred in 1306. Hence it is that we have the materials for judging (1) as to the year *assumed* for the Vision, and (2) as to the date of the actual composition of different parts of the poem, some portions of which can thus be shown to have been unfinished till within three or four years (or even less) of the author's death. This may be called the historical branch of the argument. The other branch is the astronomical one. Dante frequently refers to the position of the sun, moon, and planets, for indications of time. Now the positions of the moon and planets would be different at the corresponding periods of 1300 and 1301, and these can be ascertained exactly by computation. Here then we have quite another class of data bearing on the question. But whether Dante's astronomical references are to be understood popularly, or whether they are to be tested by rigid scientific calculations, is a preliminary and fundamental point which has itself given rise to the keenest controversy. It will be discussed later.

We will deal first with the historical argument. Unfortunately, the application of the apparently simple test of drawing the line between history and prophecy is beset with such numerous difficulties in detail that many of the

passages in question have been claimed on both sides in the controversy. But before we expound some of these, it should be observed that the apparently precise data already mentioned as furnished by Dante for the commencement of his Vision have been understood in different senses. We have seen that one of those data is the Good Friday of the year in question. Now that day occurred on April 8th in 1300, and on March 31st in 1301. The latter date being wholly inconsistent with Dante's frequent references to the age and position of the moon, the advocates of 1301 have recourse to the traditional date of March 25th as being that of our Lord's actual crucifixion, and so imagine Dante to have entered Hell on March 25th, 1301, which might therefore be described as a sort of 'ideal' Good Friday. Among the early commentators, Boccaccio alone adopts this view. It should be observed in passing that the ideal Good Friday, March 25th, would in 1300 be as hopelessly inconsistent with the lunar references above mentioned as is the actual Good Friday, March 31st, in 1301.

But Dante also gives another datum by referring the commencement of his Vision to the spring equinox. Though such references are not so definite as to bind us to the precise day of the equinox, it is curious that the early commentators seem to have paid most attention to this datum; and the majority of them place the commencement about 'mezzo Marzo,' that being the time to which the true equinox was believed to have receded in the time of Dante owing to the error in the Julian Calendar, and the 'centesma ch' è laggiù negletta' ('Par.' xxvii, 143). Contemporary documents usually give March 15th as the date of the equinox, though, as a matter of fact, the exact day was March 12th.

But though the early commentators are at variance as to the *day*, they seem to be almost agreed as to the *year* being 1300. At any rate, none explicitly adopts 1301, though some doubt has been thrown upon the evidence in two cases; and Boccaccio is inconsistent with himself, giving 1301 in one passage, and 1300 in two others. In spite, however, of the largely preponderant acceptance of the date 1300 by both ancient and modern commentators, it must not be supposed that this represents the sum of individual conviction based upon evidence, or that the

subject is by any means so clear as such a consensus might seem to imply.

Now in regard to the year we must be on our guard at the outset against several sources of confusion by which the discussion is embarrassed. There is first the well-known difficulty arising from the different days taken for the commencement of the year. Besides the present method (to which the expression 'Anni a Circumcisione' is sometimes applied), there were two others more usually in vogue in the Middle Ages. In one, the year commenced on December 25th, the traditional birthday of our Lord ('Anni a Nativitate'), and in the other on March 25th, the date of the Annunciation or Incarnation ('Anni ab Incarnatione'). The former of these (December 25th) was called the Roman use, and the latter the Florentine or Pisan use. Hence arises an obvious confusion in respect of the date of events occurring in the first three months of each year. This difficulty is familiar to all students of history. For instance, in Giovanni Villani, who naturally follows the Florentine use, we sometimes find the election of a pope in January or February in succession to one who is described as dying apparently some months later in the same year. Thus Villani states that Honorius IV died in April 1287, and that his successor, Nicholas IV, was elected in February 1287 (our 1288).

But the confusion does not end here, since those who commenced their year from the Incarnation, or March 25th, differed as to whether the numeration of years should start from the March 25th before our Lord's birth, i.e. the actual day of the Incarnation, or from the March 25th following, i.e. the first anniversary occurring during our Lord's lifetime. The former method was called the Pisan use, and was advocated by the well-known chronologer, Dionysius Exiguus, in the sixth century, and also by Bede. The latter is known as the Florentine use, and was much more commonly adopted, it being followed also in some provinces of France and generally in Spain, Germany, and England. In this case the year 1 would begin on the first anniversary of the Incarnation, i.e. on the March 25th following our Lord's birth,* when he would

* The period between the Incarnation and this date is actually described by Clavius as the year 0. This designation is defended as chronologically

be considered to be one year old. This was the method adopted by Clavius, who assisted at the Gregorian reformation of the calendar, and by his younger contemporary, Petavius.

Now let us observe the practical differences which follow when these systems are brought into comparison with our method of reckoning. In this, the year 1 is supposed to begin on the January 1st following, not preceding, the birthday of our Lord, with which actual day the New Year was intended approximately to coincide. Our New Year's Day, in other words, precedes the Florentine by three months. Consequently, as the Florentine year 1301 begins on our March 25th of the same year, the last nine months of our year would be described by the same figure on both systems, while the first three months of our 1301 would on the Florentine system belong to the previous year, 1300. Conversely, on the Pisan system, according to which our Lord was born on December 25th of the year 1, the year 1301 would begin on our March 25th, 1300, and so the first three months of our year 1300 would correspond with the Pisan in the figure of the year, while the last nine months would belong to the Pisan year 1301.* It will be observed how this difficulty especially besets the declarations of those who, like the majority of the early commentators, place the commencement of the Vision at the critical period of 'mezzo Marzo.'

Let us further make this plain as regards the Florentine use by one or two examples. The battle of Benevento, in which Manfred fell, took place according to our reckoning on February 26th, 1266. It is described by Villani as occurring on February 26th, 1265. A still better example is given by Professor Angelitti from the letter of Gregory

---

correct by Bishop Butcher in his learned work on the 'Ecclesiastical Calendar,' p. 21.

* The following table will show these differences at a glance :—

Modern.	Florentine.	Pisan.
Jan.—Mar. 1300 . .	1299	1300
Mar. 25—Dec. 1300 .	1300	1301
Jan.—Mar. 1301 . .	1300	1301
Mar. 25—Dec. 1301 .	1301	1302

XIII, promulgating the reform of the calendar. The date of the letter is February 24th (VI° Cal. Mart.), 'Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1581'; and that of the affixing of the seal a week later, on March 1st, is given as 'Anno a Nativitate D.N. Jesu Christi 1582.' Here we see the contrast, within a few lines, of the dates on the Florentine and Roman systems respectively, the latter practically corresponding with our own.

It is interesting now to enquire which of the above systems of computation, Roman or Florentine, Dante seems to have employed. We think probably the Roman, i.e. beginning the year *a Nativitate*, or on December 25th, this being the reckoning officially adopted by the Church, or, as the words run in the Jubilee Bull of Boniface VIII: 'Annos Domini secundum ritum Romanæ Ecclesiæ.' If we admit the genuineness of the 'Quæstio de Aqua et Terra,' including the colophon, the question is decided at once, for the subscription, in which the date is given, runs thus: 'Anno a Nativitate D.N. Jesu Christi 1320.' It is added that the discussion was on January 20th, and that that day was Sunday. This was the case according to our reckoning, or the Roman reckoning. It would not be so on January 20th, 1320, according to Florentine use. Angelitti points out another interesting inference from the fact that it is also there stated that the glorious birth of our Saviour, as well as His resurrection, took place on a Sunday. Mathematical calculations show that this would be the case if the Christmas Day of our Lord's birth were considered to be in the year 1, and not in the year 0. Hence probably Dante did not adopt the Florentine use, at any rate. In 'Inf.' xxiv, 1–3, the presence of the sun in Aquarius, i.e. January–February (according to popular estimation), is described as 'parte del *giovinetto* anno.' On the Florentine usage it would be just the end of the year. The passage in 'Par.' xvi, 34, in which Cacciaguida treats the Annunciation as a sort of *terminus a quo* of all chronology, cannot be adduced (as it has been by Fraticelli and others) to prove that Dante himself reckoned years *ab Incarnatione*, for the words occur in the mouth of the ancient Florentine Cacciaguida, who would naturally reckon thus; nor, indeed, in any case, would the actual language of the passage bear the weight of any such inference.

But there is yet another source of confusion in regard to the year, which must not be overlooked. When a writer mentions a definite number of years, are they *anni compiuti* or *anni correnti?* In other words, is the last and incomplete year reckoned in or not? We are met by this difficulty perpetually, and it just makes the difference of one year, which is precisely the difference between the dates under discussion, 1300 or 1301. Here are two obvious illustrations. Our Lord was generally believed by mediæval writers to have died on March 25th, thirty-four years after the date of the Incarnation, or, as we should say, at the age of thirty-three years and three months from his birth. But his age is sometimes stated as thirty-three and sometimes as thirty-four, though the same thing is meant. So again, when Dante speaks of his longing to see Beatrice as 'decenne sete,' 'a ten years' thirst,' if the date was 1300, it would be actually nine and three-quarter years, if 1301, then ten and three-quarters. The former seems obviously more probable, though both views are tenable.

Bearing in mind all these sources of confusion and ambiguity, let us next turn to a few of the passages that are quoted as bearing on the controversy.* There is, in the first place, a passage which stands out prominently as the very keystone of the problem, viz., 'Inf.' xxi, 112–114:

> 'Ier, più oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,
> Mille dugento con sessanta sei
> Anni compiè, che qui la via fu rotta.'

Here Dante appears, and evidently intends, to fix the year, the day, and the hour, of that part of his journey with the utmost possible precision of language; but the day and year are still matters of the keenest dispute. Since Dante says, in 'Conv.' iv, 23, that our Lord willed to die in the thirty-fourth year of his age, the natural consequence of this would be to add thirty-four to the

---

* The questions and the inferences involved in some of these are too complicated for discussion in such an article as this. The passages, also, are too numerous for complete citation. Thus, Angelitti brings between twenty and thirty into the discussion. Another recent critic (Solerti) enumerates twenty, and comes to the general conclusion that eight are in favour of 1300, three in favour of 1301, and nine are doubtful, though in many cases pointing rather to 1300.

number 1266 here given, and hence to infer 1300 to be the year of the Vision. But Professor Angelitti endeavours, even without the help of the variant explained in the note,* to wring the year 1301 out of the passage. Assuming that Dante held that our Lord was born on December 25th in the year 1, he claims that he may be said to have died on March 25th in the year 35 (i.e. on the first day of that year), and not on March 25th of the year 34, as commonly held. Hence we are entitled to add 35 to 1266, and so obtain the desired result, 1301. We must say this seems to be a mere arithmetical juggle. What the text states is that 1266 years have elapsed since the death of Christ; and as that occurred, according to the explicit statement of Dante, in his thirty-fourth year, it would certainly never occur to any reader who knew that our Lord's age was held to be thirty-three and a quarter, which at most might be described as thirty-four, to take that figure at thirty-five in order to work out the calculation here put into the mouth of Malacoda.

But in another way this argument appears to us entirely to miss the point at issue. Our enquiry is whether Dante intended his Vision to be associated with the year commonly known as 1300, or that commonly known as 1301. The identity of either year would be easily determined by some well-known historical event in each, such, for instance, as the First Jubilee, in 1300, or Dante's Priorate in that year; or in 1301, the coming of Charles of Valois to Florence, marking the beginning of its destruction, as Dante expresses it in 'Conv.' II, xiv, l. 176. Our main point then would be to determine whether the Vision were associated with the year of some such well-known event, however the year itself might be designated; not whether Dante considered that the year commonly known as 1300

---

* It may be noted that there is a monstrous variant here, which consists in the insertion of *uno* after dugento:

'Mille dugent' uno con sessanta sei.'

This, to begin with, will not scan, and on several other grounds is most obviously a false reading and clumsy correction. But it is so far interesting that the variant is of great antiquity, and is recognised by some of the very early commentators. Thus it bears witness to the difficulty that was soon felt in working out the computation given by Dante, owing probably to some of the causes of confusion in methods of reckoning already noted. Possibly the object may have been to bring out the date 1301 instead of 1300.

would be more correctly (on scientific or chronological grounds) described as 1301. The two questions seem to be quite distinct, and the latter does not really concern the present issue. The dividing line between history and prophecy is the ultimate test of this, by whatever figure the year may be designated.

Following the same principle of taking Dante's words in their natural sense, we consider that the anniversary of the death of Christ would be certainly understood by Dante's readers to be that day with which everyone was familiar, viz. Good Friday according to the calendar of the Church; and that few, if any, would ever think (even if they knew it) of the fixed date of March 25th, excogitated by certain ecclesiastical writers. Unless Dante employed language 'to conceal his thoughts,' surely his chronological and (as we shall contend later) his astronomical references also must be understood in such a sense as would naturally occur to an ordinarily instructed and intelligent reader.

We will now call attention to a few of the more important passages adduced on the historical side of the controversy, taking first those which are claimed with most confidence by the advocates of 1300.

A passage generally thought strongly to support 1300, if not to be almost conclusive for it, is the incident of Casella in 'Purg.,' canto ii, 91–99. Among the spirits landed on the shore of Purgatory that morning by the angel is the soul of Dante's friend Casella. Dante expresses surprise that Casella has lost so much time in coming thither (l. 93). Casella explains that when the angel is taking on board his daily freight of souls, 'one is taken and another left,' according to what is apparently an entirely arbitrary exercise of his will, though no doubt with strict justice (ll. 94–97). Casella himself has been frequently rejected ('più volte,' l. 96). But when he returned again this time (l. 100), he found that for three months past the angel's demeanour had entirely changed, and all were received without any difficulty, 'con tutta pace' (l. 99). The generally accepted and natural explanation is this, that the kindlier manner of the angel was due to the proclamation by Boniface VIII of the First Jubilee, which was to take effect from Christmas 1299, i.e. the first day of the year 1300. This would be about three months

before, whatever exact day may be taken as that of the commencement of Dante's journey.

To this Angelitti raises the objection (which he considers fatal) that there is nothing in the Bull conveying any benefit to those already dead; and it is implied by l. 96 ('Più volte m' ha negato esto passaggio'), as well as by l. 93 (mentioned above), that Casella had died some time before Christmas 1299. For an alternative explanation, he appeals very ingeniously to a further Bull of Boniface dated Christmas Day 1300, i.e. the commencement of 1301 in Roman usage, conveying the benefits of the Jubilee to any who through death or accidental delay in travelling had not been able to complete the prescribed number of days of religious services, 'numero dierum taxato nondum decurso.' He assumes that Casella was in this position, and that he died in the course of the year 1300, and consequently was rejected by the angel until the supplementary Bull of Boniface was promulgated at Christmas 1300, three months previously to Easter 1301.

Now, it is doubtless true that there is nothing in the original Bull of Boniface conveying any benefit to one already dead; but if we are to be bound by such rigid conditions of its applicability as this, let us be consistent in our strictness. In that case, let it be observed, no benefit corresponding to that which Casella here describes is promised in it to anyone at all. In the first place, it was to help people out of Purgatory, not into it. Then, again, the scene imagined here is evidently reproduced from Virgil (see 'Æneid' vi, 313–330), like many other subordinate features or details in the 'Divina Commedia.' No such impediment to salvation or purgation as this Virgilian incident (nor, indeed, even the existence of any such a place as Ante-Purgatory at all) is found in the teaching of the Church or in the belief of Christians. The conditions, looked at thus strictly (as Angelitti would demand), are not such as would be affected by the terms of the Indulgence at all. We believe Dante merely means that the promulgation of the Jubilee brought about during that *anno santo* a general disposition of benignity and clemency to mankind—observe (ll. 98, 99) that since three months the angel had received graciously *all* who came—it inaugurated a period of general 'good-will towards men,' and of easier conditions for humanity at large. Thus the

demeanour of the *ufficiali celestiali*, in their several spheres of operation, was made more favourable thereby,

'So hallowed and so gracious was the time.'

How else should we account for the unrestricted character of the angel's welcome (l. 99)? Those affected by the concession in the supplementary Bull must have been comparatively very few. Unfortunately, the actual date of Casella's death, like that of many other subordinate incidents in the 'Divina Commedia' which would serve as *instantiæ crucis* in this controversy, cannot now be ascertained.

The passage in 'Inf.' x, 111, on the death of Guido Cavalcanti, seems even more conclusive. Dante requests Farinata to reassure Cavalcanti by informing him that his son Guido is still living:—

'Che il suo nato è co' vivi ancor congiunto.'

As Guido died in August 1300, and was buried at Santa Reparata in Florence on the twenty-ninth day of that month, this statement was true at Easter 1300, but would not be true at Easter 1301. One answer attempted to this is that the declaration of Dante is 'a pious fraud' in order to spare the feelings of the afflicted father! It is further suggested that the words are intentionally ambiguous, and that Dante meant to save his credit for truthfulness by using an expression capable of meaning 'present in the memory and affections of those living' (*cọi vivi ancor congiunto*)! This is surely *θέσιν διαφυλάττειν* with a vengeance. The peculiar form of words may be explained, if any explanation be needed, by the fact that Guido was in hopelessly broken health, and was in fact 'a dying man' at this time. Other critics have been reduced to the suggestion that Dante has made a mistake as to the date of the death of one who was his 'primo amico.'

Another statement which seems to be almost decisive for 1300 is that put into the mouth of Cacciaguida respecting the age of Can Grande, viz. that he is then only nine years old:—

'pur nove anni
Son queste ruote intorno di lui torte.'
('Par.' xvii, 80, 81.)

An old chronicle ('Chronicon Veronense,' *c.* 1378) states the day of his birth to have been March 9th, 1291.* If that evidence be accepted, the question is practically settled. Some have adopted the desperate evasion of supposing Dante to be referring not to our years, but to those of the planet Mars, in which he was then situated! Others suggest that for 'March' we should read 'May,' on the strength of a poem (dated, it is true, 1328) which describes the astrological conditions of Can Grande's birth in a manner said to suit better that time of the year. Angelitti, again, states that the 'Chronicon' in question is so full of chronological blunders that its authority is worthless. Still, the fact remains that the one positive and definite statement that has come down to us, and which so far 'holds the field,' distinctly requires the acceptance of the date 1300.

We have no space to discuss other passages of this kind, but we may now take together some cases in which the inference depends on the question whether a given number of years includes one incomplete year or not. For instance, does 'ten years' stand for nine and a fraction or ten and a fraction? No certain rule can be insisted on. But generally we might be guided by the magnitude of the fraction over, and we should then naturally adopt the interpretation which most nearly approximates to the round number given. Under this head, besides the inference to be drawn in favour of 1300 from the expression *decenne sete* already referred to (*supra*, p. 155), we may refer to the datum given in 'Inf.' i, 1, by the words 'Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita.' It has been said that this may as well describe the year thirty-five to thirty-six as that from thirty-four to thirty-five. But if Dante was born in May 1265, he would be at Easter 1300 thirty-four years and about ten months, and this is surely much more near the *mezzo cammin* of thirty-five than would be the age of thirty-five and ten months at Easter 1301. Besides, in 'Conv.' IV, xxiii, l. 93, Dante says that the perfection of human life, the summit of its arch (= *mezzo cammino*) is reached 'nel trentacinquesimo anno,' in the thirty-fifth year, i.e. between thirty-four and thirty-five; and that Christ willed to die in His thirty-fourth year so that His

---

* The chronicler appears always to use the Roman reckoning, by which this date corresponds with the modern notation.

Divinity might not 'stare in discrescere,' which certainly seems to imply that this 'discrescere' would begin as soon as the thirty-fifth year was reached. It can scarcely admit of a doubt that if Dante were born in 1265 he would describe the year 1300, during which he reached and passed thirty-five about the month of May, as marking the *mezzo cammin* of his life.

On the other hand, and on similar principles, we should admit that 'Purg.' xxiii, 78—where it is stated that five years have not yet passed since the death * of Dante's wife's cousin, Forese Donati—seems rather better to suit 1301, since the choice lies between about three years and three-quarters and four years and three-quarters. Perhaps five is taken as a sort of round number, as we speak of 'five or ten years'; but, as in the other passages already quoted, no certain conclusion can be drawn. The same may be said of 'Purg.' xviii, 121, where Alberto della Scala is described as 'having one foot in the grave.' This, while quite compatible with either date, would more vividly correspond with the five months provided by 1301 than with seventeen months in 1300. But, as he is said to have been a very old man, the expression would be quite suitable in either case.

We cannot but think that considerable, if not crucial, importance must be attached to the expression 'questo centesim' anno' in 'Par.' ix, 40. 'This centenary year' is surely an expression much more naturally applied to 1300 than to 1301, apart from the question of the technical question of its belonging to the new or to the old century. The very term itself, 'centesimo anno,' occurs in reference to the year 1300 in the language of Boniface's proclamation. The Jubilee was to be held 'in anno millesimo trecentesimo . . . et in quolibet *anno centesimo* secuturo.' And again, the supplementary Bull of Christmas 1300 already referred to is dated 'in die natalis Domini, fine videlicet *centesimi* [*sc.* anni] qui fuit millesimus trecentesimus.'

We must now turn to the passages most confidently relied on by the advocates of 1301. Far the most important is 'Purg.' viii, 73–81, where the second marriage of the widow of Nino de' Visconti is referred to. This, according to Angelitti, would be at Easter 1300 'an irre-

* Recently ascertained by Del Lungo to have occurred on July 26th, 1296.

parable anachronism,' since that marriage is known to have taken place on June 24th, 1300. Recourse has been had to some unworthy subterfuges here to save the date 1300, like those we have noted above on the other side. But it surely seems a perfectly fair answer to say that Dante does not state that the second marriage is already celebrated, but only that the widow has been very much too hasty in putting off her widow's weeds. Note the exact language of ll. 74, 75 :—

> 'Poscia che trasmutò le bianche bende,
> Le quai convien che misera ancor brami.'

This sign of mourning would naturally be abandoned as soon as the intended marriage was arranged or announced, and that may well have been some weeks or even months before it was actually celebrated, especially under the circumstances of indecent haste here alleged. As a matter of fact, Nino de' Visconti died in 1296, and the *shorter* interval allowed by 1300 would add point to his complaint.

Another passage on which Grion lays some stress is 'Inf.' xviii, 28, where Dante refers to the barrier run along the bridge of S. Angelo to divide the crowds of those going to or returning from St Peter's. He thinks that this affords a strong argument for 1301, since the Jubilee was not actually proclaimed till February 22nd, 1300. But if Dante were in Rome in the spring of 1300 (as has been thought probable) he might have witnessed this about Easter, when the *esercito molto* would be at its height. And further, he does not say that he witnessed it, though it may certainly be a fairly natural inference that he did so. But, whether or no, we must protest against the notion that the assumption of a fixed date, and the careful separation of past and future events in reference to it, preclude Dante from making use, in the way of illustration, simile, or comparison, of events that occurred later. This is quite different from allowing himself, or any of the characters whom he introduces, to refer, as speakers, to such occurrences. Though Dante as a speaker never does this, Dante as a narrative poet is not thus hampered. It would have been sheer pedantry in him to accept such a restriction; and he did not accept it.

Thus he draws a comparison from the 'Slavini di Marco,' in 'Inf.' xii, 5, which probably did not occur till

June 20th, 1309.* Again, in 'Inf.' xix, 19, he refers to his having rescued a boy from drowning by breaking one of the receptacles in the baptismal font in S. Giovanni. Grion says, on the authority of Jacopo di Dante, that this occurred in April 1301, and argues hence against the date 1300. But Dante himself adds, 'it was a few years ago,' 'ancor non è molt' anni,' which shows that he does so as Dante the narrative poet. The passage, therefore, cannot bear in any case on the assumed date as between 1300 and 1301, as it is not more suitable to one than to the other.

There is an interesting department of this controversy which want of space compels us to leave untouched, viz., the numerous passages containing formal prophecies, more or less oracular, of future events, such, for example, as the prophecies of Ciacco in 'Inf.' vi, 65 ('verranno al sangue,' &c.), and the event that should follow that bloodshed, 'infra tre soli'; or again that of Farinata respecting the calamities that should befall Dante before fifty lunations ('Inf.' x, 79). We could not adduce such passages without an elaborate and exhaustive discussion of the various interpretations that have been suggested for them. One interesting feature of this part of the subject is the use made of the well known dictum of the limits of the prescience of the lost, in 'Inf.' x, 100–108, viz., that distant events are clearly foreseen, but when they are near at hand a veil is drawn over them. Some of the suggested fulfilments of the prophecies are criticised as falling within the limit of this shadow of ignorance. But, before this argument can be applied, the questions have to be settled, if possible, (1) whether this limit applies to all the lost, or only to those in the circle of the Epicureans or Materialists, among whom is the speaker, Farinata; and (2), if (as is probable) the wider interpretation of 'noi' (l. 100) be accepted, what are the precise limits indicated by the words 'Quando *s'appressano*.' It may perhaps be suggested that this singular and arbitrary limitation was devised by Dante in order to enable him to introduce contemporary events into his poem. Otherwise he could not consistently inform the spirits of such events, since they would have been aware of them as of other things future; nor could

* Some writers, however, suppose an earlier landslip in the ninth century to be referred to.

they inform him, because he had just come from the earth himself. In any case the complexity of this department of the subject limits us to a brief indication of its existence.

The results in regard to the 'historical' aspect of the controversy may be now summed up thus. There seems to be only one passage, that relating to the second marriage of the widow of Nino de' Visconti, which is even claimed by the advocates of 1301 as entirely conclusive. We have seen that it does not support any such positive inference, and that it may be quite well interpreted consistently with either date. On the other hand, there are three or four passages pointing very strongly to 1300, which seem only adaptible to 1301 by somewhat forced and unnatural explanations. Finally, there is a considerable number of intermediate passages on which opinions may fairly differ, but in a majority of these the assumption of the date 1300 appears to afford the more natural and obvious explanation. We do not therefore feel any hesitation, so far as this side of the investigation is concerned, in holding firmly to the generally received date, 1300.

We now turn to the astronomical side of the argument. To this Angelitti attaches supreme importance, regarding the conclusion based upon it in favour of 1301 as an 'impregnable rock,' although professing himself also satisfied that it does not conflict with the historical evidence. But here we have at the outset to determine a question of principle, vital to the whole discussion which follows.

It is maintained by Angelitti that every astronomical lluusion or statement in the 'Divina Commedia' is to be tested and interpreted by the most rigid application of mathematical calculations. For this purpose he has constructed very complete and elaborate tables of 'Ephemerides' for sun, moon, and planets during the spring of the years 1300 and 1301. Testing Dante's references by these, and especially by those relating to the planets, he comes to the conclusion that such references correspond precisely with the positions of the planets in 1301, and do not at all correspond with their positions in 1300. This result would be no doubt very striking, one might almost say very startling, if established. But we shall see that it is very much overstated, and in some points even misstated, though of course not intentionally. But before

coming to this we must traverse the fundamental assumption upon which the whole superstructure of this argument rests.

Our own view is that, whatever may have been Dante's skill and knowledge in astronomy (and from the 'Convito' we know it to have been very considerable), in the 'Divina Commedia' he is not composing a scientific work for astronomical specialists, but a poem for general readers of average culture and intelligence. In that case, surely, minute calculations in degrees and minutes and seconds of the position of sun, moon, and planets at a particular epoch are out of place and superfluous. Dante would have gained nothing by taking account of such details, which could only be ascertained by himself or his readers by recourse to elaborate astronomical tables, even supposing such tables to have been then generally accessible. Rather, we should maintain, he counts upon—to use a familiar phrase—'astronomy without mathematics,' i.e. a general and intelligent knowledge of fundamental astronomical facts and phenomena. These he employs very skilfully and artistically to add reality and vividness to his narrative, just as he uses also the familiar details of geography and even of local topography.

Let us take first the arguments derived from the position of the moon in 1300 and 1301. One of the first and most obvious applications of this principle is to determine whether, when Dante refers to the new or full moon, he is speaking of those phenomena as calculated by astronomical tables or by the ecclesiastical calendar. In the latter, with a view to the regulation of Easter, the times of new and full moon were determined by the use of some rough cycles (such as that to which our Golden Numbers refer), and the results varied from the truth sometimes as much as two or even three days. In fact, in March and April 1300, there was an error of two days, and in 1301 one of three days, between the real moon and the ecclesiastical. The question is a vital one for the interpretation of the numerous passages in which time is indicated by the rising or setting or general position of the moon, since the above error would involve a difference of nearly two or nearly three hours, in 1300 and 1301 respectively, in the moon's position on any given day.

Now Angelitti starts with the assumptions (1) that

Dante's journey commenced not on the ecclesiastical Good Friday of 1301, but on the 'ideal' Good Friday, i.e. March 25th; and (2) that his references are made to the astronomical, and not to the calendar, moon. Then, as the astronomical full moon occurred on March 24th and in the night between March 24th and March 25th, Dante could say on the morning of the 26th :—

'Già iernotte fu la luna tonda';

and the other lunar references are found to give a consistent scheme when thus interpreted. He then concludes triumphantly that they are wholly inconsistent in reference to the year 1300. True, if the above assumptions are granted. But, supposing we assume (1) that Dante's journey commenced on the actual Good Friday of 1300, i.e. April 8th, and (2) that his references are to the calendar, and not to the astronomical, moon, it so happens that we have just the same data to deal with; for on April 9th, 1300, the moon (calendar) had also been full 'iernotte,' and consequently the other references are equally intelligible.

Next in order should come the references to the sun. These we are compelled to omit, and we may the better do so since they do not seem to affect the actual issue as between 1300 and 1301. They do, however, involve some very curious and interesting problems bearing upon the general question whether Dante's astronomical references are to be interpreted as scientifically exact, or as popularly understood. The result of the former treatment is such a tangle of inconsistencies between different passages that the puzzled astronomer is at last obliged to admit that Dante seems to have 'fallen into some confusion between signs and constellations.' Rather, we should say that he never expects his readers to enter into such technical distinctions, or to deduce, by strict logic, astronomical inferences from occasional poetic references. Of this process, did space permit, we could give several illustrations. Should we not then rather derive from the hopeless confusion which results from such processes another forcible argument for understanding such passages in a poetical or in a popular sense?

Next, as to the argument derived from the planets. Only three of these come into the question—Mars, Saturn, and Venus—for it is admitted that there is nothing to be

said about Jupiter and Mercury. As to Mars, the argument of Angelitti seems to be extremely weak. As against 1300, it is urged that though Mars would be visible at dawn at Easter 1300, when he rose about one and a half hours before the sun, yet Dante does not mention him in his famous description of the dawn in 'Purg.' i. This is a mere 'argumentum e silentio,' as worthless as that argument generally is, or even more so than usual; for why must Dante needs have appended this mere astronomical fact to his splendid poetical picture? On the other hand, in March–April 1301 Mars was in Leo. Now, though Saturn is declared to have been in that position ('Par.' xxi, 13), admittedly Dante never states this of Mars. Why, then, may we not now apply the 'argumentum e silentio' again as against the date 1301? Angelitti argues that the presence of Mars in Leo is in fact implied by the expression 'suo Leon,' when Cacciaguida says that at his birth Mars had returned, since the Incarnation, 580 times 'al suo Leon.' But the words obviously need have no such meaning as that which is thus conveniently attributed to them. Indeed, they are generally, and much more naturally, understood to refer to the affinity between the qualities of the Lion and the attributes of the God of War. In any case, the argument, as bearing on the date of the year, is of the flimsiest description.

Next, as to Saturn. In 'Par.' xxi, 14, the fact that Saturn was in Leo is distinctly stated. But this was equally the case in 1300 and 1301, Saturn, with his year of about twenty-nine years, taking nearly three of our years to traverse a single sign. Angelitti, however, lays stress on the phrase by which Dante describes the position of Saturn as being 'sotto il petto di Leone.' Now (he argues) 'il petto di Leone' suggests 'Cor Leonis'—the name by which the principal star Regulus is familiarly known. It turns out by calculation that in 1300 Saturn was about 11° distant from that star, in front of it, i.e. eastwards, while in 1301 he was only about 3° distant behind it, i.e. westwards. This is ingenious, no doubt; but if we are to be bound by such minutiæ at all, let it be observed that '*petto* di Leone' is not equivalent to '*Cor* Leonis.' Now, if any one will look at a star map or celestial globe, he will see at once that when Saturn was 10° within the constellation, as he was in March 1300, he would be much more accurately

described as being 'sotto il petto di Leone,' than when (as in 1301) he had advanced to the distance of 24°. Also, though nearer '*Cor* Leonis,' he would have passed beyond it, and also be slightly above it, and so he would no longer be '*sotto* il petto di Leone,' whether *petto* be translated 'breast' or 'heart.' The argument from Saturn, therefore, whatever may be its value, appears to be decidedly in favour of 1300 rather than 1301. The force of this argument will be seen at once from the following diagram.

We now come to the stronghold of Angelitti's astronomical case, the position of the planet Venus. Everyone will remember the lovely picture of the cloudless dawn of 'orient sapphire' at the beginning of the 'Purgatorio,' which describes how Venus—

'Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta' (i, 19)—

was shining so brilliantly as to quench the light of the feeble stars of the constellation Pisces which were in her train. Now, in fact, about Easter 1300, Venus was not in the sign Pisces at all, but in Taurus, and consequently she was behind and not before the sun, and was, therefore, an evening, and not a morning, star. But at that time in 1301 the conditions described by Dante were exactly fulfilled. If, therefore, Angelitti's initial assumption be admitted, that all astronomical statements in the poem are to be treated as scientifically accurate, *cadit quæstio*, and there is nothing more to be said.

It is quite true that if Dante were describing an actual historical event, and made such an assertion as this, it might then be fairly employed as a test of his accuracy and trustworthiness. If, for instance (as we believe

happened during the Crimean war), a letter 'from our own correspondent' described the effect of radiant moonlight on a battlefield, when the moon was proved to have been nearly new, the genuineness of the whole narrative would fall under deserved suspicion. But the case is different if even an historical event is professedly made the subject of a poetical composition. Thus, when the author of the well-known poem on 'The Burial of Sir John Moore' adds to the pathos of the scene by the help of 'the struggling moonbeam's misty light,' no reasonable person would think the worse of him because some pedantic critic has objected that on the night of January 16th, 1809, the moon was only one day old!

But in the case of this scene in Dante, such criticism would be even more unreasonable, seeing that the whole scene is purely imaginary. For Dante never saw the dawn that Easter morning in Purgatory, and if he saw it anywhere else, there is no reason to suppose that the date had for him at the time such a profound significance in reference to his great work as to impress all its details upon him so minutely for years afterwards. He is surely but describing an ideally and typically perfect dawn, combining all the features of beauty and splendour naturally or poetically associated with such a scene. To say that a poet must verify the position of Venus at an assumed date before he can put 'the bright and morning star' into his picture, would surely be (to borrow an expression of Metastasio), 'confondere il vero col verisimile.' Supposing we had the weather reports of that period, we might fear that those who would impose such fetters as these on the poet's fancy might perhaps discover that on that Easter morning in 1300 the sky was overcast, while this was not the case in 1301!

There is, doubtless, a degree of astronomical accuracy which Dante would certainly never have disregarded. If Venus were then a morning star, she would naturally and certainly be in the sign Pisces. The picture is in this way astronomically exact. Dante would never have made the mistake, or taken the poetic licence (whichever it be), which we find in Milton's description of the first rising of the newly-created sun at the spring equinox, when, to grace the ideal scene, he adds:—

'The Pleiades before him danced,

These stars, being in Taurus, must have been below the horizon at any spring sunrise, however ideal. We feel as sure as Angelitti himself could be that Dante would never have tolerated an astronomical impossibility such as this.

But in spite of the difference in the principles from which we start, we confess that we should feel seriously shaken if, as Angelitti triumphantly declares, all the astronomical data of the poem are precisely suitable ('s' accordano a cappello') with the conditions of 1301, and are totally at variance with those of 1300. The cumulative force of such an argument would be very strong, especially if, as Angelitti calculates, the chances are more than 250,000 to 1 against such a series of coincidences being reached undesignedly! But we have found on examination, first, that the lunar references are quite as consistent with one year as the other, if different days be assumed for the commencement of the vision: next, that the arguments derived from Mars and Saturn come absolutely to nothing—nay, rather, as regards Saturn, we claim that they even point very distinctly the other way. There remains in fact only one astronomical difficulty (if, indeed, it be a difficulty at all) against 1300, and that single point is the position of the planet Venus. That, no doubt, would be crucial if we are to interpret a highly poetical passage with rigid scientific accuracy; but it loses all its force unless that assumption be granted; and, in any case, the cumulative force of the astronomical argument has entirely disappeared, since we have shown that Venus is the only heavenly body whose position would favour 1301.

Another class of arguments must not be overlooked, viz., that there seem to be several special reasons for the selection of the year 1300 by Dante. It was the year naturally and popularly associated with a new century, as we have lately discovered by experience, since the nineteenth century public needed a good deal of educating out of this notion. It was the year of the Great Jubilee, the *Anno Santo;* and we cannot doubt that Boniface designed to mark thus the inauguration of a new era. It was, as we have seen, almost certainly the year of the 'mezzo cammin' of Dante's own life—the year in which he passed the summit of the 'arco di nostra vita.' It was fitting that this should mark the turning point in his moral and

spiritual experience also. It was the year of his fatal Priorate, to which he attributed all the subsequent misfortunes of his life. Lionardi Bruni professes to have seen the letter in which Dante made this statement.

In conclusion, we must again state our conviction that if we interpret all such passages as those which we have been discussing, whether historical or astronomical, in their plain *prima facie* and (if the term may be ventured on) 'popular' sense, there is really no serious difficulty whatever in explaining every thing throughout consistently with the assumption of the year 1300, and, we would also add, with the initial date of the Good Friday of that year, April 8th. When Dante speaks of Good Friday and Easter (whatever be the year), we should naturally suppose him to mean those days as commonly observed, and as familiar to all Christian people. And when he refers to the moon and her phases, or to the equinox, &c., it is equally natural that he should mean these and similar terms as they would be ascertained by his readers from the calendars or manuals in general use. But if we allow ourselves to be entangled (as Angelitti in several places demands) in the scientific intricacies of Julian, sidereal, and tropical years—and this, too, in combination with the varying uses of Rome, Florence, Pisa, &c., especially in reference to a period of the year admittedly close to the critical periods of Easter and the equinox—then we can more or less plausibly make out of the materials almost anything we please, within the narrow limits of the rival dates under discussion.

And when, further, we find that not only the data of astronomical statements and chronological computations may be thus variously understood and applied, but that even seemingly plain allusions to historical events yield themselves so readily to the manipulation of rival theorists, we feel almost inclined to take leave of the question in despair, with the cynical admission that 'there is nothing more deceptive than figures, except facts'!

Art. VIII.—SOCIETY CROAKERS.

1. *A portion of a Journal kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq., from* 1831 *to* 1847. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1858.
2. *Greville Memoirs.* Second Series (1837 to 1852). Three vols. London: Longmans, 1885.
3. *A Memoir of H.R.H. Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck.* By C. Kinloch Cooke. Two vols. London: John Murray, 1900.
4. *Notes from a Diary* (1851 to 1891). By Rt. Hon. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff. Ten vols. London: John Murray, 1897–1901.
5. *Notes from my Journal.* By the late Lord Ossington. London: John Murray, 1900.
6. *Seventy Years in Westminster.* By the late Rt. Hon. Sir John Mowbray, Bart., M.P. Edited by his daughter. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1901.

'At dinner, no talk, no society. Afterwards Billy Something sat down to the piano and sang.' So runs an entry in the portion of Charles Greville's journal written during the late reign. Many extracts to the same effect might be given. That, since the days of the Regency, the fashionable world had gone from bad to worse, and must soon fall to pieces, was, with the Clerk of the Council, a commonplace, contradicted by few of his contemporaries. Among these was the late Mr George Payne, whose unrecorded talks with Greville entertained many hearers still living. In their corner at the Newmarket rooms, the two friends exchanged more social judgments than bets. The once well-known pair had lived much in the same set; they combined the same sporting, political, and intellectual tastes; and each reflected the prejudices of the other. Both were finished men of the world: neither could tolerate mere frivolity. Each possessed an intelligence much above the average; each lived long enough to lament its dissipation upon the turf. The social group to which Greville and Raikes belonged lost, after their disappearance, Mr Alfred Montgomery and, more recently, General Macdonnell. All these later men had lived with or near the magnificent dandies who were the products of the Regency, and who, headed by Count Alfred D'Orsay and by Lord

Alvanley, prolonged their meetings at the Alfred Club into Victorian days.

For the historic precursors of these combinations of fashion and brains, one may go back to the sixteenth century model of the 'complete man,' Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Such at least is the social and intellectual pedigree which Payne and Greville alike would have claimed for themselves, and which possesses few surviving representatives to-day. The union of statesmanship and sportsmanship with scholarly taste and even with literary achievement,* of cosmopolitan experience with patriotic service, of study with society and pleasure, of distinction at Westminster with luck at Newmarket—this was the ideal of Greville and of Payne, and of most of their school. Their one notion of society was a narrow and exclusive organisation, chiefly composed of persons belonging to the great Whig revolution families, or of their hangers-on. The obverse of the medal bore the image of the Cabinet and the legislature; upon the reverse were stamped the symbols of the turf. Greville, and those who thought with him, could only conceive of these correlative systems as close corporations, to which no one was eligible who did not possess the qualifications of birth and connexion, that belonged to the critics themselves. For a sound state of society, a further requisite seemed the personal presidency of the reigning sovereign, or of some patrician viceroy who claimed that dignity by inherent right.

Such was the state of things under which these men had grown up. George IV still occupied the throne when society began to feel the democratic pressure, whose continuous application resulted in the Reform Act of 1832. The way to that middle-class victory was prepared by the rapid increase in national prosperity and population. Taxation had greatly decreased. New and profitable employments had been discovered. Wage-earners had become wage-payers. The aristocracy of wealth had

---

* As proof that these men of fashion were scholars as well as wits, Raikes quotes Fitzpatrick's epigram on the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, now forgotten but worth remembering:

'Quæ dea sublimi vehitur per compita curru?
An Juno, an Pallas, an Venus ipsa venit?
Si genus aspicias, Juno est; si dicta, Minerva;
Si spectas oculos, Mater Amoris erit.'

made itself a social power. That very decadence of the fashionable system, resented by Greville, as if specially reserved for his own manhood, had, in fact, begun during his infancy. Before the days of railway kings another society diarist, Thomas Raikes, had discovered that the polite world was going to the dogs, that even debauchery had lost its former polish, that the grand manner no longer veneered vice, that the men who were once fastidious were now only indifferent, that in the place of the women, 'grand, stately,' with 'thorough-bred heads and long curls,' the social queens or princesses were ladies whose jaunty manner and devil-may-care look suggested in equal parts the Parisian actress and the London *anonyma*.

Yet, even during the period covered by this description, the social structure remained exclusively aristocratic, and its control strictly monarchical. The social life of George IV may have been as lax as that of Charles II; the social influence of the Crown was never greater or more widely penetrating. The favour of George III had established the position of Pitt as the patriot statesman. To the recognition of George IV 'Beau' Brummell owed his fashionable dictatorship over his set and age. Another of the Regent's social deputies, Lord Barrymore,* chanced to appear hat in hand before his patron. The head-gear was placed first on a chair, then beneath its owner's arm, with an air that entranced the first gentleman in Europe. Immediately went forth the decree that all courtiers aspirant should perfect themselves in this use of their head-covering. Hence, in due course, followed the crush, or opera hat, perfected by the master-mind of Gibus. Other instances of the Crown's social prerogative are on record. Between 1820 and 1825 tails grew shorter and the frock coat came in, solely on the example of Carlton House. George IV liked French cookery; his chef's genius proved the foundation of Wattier's Club; a little later followed

---

* Of this Barrymore family, all the members were notorious in the fashionable or fast life of London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The three brothers and their sister got the nicknames of Hellgate, Cripplegate, Newgate, and Billingsgate, while their college tutor came to be known as Profligate. The Earl of Barrymore, the Regent's favourite, owned a house at Henley-on-Thames, where the dissipations of Wilkes at Medmenham Abbey were reproduced under royal patronage.

the reign of Francatelli * at Crockford's. Of this epoch and of this royal patronage, the dish known as *suprême de volaille* is the culinary monument. Many details as to the social arrangements of the time are equally significant of its aristocratic and monarchical ordering. The shrewd Scotsman, Almack, had opened his Assembly-rooms in King Street, St James's, in February, 1765. About the same time the opera, first naturalised in England at the close of the seventeenth century by Sir William Davenant, greatly grew in favour. Almack's could not, in the earlier days, be entered without the voucher of a patroness—Lady Jersey, or someone of the same quality. Covent Garden, or the house at the bottom of the Hay-market, long known as the Queen's Theatre, was closed on subscription nights to all not equipped with the same credential. Hard by, however, in Pall Mall and St James's, appeared the heralds of the democratic advance. The old subscription clubs had grown out of coffee-houses; their proprietors paid themselves from the revenues of the hazard table. About 1820 a new period in clubland opened. Pall Mall and St James's overflowed with half-pay officers home from the Napoleonic wars. The United Service Club was established in 1819; other institutions of the same kind followed. In its proprietary stage, as a development from a coffee-house germ, the club had been considered a haunt of costly profligacy. It now began to be looked upon as a co-operative home for thrifty gentlemen.

Elsewhere than in the region of these joint-stock caravanserais, London found itself on the eve of a great social change, whose signs were visible in certain novel-ties of street traffic. On an August day towards the close of the Georgian period the diarist Crabb Robinson, when visiting Paris, had seen a thing called an omnibus. By Christmas he prophesies these vehicles will have appeared in London. A movement in that direction had, indeed, already begun. In 1815 the public conveyances of our metropolis were represented by six hundred hackney-coaches. Within another generation the coaches had in-creased to thirteen hundred. In addition to these, two

---

* Francatelli, born 1805, lived till 1876. After leaving Crockford's he was at the St James's Hotel, Piccadilly.

hundred cabriolets were plying for hire. Then came the fulfilment of Robinson's prediction. Shillibeer's omnibuses, drawn by three horses, carried twenty inside fares and nine outside. Competition speedily brought down prices; first, new cabriolet companies charged one-third less than the hackneys; then followed other omnibus companies; hansom cabs began to ply three years before the late Queen's accession, and soon became popular. Other locomotive conveniences came in. So early as 1800 Benjamin Outram had introduced an improvement in the rails along which, in the north of England, heavily laden vehicles then ran. The next year the Outram invention showed itself in the first metropolitan tramroad from Croydon to Wandsworth.

The comfortable or opulent suburban life of London was now beginning. During the later years of George III and those of his immediate successors, the population of the capital increased from an average of twenty-two per acre to fifty-one per acre. Directly the City ceased to be the living-place of its business population, the fine gentlemen and ladies, to whom London meant only the St James's district or Mayfair, began to complain that the 'cits,' whose homes were now in Bayswater or Chelsea, invaded their favourite thoroughfare, Bond Street. The Whig friends of the people, once the Prince's favourite companions, showed themselves strong conservatives in a topographical sense. They could not be induced to exchange their Bond Street haunt for the Quadrant, which bore their patron's name. They had already protested vainly against the substitution of iron railings for the solid wall that formerly encircled Hyde Park. The King himself risked disfavour with his satellites by encouraging metropolitan improvements of a generally attractive kind. The parks were laid out anew. North and west of the Marble Arch were built rows of dwelling-houses, furnished with all modern improvements. These abodes at once became in great demand with the professional and commercial classes, which henceforward gradually associated with the political families. Directly the newcomers promenaded Bond Street, the fine gentlemen and ladies of the old Whig *régime* protested that London was becoming uninhabitable for people of good condition.

Thus spoke the earlier prophets of social disintegration.

The Reform Act, 'by opening the floodgates of revolution, was to sweep away all social landmarks, and destroy the monarchy as it had already stultified the House of Lords.' By its close association with the territorial interest the House of Commons had always been distinguished from the representative assemblies of the Continent, and was regarded as the great safeguard against democratic and destructive legislation. This connection was threatened, or, as some thought, destroyed, by the ten pound suffrage. The Bill abolished the nomination boroughs, the strongholds of Whig aristocracy, and gave three-fifths of the House of Commons to more or less independent cities. Only a few sanguine persons believed that the Chandos clause, giving a vote to tenant farmers, could preserve the constitutional balance between the aristocratic and the democratic forces. The Lord Carnarvon of those days, a Whig, left out of the Grey Cabinet, had delighted society by describing the measure as the plan of one who must either have a fool's head on his shoulders or a traitor's heart in his bosom.

The Bill—'the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill'—became law. The Crown and the Church continued to exist. The *personnel* of Parliament underwent no sudden transformation. For a doomed polity, on the brink of a volcano, society displayed considerable equanimity; it continued to dance, dine, and play. Continental spectators, who knew and saw more of the game than the players themselves, shrewdly remarked that society in England was not suffering from the Reform Bill at home, but from an unusually severe attack of the old British malady the spleen. Independent testimony to that view is incidentally furnished by Lord Malmesbury in his 'Memoirs of an Ex-Minister.' The fine and fashionable people of those days seem to have been attacked by revolution on the nerves. Thackeray satirised the complaint when he contrasted the late duke entering London in a chariot and four, by the Great North Road, with his successor sneaking into a hansom cab at Euston Square terminus. Lord Malmesbury puts the same truth more prosaically when he laments the contempt of appearances displayed by certain Hampshire nobles who actually, within a few years of the battle of Waterloo, drove into the town of Christchurch in a pair-horsed barouche instead of in a carriage and four with

outriders. Worse still, when Lord Malmesbury and his brother went to Eton in 1821, they were the only two boys, except the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord John Scott, and the Duke of Wellington's sons, who brought with them a private tutor.

The Reform Act was followed by the appearance at Westminster of a new type of member, such as Joseph Hume, the Radical; but the *personnel* of the Lower House was not at first generally affected by the change. Till the era of railway enterprise and speculation set in, the element that chiefly gave colour and character to the popular chamber differed little from that which dominates the Upper House to-day. Nor was the polite world in England visited by any French scares more recent than those of the eighteenth century terror. The orderly manner in which the Revolution of July had been accomplished had exercised a reassuring influence in England; it did much towards reconciling the middle classes to the political prospect opened by the Act of 1832. Society, however, or at least that section of it that to men like Greville and Raikes meant only a little less than the entire universe, would not let itself be so easily exorcised of its terrors. It did not really know the nature and origin of its alarm. Its apprehensions, as a matter of fact, were scarcely due to political causes at all, and perhaps on that account they were the less easy to allay.

The Jeremiahs of the hour found their inspiration in the social as easily as in the political atmosphere. Between 1832 and 1837 the earliest revival of the mediæval influenza afflicted the West-End. Wealthy invalids, real and imaginary, migrating to the pleasure-haunts of France and Italy, spoke of themselves as political fugitives from a Radical-ridden country rather than from a foggy climate, in which gloomy weather and social miscarriages had eclipsed the gaiety of successive seasons. The vulgarisation of Almack's, both club and rooms, may have been, in part at least, as the Duke of Wellington himself hinted to Lady Jersey, the phantom of a dyspeptic imagination; but it was a source of loud and frequent complaint in fashionable company. Almack's Club occupied in Pall Mall the site of the present Marlborough Club. It was the scene of Charles Fox's chief losings at the faro table. In one of its ante-rooms, thence called the Jerusalem chamber,

waited the Hebrew money-lenders who advanced the money to cover the night's losses. The modish and at first rigidly select casino in King Street hard by, belonging to the same proprietor, had been started about the same time (1765). The club has disappeared; the rooms have undergone a typical change.

The vicissitudes of Almack's Rooms are a sort of parable of those experienced by their fashionable frequenters. To talk as if each new season must assuredly be the last, was the fashionable cant of the period. Fifty years ago Thomas Raikes was dead, and Greville and Lord Malmesbury had passed from young men of pleasure and *ton* into old-world veterans. As little in their age as in their youth did there exist serious reason for anticipating those destructive transformations which in all epochs, since polite life began to be a complex organisation, have affrighted the imaginations of our social Cassandras. Eventually the select Almack's passed into the universal Willis's Rooms. The place once monopolised by a single interest or class has become the mirror and the meeting-ground of all interests and coteries. The change, of which a single building is thus the monument, has been reflected in the experience of the whole fashionable world.

There has been no revolution, but continuous development. Without being altogether dismembered into Greville's 'gangs,' society has experienced a disintegration into sets, the members of which, as Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's last volumes remind us, are united amongst themselves by the ties of common interest for the most part not political. At the time when Greville and Raikes began their journals, those social changes had already set in, which, continued to the present day, have invested the polite world with an appearance and with interests very different from those our ancestors knew. The germs of those new and higher subjects of thought and pursuit that, within the last few years, have become new principles of social organisation, were struggling into existence during the half century between 1789 and 1840. During this period fine or fashionable society began to be stirred by influences more permanently quickening and elevating than those of politics. About Holland House, as a social and intellectual centre, Macaulay's famous account admits of no addition. From the end of the

eighteenth till the middle of the nineteenth century Lady Holland's drawing-room welcomed every Englishman notable in any department of action and of thought, as well as, at one time or another, every foreigner of distinction who visited these shores. The Kensington host and hostess, it must also be remembered, though the best known, were far from being the only indefatigable members of their class. Long before even Lady Blessington and Count d'Orsay occupied Gore House, their receptions in Seamore Place had been burlesqued by Dickens. London is now so exultantly conscious of its latter-day cosmopolitanism as to forget or ignore that, some threescore and ten years ago, its most modern hospitalities were being foreshadowed by international dinner-parties and drawing-rooms. Baron Nieumann, the secretary to the Austrian Legation in London, had married a daughter of the Duke of Beaufort. Before his removal to Florence, his London house was ever open to well-introduced guests of all nationalities and tongues; it was popularly known as the Tower of Babel, and deserves historically to be remembered as the first well-defined centre of that cosmopolitan London, which is too often spoken of as the exclusive invention of later Victorian years. Before the epoch of the Nieumann hospitalities attention to foreign politics had practically been confined to professional experts and students; continental affairs now successfully competed with Whig and Tory partisanship as an interest for fashionable society at large.

Nor did the literary and miscellaneous *causeries* of Gore and Holland House, or the details of statesmanship beyond the four seas, discussed in the Nieumann drawing-room, constitute the only signs that the mind of polite London languished for something more full and free than the political atmosphere which it had hitherto exclusively inhaled. The D'Orsay-Blessington period was also that of literary annuals, then generally called albums or keepsakes. Lady Blessington, herself an editress of such a miscellany (1835), had introduced to polite readers Benjamin Disraeli, then chiefly known as a rather second-rate dandy. His contribution to the Keepsake, entitled the 'Carrier Pigeon,' includes among its characters a Lothair. Some touches in this sketch, seen by the light of a subsequent performance, seem fairly prophetic of the epony-

mous hero of the novel which the late Mr Froude described as incomparably Disraeli's best. The same collection contains also some verses by the future Conservative leader on the portrait of the then Lady Mahon, afterwards Countess of Stanhope. These lines were so much admired that at the time their author was pointed to, not as a coming statesman, but as a possible Byron.

In Sir Charles Murray, who died not long ago, there passed away the last survivor of the guests at the breakfast parties of Samuel Rogers, in the Park Place room, whose view across the Green Park has been so often described. Science had become not less of a social interest than letters. The modish periodicals, caricatured by Thackeray in 'Pendennis,' had popularised the pen in hands that usually held only the fan or the cigar. These magazines have been much laughed at; they are, however, not without historic importance; they may even be regarded as the precursors of those more solemn periodicals of the present day whose contributors, for the most part persons of high rank or position, compete with each other in signed contributions, printed in the order of the social precedence belonging to their writers. Physical enquiry, since the days of Charles II, had ranked high among studies not unbecoming a gentleman or a prince. Of the growing acceptance throughout all circles of polished society which scientific studies since then have found, Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff tells us much that is new, true, and permanently valuable.

In this way, at a period now practically forgotten, grew up those new interests which in the present day have largely superseded politics as an organising principle of refined life. Society was being educated out of conventional politics into more intellectual tastes by the instructive and stimulating examples of men, not born into great position, who, by brilliancy of talent and width of knowledge, had obtained an ascendency, comparable with that of Samuel Johnson in an earlier age, over the most exclusive sets in the West-End world. Wits and talkers, so attractive in their different ways as Thomas Moore and Lord Macaulay, permeated other circles than those in which they themselves moved. The late Lord Houghton, Mr Gladstone, and Mr Froude have perpetuated the breakfast-party as a social rite to our

own time. Some two or three generations ago it was an intellectual discipline whose influence made itself felt far beyond the limits of the guests themselves. Other agencies of the period had an educational value even more noticeable and immediate. The British Association held its first meeting at York in 1831. Its two chief organisers, Sir David Brewster and Sir Roderick Murchison, agreed in thinking that Faraday's lectures at the Royal Institution and Carlyle's discourses at Willis's Rooms played an essential part in preparing the popular mind to appreciate the new movement.

The foregoing retrospect may suffice to show the gradual development, in the polite life of England, of new interests, resented and denounced by exclusive and reactionary critics such as we have now glanced at, for no other reason than that they were more popular and more accessible than the political or sporting pursuits, regarded by Greville and his friends as alone deserving to regulate or to colour social intercourse. The real truth of the matter has never been put better than in the statements and sketches contained in Lord Beaconsfield's last novel, 'Endymion.' 'At this time London was a very dull city, instead of being, as it is now, a very amusing one.' The predictions of impending doom proceeded chiefly from Whig pessimists. The tone adopted by the chief newspapers of the day, even by the sanguine 'Times,' became increasingly gloomy. Authority of all sorts was menaced. The aristocracy were threatened. The Crown had become a mere cipher. A few days after this fulmination from Printing House Square, Raikes is walking round the Royal Exchange; he notices that in the *enceinte*, to be adorned with statues of all our kings, only two niches remain vacant; one is destined for William IV, another, the sole remaining vacancy, for King William's successor. Some people, characteristically comments the diarist, might think this ominous. In the once familiar doggerel of some mock-heroic lines it might have been said indeed—

> 'The air is full of omens. Scarce had I set
> My foot outside the threshold ere I met
> A dog. He barked; full well that bark I knew.
> I met another dog, and he barked too.'

The very creator of modern Conservatism was quoted in support of the socio-political grumblers of the hour. Had not Sir Robert Peel recently expressed his respect for the aristocracy of birth and of intellect, and withheld it from the aristocracy of wealth? Had not Mr Raikes himself at White's Club recently met Sir C. Manners Sutton, one of Mr Denison's predecessors in the chair, and heard from him what appeared a confirmation of Peel's opinion on the vulgarisation of St Stephen's? * As for the House of Commons, only give it rope, it would destroy itself; and the country, accustomed to the rule of statesmen belonging to county families, would revolt against the despotism of political *parvenus*. Peel's antithesis of the power conferred by wealth to that conferred by birth or brains, obviously a cross-division and not worth repeating, reflected the social prejudices of the moment. It was on the lips of Belgravia and Mayfair. Plutocracy, or, as some called it, shopocracy, was now found to have fatally tainted the organisation of the polite world; the welcome accorded to industrial millionaires, with their wives and daughters, would leave no place in fashionable London for the wives and daughters of country gentlemen or even of the smaller nobility.

Till the crash of his quickly-made fortunes within two years of the Queen's accession, the York linen-draper's son (notorious as the 'railway king'), Hudson, lived at Albert Gate in the house which is to-day the French Embassy. Here were held the first of those extravagant hospitalities which inspired the old acres with so great a dread, real or affected, for the new wealth. In the morning Mrs Hudson horrified ladies of older position and of more subdued tastes by driving through Hyde Park in a carriage so loudly painted that its colours were said to drown the rumble of its heavy wheels; in the evening she held receptions which the Duke of Wellington and more than one of the royal princes condescended to attend. Long before this, however, wealth had taken its place in the first rank of social forces. The financial predominance of

---

* 'The Speaker said to me at White's this morning, "It is the fashion to compliment me on my knowledge of the forms of the House and the rules in debates, but all my past experience in Parliament is positively good for nothing; the business in the House is carried on so differently from the former system that I am, in fact, as great a novice as any of them."'—Raikes's 'Journal' (2nd March, 1833), vol. i, p. 100.

the Rothschilds throughout Europe began with the nineteenth century; their social sovereignty dates from the opening of the Victorian age; their compatriots, the Goldschmidts, had won recognition from the court of George III, who, when at Windsor, often visited the head of the family at his country house between Sheen and Richmond. Paris society opened its arms to prosperous and intelligent Hebrews rather earlier than did that of London. In 1839 *la haute finance* and *la haute politique* met almost nightly beneath the roof of the French representatives of the Rothschild dynasty. Then it was that Lord Malmesbury, on a visit to some of the *vieille noblesse* of the Faubourg St Germain, was surprised to meet, among the dinner-guests of the Semitic capitalists, families of ambassadorial rank like the Apponyis or Sebastianis, as well as Whig noblemen not less exclusive than Lord Granville himself. This social fusion between the two powers of wealth and rank is only one among many instances, which show that the social evils complained of by latter-day Jeremiahs were already firmly rooted in the polite world in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Whether, therefore, in respect to the decreasingly exclusive tastes and occupations of society, or its more representative composition, Greville's charge of decadence might have been made, with not less good reason, a generation before or a generation after the Whig enlargement of the electoral body. The conventional complaint, in one form or another, had indeed been a commonplace in reactionary clubs and drawing-rooms from the beginning of the Hanoverian epoch. Smollett in 'Roderick Random' had something to say incidentally on the subject, though not so much as his rival Fielding. Squire Western, when roundly cursing the Hanover rats, with all their social and political environment, had in fact anticipated the more refined but scarcely less extravagant generalisations and predictions of the later social and political croakers. In other words, the social and political circumstances of the time, expressed in the growing ascendency of a wealthy middle class, which rendered such a change inevitable, were absurdly thought to prelude a dispensation of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity,' in which no place would be left for the life of drawing-rooms and clubs.

The narrow and sectarian basis, on which the organisation of fashion had formerly rested, was directly opposed to the varied life and the growing activity of fresh elements and new interests which, on the eve of the Victorian era, were to animate social intercourse.

The journals of Speaker Denison and Sir John Mowbray, and the numerous volumes of Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's diaries, cover much the same period. Each of these records was written under conditions nearly identical with those prevailing to-day, long after the social *débâcle*, which seemed to their predecessors inevitable, was overdue. Within the period, therefore, occupied by these later writers, ought, if anywhere, to be found something like the fulfilment of the dismal vaticinations formulated by the earlier seers. John Evelyn Denison belonged pre-eminently to the social order doomed to extinction by the legislation which changed our parliamentary system from a name to a reality. During many generations his ancestors had been the 'men of metal and acres' whose support was forfeited by Sir Robert Peel when he declared against the Corn Laws. After the usual training at Eton and Oxford, Mr Denison became, by his father's death, the head of an old family and the master of a large estate —Ossington in Nottinghamshire. To the business and associations of quarter sessions not less than to the discipline of school and college, Mr Denison used to declare himself indebted for the tact, impartiality, and discrimination displayed by him in the chair at St Stephen's. He had sat in the unreformed Parliament for Newcastle-under-Lyne and for Hastings; his knowledge of official life, as Junior Lord of the Admiralty, began under Canning. By birth a Whig, he connected himself by marriage with a great Whig revolution family. Here then was a man whose ancestral influences and later relationships would have predisposed him to sympathise with the social ideas of the patrician Greville, of the ennobled Fitz-Harris, and of the fastidiously dandified Raikes. Their prejudices, social and political, would naturally have been his. His experience might therefore have been expected to verify the apprehensions which the scared imagination of his elders had conjured up.

Lord Ossington's journal is not a volume of miscellaneous reminiscences; it is rather a critical review of

leading incidents in the official life of the House from 1857 to 1872. It therefore comes within the scope of his work to notice any deviations on the part of members from strict parliamentary rules. Reference has been already made to the depressing forecast for which Raikes had found (1833) justification in Speaker Sutton's words about the reformed House. By 1857 the successful capitalists and well-to-do traders who, a score of years earlier, had entered St Stephen's, seem to have been thoroughly trained to good manners. It is at least significant that the only approach to irregularity recorded in the Denison diary was committed by a Tory representative of the territorial interest, whose family had sat in the House for four generations, and who was himself a pattern of parliamentary propriety. Mr J. Stuart Wortley, on March 17, 1859, rose to make a personal complaint of having been ill-reported in a newspaper. In the first place Mr Wortley did not make it clear that he would conclude with a motion related, as that for the adjournment was not, with the subject-matter of his remarks; secondly, the House did not, and does not even now, recognise the reports of its debates; so 'the incorrectness of that particular version could not come within its cognisance.' The Commons, therefore, agreed with their president in considering the whole proceeding irregular.

The widow of Mr Stuart Wortley has not long since died. During her married life she held, in the Carlton Terrace quarter, a political *salon*, which at the time was very successful, and the retrospect of which to-day is full of interest. It is in Mrs Stuart Wortley's drawing-room that the opening scene of 'Endymion' is laid. On December 3rd, 1852, Mr Disraeli, as Lord Derby's Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in his budget. Mr Gladstone spoke a week later. The budget was defeated by 305 to 286. The victorious orator concluded just in time to keep a dinner engagement near Pall Mall. That evening, in Mrs Stuart Wortley's drawing-room, the tale of the great duel at St Stephen's between the two champions was told, and the composition of the coming Aberdeen Coalition Ministry was discussed. According to one account, that favoured by Abraham Hayward, it was also as Mrs Stuart Wortley's guests that Gladstone and Disraeli met socially for the last time; but the late Lord Granville in-

clined to place the scene of that incident at Lady Derby's in St James's Square.

To pass to the social life of the two great parties; the Liberals are generally supposed to have succeeded better in the drawing-rooms, the Conservatives in the clubs. That view is not entirely supported by all the facts. The Lady Jersey presented as the Zenobia of 'Endymion' first appears in the drawing-room which the novelist has sketched from his memory of Mrs Stuart Wortley's parties. In the period so depicted, Lady Jersey's house in Berkeley Square was the one social agency on the Tory side which counterbalanced the social attractions of Cambridge House and Lansdowne House. Sir Robert Peel and those about him dwelt rather bitterly on the check given to the Conservative reaction during the thirties by the lack of proper social machinery. Clubs in Pall Mall seemed more of a party want than houses in Mayfair. White's had originally been identified with the Tory connexion; gradually it lost all political colour. On the other hand, Brookes's continued to be, as in name it is to this day, exclusively a place of Whig reunion. Raikes was invited, in 1832, to assist at the new Tory institution, for which Lord Kensington's house in Carlton Gardens had been taken; the diarist forgot to say that the Carlton Club immediately grew out of the efforts of the Conservative Whip, still best remembered as 'Billy' Holmes, who was complimented by his political chiefs on the happy thought. The Junior Carlton originated in much the same way. Mr Markham Spofforth, then the election manager of the party, was beset by applications from his provincial agents to promote their candidature at the Carlton or the Conservative. That proved impracticable. Mr Spofforth therefore suggested to his leader, Mr Disraeli, a supplementary institution. Lord Derby, then the Tory leader, at first demurred, but ultimately signified his approval, 'provided the curtain did not rise till the stage was full.' At first the result seemed disappointing; but soon the applications were counted by thousands, and prosperity increased till the present dimensions and influence of the Junior Carlton Club were finally attained.

Within the last generation, however, the whole socio-political situation has changed. The Liberal descendants of the old Whigs have been left without any place of

social rallying, such as Cambridge House used to be in Palmerstonian days. Nor are the Conservatives much better off in this respect. In 1886 the late Lady Salisbury, as wife of the Conservative leader of the Lords, did indeed recommence in Arlington Street those duties of entertaining which have, in the past, been pronounced indispensable to the cohesive life of a great political connexion. The work could not have been better done. But it was not their political character which formed the chief attraction of the Arlington House drawing-rooms: the variety of the guests gave special interest to their meetings. The divisional chiefs, as well as 'the average M.P. and his wife,' were, indeed, generally there; but Lady Salisbury judiciously blended political ingredients with others having no connexion with either House of Parliament. One other illustration of the old order survived till quite recent times. Not till Mr Milner-Gibson's death in 1884 were the miscellaneous gatherings at the corner house in Brooke Street, so well remembered by many still living, altogether discontinued; while, down to the time of the host's defeat at Ashton (1868), the Milner-Gibson hospitalities sensibly helped to organise and even popularise the new Liberalism. They bore, however, a greater resemblance to the Gore House parties of Lady Blessington and Count d'Orsay than to the earlier and more orthodox gatherings at Holland or Lansdowne House; and they were chiefly remarkable for the social intercourse, first regularly promoted by them, between representatives of letters, art, and journalism, and the rank and file of the parliamentary army on both sides. But, at the outset of the twentieth century, political parties are practically a thing of the past. The dining-table and the drawing-room have ceased to be a principal agency for preventing the people's representatives from straying into the wrong lobby. So far Greville's anticipation is justified by the event. To this extent society is replaced by gangs.

Hence the want, in Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff's last volumes, of political anecdote and those vivid sketches of political persons in which the earlier volumes abounded. Even about India the author writes less as an ex-governor of a province than as a scientific collector, who is also a seasoned man of the world, on the look-out for 'specimens.' The wise saws, the modern instances, the aphorisms and

the epigrams now recorded in the table-talk of the 'Breakfast Club,' are, for the most part, of any interest rather than the parliamentary or political. Physical research in all its branches, the latest developments of literary ingenuity, the forcing-houses at Kew, the discoveries of the chemist's laboratory, the triumphs of the geologist's hammer—such are the matters which now inspire this experienced servant of the state with many of his happiest anecdotes or his most entertaining memories.

Another change, no less remarkable, is to be found in the growing cosmopolitanism of English and especially of London society. The fall of the French Empire on the field of Sedan a generation ago was followed by consequences to the whole framework, foundation, and life of the fashionable world in England more momentous and enduring than any that can be justly ascribed to successive enlargements of the parliamentary franchise. For more than a hundred years, whether under kings or emperors, France had given the law of fashion to Europe; Paris had been the smart capital of two worlds, the old and the new. The souls of good Americans had been popularly said to fly to the city on the Seine. As an Anglo-Saxon humorist put it, the *Lutetia* of the ancients had become the *lætitia* of the moderns. That dispensation came to an end when the Third Republic of Adolphe Thiers rose from the ruins of the Second Empire. The effect of this transformation upon the modish subjects of the Stars and Stripes was illustrated by the late Laurence Oliphant in his 'Altiora Peto.' Pall Mall, Bond Street, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park became more than the boulevards and the Bois had ever been. Orontes did not more fully empty itself into Juvenal's Tiber than the Mississippi and other foreign waters now flowed into the Thames. The smart American colony became a social force of the first magnitude. The British capital, from being the most insular, grew to be the most cosmopolitan in the world. Society in the past had resembled a family party: it now began to look like a table d'hôte of the most expensive kind.

The change has been accompanied by, if it has not actually caused, a decrease in the number of country gentlemen, with seats at St Stephen's, who bring up their families for the season. The single item of flowers for dinner-table decoration amounts, in a summer season, to a

sum that, in these days of electoral economy, would go some way towards defraying the cost of a contested election. A fashionable shooting-party in an English manor-house cannot be entertained, even for a week's end, except at an outlay which, to our grandparents, would have seemed excessive for a whole month. The biographer of Jack Mytton, Mr C. J. Apperley, best known by his pen-name of Nimrod and his sketches of the turf, the road, and the chase, lamented the growing expensiveness of Melton Mowbray and the Shires, even in his day. Since then the cost of a Leicester season has increased by forty per cent. on every article of outlay.

If excessive expenditure is a blot on the society of the day, the growth of philanthropy may be regarded as some set-off. Never was so much interest taken in works of charity; never was so much money and time expended on benevolence. A more serious view, it may be hoped, is being taken of the responsibilities of wealth. If that result be chiefly due to the genius of the nation, credit must also be given to the influence of the Crown. The wife of William III was the first English queen who set to those about her a stimulating example of philanthropic interest in the welfare of the industrious poor outside the palace gates. The wise and worthy tradition was perpetuated by George III and his consort, as well as by William IV and Queen Adelaide. In our times it has been illustrated, not only by the late sovereign, justly described as the greatest personal force for good that her kingdom possessed, but by all her kin, and by many coming within the sphere of their influence. Here it will be gratefully admitted that the spirit of the Prince Consort still posthumously animates the classes which we have been considering. If our time has witnessed an unwelcome development, in one sort or another, of social vulgarity, if real intellectual culture fall lamentably short of its fashionable affectations, the steadily increasing growth of serious interests is a novelty, not indeed of kind but of degree, that may reconcile the pessimist to much of an opposite kind. In this respect the late Princess Mary of Cambridge, Duchess of Teck, as her lately published biography amply records, represented, and in her daily life encouraged, the best and the most characteristic tendencies of her time. Nearly half a century ago the encourage-

ment and initiative of the Prince Consort resulted in Miss Nightingale's mission to the sick and wounded on Crimean battlefields. A gathering of trained nurses in the grounds of Marlborough House is to-day a periodical event. The spiritual power of the Papacy, it was foretold, would be increased by the abolition of its temporal authority. In England, the constitutional reduction of the royal prerogative within existing limits has been compensated by a great expansion, commensurate with the expansion of 'society,' of its social influence and its capacity for leading in every good and useful social work. We may confidently express the respectful hope that the new reign will witness the continuance and the extension of these admirable traditions.

In the forties of the last century, Lord Malmesbury, visiting the Duke of Northumberland's castle, was impressed by the graceful and stately precision with which the ladies seated themselves on a row of chairs. The next time he was at Alnwick this drawing-room manœuvre was omitted. To Lord Malmesbury the omission appeared to be, of course, the result of the Reform Bill and a prognostic of republicanism. As a fact, in regard to manners, aspirations, tastes, habits, and prejudices of all kinds, there has always been, what is still going on, a levelling-up movement, which permeates the new wealth with the ideas and sympathies of the old acres, and which may justify any potential Greville, Malmesbury, or Raikes in dismissing those social misgivings that have alarmed the croakers of both sexes and of every age.

Art. IX.—THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

1. *Oliver Cromwell.* By the Right Hon. John Morley, M.P. London: Macmillan, 1900.
2. *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.* By Samuel Rawson Gardiner. Vol. III (1654–1656). London: Longmans, 1901.
3. *Oliver Cromwell.* By S. R. Gardiner. Revised Edition. London: Longmans, 1901.
4. *Oliver Cromwell and the rule of the Puritans in England.* By Charles Firth. New York and London: Putnam, 1900.
5. *The Speeches of Oliver Cromwell,* 1644–1658. Edited by Charles L. Stainer. London: Frowde, 1901.
6. *A History of the English Church,* 1640–1660. By William A. Shaw. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1900.

THE problem of Oliver Cromwell's character, as a man, a soldier, a politician, a religious leader, and a ruler, continues to interest not only students of history, but all English-speaking people. After two centuries of execration, during which his kinsmen changed their name as one of infamy, he has taken his place as one of the greatest Englishmen. His statue has been set up at Westminster between the Hall where he condemned his king to death, the Houses of Parliament which he flouted and insulted, and the Church which he stripped of its ornaments and deprived of its historic dignity. It is an ill-omened site, reminding the beholder of his most questionable actions. But, though thus placed among the highest, he still stands before us in doubtful shape. New books come out every year professing to solve the insoluble problem; but as we lay them down one after another, our perplexity still remains. We may say summarily that the general result, as more and more details of history come to light, is to expand Forster's gloss on Carlyle's text. Carlyle exploded for ever the old fanatic-hypocrite myth, but set up another myth in its place. Forster struck the true note—'sincerity'; and Mr Morley, Mr Gardiner, and Mr Firth, though they do not always agree in their estimate of what Cromwell intended or of what he effected, agree in this.

Of the works which have recently appeared, Mr Morley's book takes precedence, not only from the position of its

author, but also by its comprehensive view of the subject and the charm of its style. Mr Morley has not studied the period so profoundly as Mr Gardiner and Mr Firth; but by Mr Gardiner's acknowledgment 'his judgment may almost invariably be trusted when he has the facts of a case fully before his eyes'; and he adds to the qualities of an accomplished writer that even-mindedness which we sometimes miss in his utterances as a statesman. We shall note as we proceed some of Mr Morley's conclusions, only paying here a willing tribute to the quality of his work, which is likely to make his 'Life of Cromwell' for a long time to come the most widely-read book on the subject.

Mr Gardiner, pursuing his even course, has reached the end of the year 1656—the dissolution of the second Protectorate Parliament, and the government by major-generals. To speak at length about his great work would be superfluous here. It has long ago taken its place among the historical classics of our literature; and every succeeding volume of the series in which he has traced the history of the seventeenth century deepens our admiration of his life-long industry, and our respect for the high standard of historical accuracy, thoroughness, and impartiality which he has consistently maintained. All lovers of history must deplore the serious illness which for the present prevents him from continuing his fruitful labours; we can only trust that he may yet be able to bring his great work to a successful close.

Mr Firth's 'Cromwell' is, we may hope, only an instalment of a complete biography. No living writer, Mr Gardiner not excepted, has a fuller knowledge of Cromwell and his times. It would be a calamity if a book confined within the limits and conditions of a 'Series' were to be Mr Firth's last word on a subject with which he is so competent to deal at large. His work does not come into competition with Mr Gardiner's, for a history is not a biography; and we have yet to look for a complete and detailed account of the life of Cromwell which will treat the history of the times from the point of view of the principal actor in the events, and set him in his right place among the great men of our country.

Mr Firth has added much to our knowledge. We gain from the Clarke Papers (1891), as interpreted first by him and afterwards by Mr Gardiner, a consistent view of the

agitation in the army and Cromwell's relation to it, and of Cromwell's change of attitude, first in throwing in his lot with the army, then in moderating their desire for vengeance, finally, after the Scotch invasion and the siege of Colchester, consenting to the King's trial, but even then trying to save his life. Mr Gardiner acknowledges his own debt to Mr Firth; the two historians have worked side by side. 'When two men meet, one hits it, or the other'; between them they have put the history of the ten years before Cromwell's death in a clear light, and done much to unriddle the complexity of Cromwell's actions.

Nor must we omit our grateful acknowledgment to Mr Stainer for his careful edition of 'Cromwell's Speeches' from 1644 onwards. Whether or not they bear out Mr Stainer's description of Cromwell as 'the man who seems to have been the greatest orator of his time,' we have here, at last, a transcript of Cromwell's words as nearly authoritative as it is possible to hope for, and are delivered from Carlyle's wearisome and sometimes misleading interruptions. Lastly, Dr Shaw has given us the fruit of long study and painstaking research in his learned monograph on the condition of the English Church during the whole of this troubled period. He has thrown a flood of new light on many doubtful points, and, in particular, has done more than any previous writer to elucidate the work of the Westminster Assembly, and the extent to which Presbyterian institutions were actually established in England during the Commonwealth.

Although the whole mass of evidence in print and manuscript has not even yet been fully garnered and sifted, the materials for a complete judgment of Cromwell down to the year 1656 are in our hands. By that time the revolution had apparently reached its climax; the debatable ground had been passed; the Cromwell dynasty seemed to be founded, though on a *divide et impera* basis. To all appearances, had Cromwell lived a few years longer, he would have been king, and possibly his son might have been king after him, with a parliamentary title as good as that of William III, and a large and trustworthy standing army to support him. But this was not to be. He had established his power, but not consolidated it; and the interest which we feel in him is rather personal than historical. For permanent historical results we must

study the years 1640 and 1641, and the comment on them furnished by the events of 1660 and 1689. The Commonwealth was an episode—an experiment in democracy—as the reigns of Charles II and James II were an experiment in high monarchy; and the resultant was the Revolution Settlement. The limits of a single article permit us to touch upon only a few of the leading events in which Oliver Cromwell is revealed, as step by step he plants his foot where he can find standing ground for the moment. No general, statesman, religious leader, or soldier of fortune that ever lived saw more clearly at each stage where the knot of the situation lay. As we touch upon each telling point of the quarrel between King and Parliament we find Cromwell there; and his personal action runs as a clue through the complicated history of his age.

Historians agree that if a great constitutional change was what emerged from the strife when most of the actors were laid in their graves, it was religion that first set Englishmen by the ears. Charles I would not have insisted upon absolutism, if that cause had not been mixed up with the cause of episcopacy; and Pym and his followers would not have taken the sword but for the consistent adherence of the King to the cause of the Church. Mr Morley gives a lucid account of the Root-and-Branch business, in which Cromwell first made his mark as a Parliament man. The first attack upon the Church went no further than the demand that the bishops should be excluded from the House of Lords, the Council, and the Star Chamber, and debarred from all exercise of secular authority. This was approved by Falkland and other moderate men. The Lords threw out the Bishops' Bill (June 1641), and, 'as usual, rejection of a moderate reform was followed by a louder cry for wholesale innovation.' Such acts encourage and harden opposition and consolidate parties. Henceforward the House of Commons was divided; one side for episcopacy, the other against it. What was to follow if the revolutionists succeeded was not clear to themselves. What did follow was 'a bleak and hideous defacement' of all the ancient beauty of the Church.

The Church of England as a part of the body politic having been swept away, a Church of some sort was to be reconstructed. The large majority of the English people would have been contented with what appeared sufficient

to Falkland. But military reasons made it desirable to get the support of the Scots; and the price paid for their help was the Covenant, entailing some approximation, at all events, to the Scottish system. To this end the Westminster Assembly was constituted, and continued its sittings till the course of the war brought sectarianism to the front and put supreme power into the hands of the thorough-going party. Fanaticism had broken loose, and the 'unlovely side' of Puritanism was revealed. Rigid dogmatism, definitions of doctrine about infant baptism, justification, election, reprobation, the Eucharist, ordination, the Catechism, the doctrine of the subordination of State to Church, the opposite or Erastian doctrine of lay control, the claims of the presbyterial system brought in by the Scots under cover of the Covenant, the claim of separate congregations to worship God according to their conscience—all these elements of discord were thrown into the Westminster cauldron.

Meanwhile the army and the Parliament were engaged in conquering the King in the field. The decisions of the Assembly were liable to be set aside any moment, when the strife between the King and the Parliament, and between the Scotch and English armies, should be so far decided as to leave Parliament at leisure to take up the question of Church government.

'The important point' (says Mr Morley) 'is that their masters were laymen. The assembly was simply to advise. Parliament had no more intention of letting the divines escape its own direct control than Henry VIII or Elizabeth would have had. The assembly was the creature of a Parliamentary ordinance. To Parliament it must report, and without assent of Parliament its proceedings must come to nought.'

The workings of the Assembly were in fact inoperative. It passed resolutions: it could not impose its authority in a single particular. But out of the furnace of disputation there issued this decision, to be made the most of by Oliver Cromwell when he came to power, that the free people of England would not be ruled by the clergy, and that no clerical establishment, whether episcopalian or presbyterian, should interfere with liberty of conscience. This was interpreted under the Commonwealth as excluding Papists and Prelatists. Under the reactionary Clarendonian

settlement Nonconformists and Papists were subjected to degrading disabilities; but the foundation of religious liberty was laid at this moment, and no return to conformity, as understood either by the Tudor sovereigns or by the framers of the Remonstrance, was henceforth possible. The Westminster Assembly established nothing of what it intended; but it is not without importance in history, if only for the fact that it unwittingly showed the necessity of toleration.

It appeared, indeed, as if the Scottish presbyterial system had come into the place of the Anglican settlement; but this was so only in appearance. England was parcelled out into Presbyteries;* the full hierarchy of synods, national, provincial, and classical, triers, ministers, and elders, the organisation of discipline, ordination, patronage, was complete on paper, but little more.

'The uniformity that had rooted itself in Scotland . . . was now nominally established throughout the island. But in name only. It was soon found in the case of Church and State alike that to make England break with her history is a thing more easily said than done, as it has ever been in all her ages. The Presbyterian system struck no abiding root. The assembly . . . as things turned out, existed and laboured mainly for Scotland.' †

The ecclesiastical system which the Assembly created on paper wanted reality, firstly, because it demanded, in order to be effective, a larger measure of submission to clerical authority than Englishmen have ever been willing to grant; and secondly, because Cromwell did not care to support it, though he did not actively oppose it. When Scottish Presbyterianism became the badge of that political party which wished to compromise with the Crown, the Independents, distrusting and fearing the formalists of church discipline, and feeling the power to be now in their own hands, included in their hostility and contempt for Parliament those religionists who, whether in Parliament or out of it, held to the alliance with Scotland; and when that alliance was terminated by the retirement of the Scotch army, they continued their resistance to the

---

* Cf. Shaw, i, 196, 197.

† Morley, p. 156. The 'Shorter Catechism,' so influential on the Scottish mind, was the work of the Assembly.

Presbyterian majority by which the House of Commons was ruled, and strove to guide the Government on the lines of liberty—for themselves, that is—in State, Church, and army.

The names Presbyterian and Independent, like other party names, lost their original signification. From being religious terms they became political, and came to mean no more than moderate and extreme, constitutional and revolutionary, or peace and war. The division between the parties was secular, though the thread of religion ran through it. The one party aimed at a composition with the King; the other was drifting into republicanism. The times had changed between 1641 and 1646. Then, it was a question of *bene esse* (to use the phrase of the time); now, of *esse*. No man's life, property, or inheritance was secure; authority resided nowhere, or, if anywhere, in the army; and it was not clear whether the army obeyed a commander (and if so, whom) or made its own law. The religious difficulty retired into the background; the prime quarrel was now between army and Parliament. The vital question resolved itself into the 'treaty' with the King; in a word, monarchy or republic. Cromwell, however, became a politician to compass religious ends; and for him the names Presbyterian and Independent always retained their religious meaning. He became a revolutionary because the King refused the compromise he offered, while the army, the sole depositary of real authority, threatened to reduce all to anarchy. Some one must lead the army, and its leader must accept its main principles or go down before it. These principles were embodied in the words 'republic' and 'toleration.' The changes implied were radical.

The question of toleration was forced into the front by the fact that the victorious army was chiefly of the Independent way of thinking. The Grand Remonstrance —carried, it is true, by no more than eleven votes—had pronounced for uniformity. The Presbyterian or Puritan majority in Parliament was opposed to the existence of separatist congregations. From a theological point of view the Baptists and Independents were of the same mind as to the 'Scriptural source and the divine right of their own systems,' and would have imposed them on others. Cromwell took broader ground. 'The State,' he said, 'in

choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions.' Milton, in his 'Areopagitica,' raised into a philosophical dogma what to Cromwell was a rule of practical conduct. Mr Morley, in an eloquent passage (p. 168), shows how Milton's teaching was in direct antagonism to uniformity and authority, and lastly, history—

> 'the perverse iniquity of sixteen hundred years. Uniformity, authority, history—to shake these was to move the foundations of the existing world in England. History, however, shows itself a standing force. It is not a dead, but a living hand.'

Toleration, as imagined by Milton and Cromwell, had to wait two centuries before it was accepted by England.

As for the republic, it is a common error to suppose that what we now know as parliamentary government existed in 1642, or ever had existed, in England. According to ancient English usage, the King should rule by his council, and from time to time learn the mind of his subjects through Parliament. Parliamentary government, as we understand the term, was not thought of, unless by political philosophers who had read Aristotle and were familiar with the Senate of Rome. The executive and the legislative powers were in ordinary times kept distinct. The government of the country could go on without intermission though Parliament did not meet for years together. The conception, inseparable from modern constitutional ideas, of a ministry as a committee of Parliament, was unknown till the accession of the House of Hanover. Necessities of war, not political theories, forced Parliament to take up the task of governing the country. The committees which sat at Derby House and elsewhere were the precursors of the departments and offices through which Parliament conducts the business of the country at the present day; and from the beginning of the Civil War till the King's death the House of Commons had, from military necessity, sat in permanence and carried on the business of the State.

In spite of the impatience and masterfulness of the army grandees, in spite of rebuffs and humiliations, through the succession of violent changes by which the monarchy, the Church, and the House of Lords were swept off the board, and all the safeguards of property, freedom,

and religion broken down, the Commonwealth did establish itself in fact; and government was conducted with considerable success at home and abroad, through parliamentary forms and under parliamentary control, from 1649 to 1653. Parliament was in a fair way to set up something like the political system under which we live now; and there was some justification for what was their capital crime in Cromwell's eyes, 'the perpetuation of themselves, so that one Parliament should come in upon the back of another.' But it was not thus that Cromwell understood the function of Parliaments. He 'would rather serve a General than a Parliament,' in which 'some pragmatical fellow,' some irresponsible member like Vane, might hamper the conduct of business by unpractical interference, and in which a selfish and timid majority might betray the cause and sacrifice the godly party by some compromise with the malignants. Still, by dissolving the Long Parliament, Cromwell, as Mr Gardiner points out, was caught in a dilemma. He held himself to be the minister of God's will in upholding the Cause for which God had witnessed. He wished also to govern by consent. He could not abandon the Cause, had he wished it, because his power rested on the army of the Cause. Did he desire to conciliate the nation and rule with the help of Parliament, the electors would never return a Parliament of Saints.

Now, had Cromwell thrown in his lot with the Parliamentarians, and joined hands with Vane, Bradshaw, and the other leaders who had set up a workable frame of government; had he set himself, with his matchless power of personal influence, to compose the differences that divided the mass of the people, who only wished to live at peace, from the parliamentary grandees on the one hand, and the army on the other; had he established a wide religious system under state control, with liberty for Nonconformists; had he upheld the parliamentary constitution, directed legislation to 'healing and settling,' laid the foundations of concord by giving as much freedom to the Royalists as was compatible with public safety, and gradually disbanded the army with payment of arrears and grants of land—we do not say that he would have succeeded, but he would have deserved to succeed. He might never have been Protector; but he would have

remained a stainless patriot, and the Cause would have been better served than it was by military despotism.

We cannot entirely acquit Cromwell of a change of front, such as he himself might have argued to show want of faith. The King was brought to trial and put to death in the name of God's witnessings. In the same name the ancient constitution of the Three Estates was destroyed, and 'liberty by God's blessing restored.' It is permissible to doubt whether Cromwell ever heartily accepted the republican government. But the republic was not a mere experiment; it was solemnly inaugurated as that character of government which was most pleasing to God. What had occurred between 1649 and 1653 to take away this character? The expulsion of the Long Parliament must be justified, if at all, by considerations of carnal or (to use Mr Gardiner's term) mundane policy. There were no 'witnessings' against the conduct of affairs by the Rump. Cromwell's belief in his mission at this moment was undoubtedly sincere; but it was the sincerity of the man who thinks that all he does is inspired—a dangerous condition of mind. He was left, he tells us—by his own act, it is true, though he chose to consider it as providential—in possession of absolute and 'arbitrary' power, the very power which he had grudged to the Long Parliament. He handed it on to the Nominated Parliament of Saints. They disappointed him. This 'high-water mark of English Puritanism' could not float Cromwell's vessel, laden with mundane cares. Surely it was not in simple faith, but by following events rather than guiding them, that he accepted the Instrument of Government, and sat down in the King's throne with the full intention of taking to himself all the ancient prerogative of the Crown, under whatever name he might bear it. Cromwell's was no vulgar ambition. His belief in the need of a 'Single Person' was sincere, for God had chosen him for the place, and his title to power was better than that of the Parliament. It is not easy to say when this conviction first came to him; but it is certain that he would have repudiated it in 1649.

By putting Charles to death Cromwell had made himself the enemy of half the nation. By dissolving the Rump he had declared against government by Parliament—the combination or confusion of the legislative and execu-

tive powers. He hoped, nevertheless, to be able to work with a Parliament. But government 'on an arbitrary foot' was the necessary result of a military revolution which had destroyed the ancient custom of the country; and if government was to be 'arbitrary,' that is, directed by power, not by prescription, and according to the judgment of the governor, he honestly preferred the arbitrary rule of a Single Person to the arbitrary rule of a Parliament.

Cromwell was a soldier, with a soldier's contempt for formalities. He despised civilians as he despised Scotchmen. He chafed under the restraints imposed on him by lawyers. He gave orders to the Universities, the City, the Companies, and other public bodies, as if they had been soldiers under his command. 'Scrupulous fellows,' he called the officers who 'boggled at the name of a king,' and reminded him of the settlement of 1649. He had as little respect for constitutional theories as Carlyle himself. His imperious temper, his military habits, his belief in the Cause, and in himself as the God-directed champion of the Cause, his faith in 'judgments' and 'witnessings,' made him mistake self-will for inspiration, and strain sincerity even to the cracking of conscience.

Cromwell, indeed, would seem never to have taken stock of all the difficulties of his position. Whether or not he used the expression, 'He goes highest that knows not whither he goes,' it represented his own fortune. He rode on every successive wave of events, turning the present to the best use he could. We cannot call him an opportunist, for he had fixed principles; but believing in the divine conduct of events, he let events think for him, and thus he easily incurs the reputation of a time-server.

We have no means of knowing at what time the thought first occurred to Cromwell, 'What if a man should take upon himself to be king?' In all probability it came to him like other convictions, slowly, and in view of the facts with which, one after another, he had to deal. These facts were, the alienation of the Royalists and the danger of 'blood and confusion on Charles Stewart's account'; the consequent necessity for a strong government in all three kingdoms; the intention of Parliament to enforce Presbyterian conformity upon all; the complaints against Parliament on the ground of corruption and self-seeking; and at the back of all, the actual position

of the army and its generals, as bound to maintain religious equality among Protestants. These facts confirmed Cromwell in the opinion to which he was naturally inclined, that a monarchy, or something resembling it, was the necessary form of settlement. There must be a king, and that king could be no one but himself.

A 'Single Person,' not a handful of committees, was to Cromwell's mind essential or 'fundamental'; a 'Single Person' in possession of the executive power, working in harmony with a council in Parliament, but a power co-ordinate with Parliament, not a political cipher like a modern king or president, nor like a modern prime minister, the mouthpiece of a parliamentary majority. Could anyone not of the blood royal occupy this place? Oliver tried the experiment, and found that the nation would not accept it. Though the Protector succeeded for the time in enforcing the 'owning' of his quasi-royal authority, though he exercised the power and prerogative of a king of England, he must have known that none but himself took him for king. His kingship had no divinity and could not survive him.

The regicides believed that in putting Charles I to death they had destroyed monarchy. Such acts bear their own interpretation and produce their own effects. The murder of Edward II destroyed Mortimer. The imputed murders of Henry VI and of Edward V and his brother ruined Richard III; and so the blood of Charles I rose up against the regicides, making a division not only between Cromwell and Charles's son, but between Cromwell and the nation.

We take up the history at the point where Mr Gardiner's second volume left it—the establishment of the Protectorate at the end of the year 1653. The story of the succeeding years till Cromwell's death is one of success abroad and failure at home; failure, that is, from Cromwell's own point of view, that of 'healing and settling.' The problem before him was to establish an executive which should administer the law and respect the liberty of the subject, a Parliament which should support the executive and uphold freedom of conscience, and an army sufficient to keep the peace at home against Royalists and Levellers, and advance the interests of the nation abroad. The executive was driven by 'necessity' to illegal action;

the Parliament spent its time in questioning the constitution under which it sat and in persecuting schismatics; the army was disaffected and almost mutinous.

The Protectorate began, however, with good hopes of success. Cromwell showed true political wisdom in laying down as not subject to Parliament his four 'fundamentals'—co-ordinate government by a Single Person and a Parliament; no perpetuity of Parliaments; liberty of conscience; joint control of the forces, vested in Protector and Parliament. These assented to, the monarchical character of the new frame of government was ensured. How far it would be possible to dispense with the support of the army was a question for the future, depending upon the behaviour of Parliament, the acceptance of the Protectoral system by the mass of the people, the submission of the Royalists and acquiescence of their clergy. Till these objects were assured it was impossible for the Protector to disband the troops. Unfortunately the existence of the army as a corporate body and a prime factor in politics hindered a settlement, for the Protector's power rested upon a provisional arrangement which put the control of affairs into the hands of a worse tyranny than that against which the country party had taken up arms in 1642.

'The problem of the militia remained still unsolved, and the problem of the militia lay at the foundation of all others. The immediate danger was not to be found in the predominance of Protector over Parliament, or of Parliament over Protector, but in the claim of the army to intervene in political affairs. . . . The very army which had dissolved the Long Parliament, and had more recently dictated the Constitution under which Englishmen were then living, was at that very moment swaying at its pleasure the fortunes of the nation. . . . On paper that army was the servant of Protector and Parliament. In reality it was the master of both.' *

The Instrument of Government (1653) was a well-constructed working constitution. The Protector had a right to demand, as he did, that it should be 'owned' by those who sat in Parliament by virtue of its commission, though the means by which he asserted his right were discourteous and violent. But the fault in the 'breaking' of the Parlia-

* Gardiner, 'History,' iii, 87.

ment of 1654–5 rests rather with Protector than Parliament. He could and should have borne with his Parliament, and worked as its colleague, not as its master. But to this end it was desirable that he should not appear as a military dictator. It could not be forgotten that he was set at the head of the English nation by the army, and that the instrument which made him Protector was drawn up by the officers. It was the height of impolicy to ensure his 'fundamentals' by parading soldiers at the door of the Parliament House; and, when this Parliament was hastily dissolved a few months later, the soldier's sword was no longer concealed.

Though the Instrument of Government was to give place to a new frame of government, to be drawn up by the Parliament, which like its predecessor, the Nominated Parliament, claimed to be a constituent assembly, Cromwell's practical instinct, as well as his determination not to abdicate, kept him alive to the danger of committing all to the chances of parliamentary debate. He had learnt from the experience of the Parliament of 1653 that the moderate men could not be trusted to attend debates, and that the professional politicians, men of decided opinions, but many of them lacking practical common sense, would carry on business and prevail in divisions. He was determined not to allow Parliament to steal the executive out of his hands. There should be no mistake about the sovereignty of the chief magistrate. He had not turned out the Long Parliament a year before merely in order to let the doctrinaires of 'perpetuity of Parliaments' bring in their theory again.

The religious difficulty might have been settled in 1654 by a compromise, or tided over; but the question of the Militia, that is, of the disposal of the forces by sea and land, was 'fundamental' to the Protector's position. Parliament attempted to compromise the matter by giving the Protector complete disposal of the forces for five years, with a sufficient revenue till the expiration of that time. A fair offer, it might seem; for, as Cromwell himself had hinted, 'if the nation shall happen to fall into a blessed peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off and their forces be disbanded.'* But he would not

* Jan. 22nd, 1654–5. 'Parl. Hist.' xx, 421; Stainer, p. 194.

hear of it. The disposal of the army must be so settled as to preclude this or any future Parliament from taking the sword out of the hand of the chief magistrate. If the chief magistrate 'were to yield up at any time the power of the Militia, how could he 'either do the good he ought, or hinder Parliaments from perpetuating themselves or from imposing what religions they pleased on the consciences of men?'* In Cromwell's view, as expressed in this single sentence, the four fundamentals stood or fell together with the independent power of the Single Person. Give up the control of the army, and the Single Person was a puppet in the hands of any Parliament. 'But all this' (says Mr Morley) 'is the principle of pure absolutism.'

Cromwell saw that his own armed hand was for the present the only power that could maintain the Cause and make head against anarchy; he never fully realised that it was impossible for the Lord General to rule in a parliamentary way, for the reason that the will of the nation by whom Parliaments were chosen was irreconcilably opposed to the will of the victorious military zealots whose leader he was. Sooner or later every Parliament would grasp at parliamentary power. The will of the majority expressed itself, in Parliament, by not 'owning the power' that had made the Parliament; outside, in rejecting court candidates and favouring plots for Charles Stewart's restoration. Cromwell's will displayed itself in the activity of spies, informers, major-generals, and gaolers, in sequestrations, fines, decimations, transportations to the Barbadoes, and dissolutions of Parliament. Nothing permanent could grow in such a soil.

The fact was that Cromwell belonged to the class of men who can command and persuade, but not govern. Discussion fatigued him and made him impatient. He would break off an argument with a jest or a piece of buffoonery, leaving the impression in the mind of his interlocutor that he used conversation as a means of probing other men's minds, and preparing them by riddles or seemingly rash admissions for actions already determined. 'He would fire his pistol at the King as soon as at another man'; 'he would rather serve a General than a Parliament'; 'there would be no good government till

---

* Gardiner, 'History,' p. 98. Stainer, p. 199.

my lord Manchester were plain Mr Montagu'; 'there must be something monarchical in the government'; 'what if a man should take upon himself to be king?'

Knowledge of the fearlessness and tenacity with which Cromwell held to the resolve of the moment made men fear these enigmatic utterances no less than the outbursts of passion which accompanied the crucial actions of his life. Cromwell's experience of his own personal ascendency perhaps made him think that he could browbeat a parliament as well as a junto of officers or a council of war; but when he sent parliaments back to the nation his personal ascendency did not make itself felt. He was certain to be obeyed as long as he lived, but he could not command the worship of his subjects.

The key to Cromwell's determination to stay in his place of power, sooner than quit which 'he would consent to be rolled with infamy into his grave,' is not to be found in his masterful and fanatical character. He clung to power, not because imprisonment, exile, or death would be the consequence of his abdication—for Cromwell was too great to consider these chances—but because he was convinced that by the will of God, who had witnessed through the army and not through Parliament, he had been placed in possession of that power. He was, and intended to be, King by the Grace of God, whether he was called by that title or another. There is no mistaking this. His official language was regal. He speaks of 'our city,' 'our county,' 'our will and pleasure.' He styled himself in papers to foreign courts 'Protector of England and France.' At his first installation he sat in his chair of state covered, whilst all around him were bareheaded; and the sword of state was delivered to him on bended knee. At his second installation the Speaker's address was in full monarchical style. The sceptre, the ermine robe, the sword borne aloft, the cap of maintenance carried before him, the use of the adjective 'royal'—these are all symbols of regality. His Lords and the officers of his household attended him bareheaded. He was 'His Highness' (which, though 'Majesty' had now superseded it, was the common form of addressing Queen Elizabeth), and his children were the Lord Richard and the Lady Mary, like the Lord Edwards and the Lady Maries of old time. In thanking the House of Commons he alludes to 'the practice of

those who have been chief governors to acknowledge with thanks their care and regard for the public.' He was proclaimed by heralds in the same style and with the same ceremony as the Kings of England. He speaks of 'three Estates' in Parliament (i.e. according to the language of the time, King, Lords, and Commons). His writs to his 'Lords' run in the mediæval style. He summons the Commons to attend him in the House of Lords, according to royal precedent. The name of king was but 'a feather in a man's hat'; but he meant to have the feather when he had finished his business with the army.

But Cromwell overstepped the limits of regality when he resented the decision of Parliament—a fair parliamentary decision—that the constitution should be presented to the Protector as a Bill, and accepted or rejected as a whole, not as a subject of conference or compromise. So highly was he offended that he dissolved the Parliament upon this vote, confirming as it did the vote upon the Militia. Stiffnecked and intractable as the Parliament was, he would have done well to bear with it.

'"I wish His Highness could consider" (wrote Henry Cromwell on a like occasion) "how casual [incalculable] the motions of a parliament are, and how many of them are called before one be found to answer the ends thereof; and that it is the natural genius of such great assemblies to be various, inconsistent, and for the most part froward with their superiors; and therefore that he would not wholly reject so much of what they offer as is necessary to the public welfare." . . . How much safer, that is to say, to rely upon a parliament, with all its slovenly, slow, and froward ways, than upon a close junto of military grandees with a standing army at their back. This is what the nation also thought, and burned into its memory for a century to come. Here we have the master-key to Cromwell's failure as a constructive statesman.' (Morley, p. 379.)

Cromwell was well aware that in dissolving Parliament in January 1655 he had again assumed all the power of the State into his own hands. As if to emphasise the military character of his government, he now proceeded to put the administration of the country into the hands of soldiers. The 'little poor invention' of Major-Generals was a declaration of war against the Cavaliers in Church and State. 'Healing and settling' was not for them. Half

the nation was put under military supervision, watched, harassed by inquisitions, fined or 'decimated' in the tenth part of their yearly incomes, deprived of the offices of religion and of all civil rights, disarmed, hunted, imprisoned. 'If this be liberty,' wrote Hyde, 'what nation in Europe lives in servitude?'

Neither Mr Gardiner nor any other authority tells us fully what prompted this policy, nor why, after having been successfully carried out, it was dropped as suddenly as it had been taken up, and with some circumstances of contempt for the agents who had administered it. No action of Cromwell did more than this to shake his power. It was naked absolutism, and contrary to all English precedent. Cromwell probably believed that, the nation being thus harshly divided into reconcilables and irreconcilables, peaceful citizens who did not wish to return into Egypt would accept order in the place of liberty, and by degrees be brought back to the enjoyment of their full rights. He did not foresee that, by declaring the Royalists enemies of the State, he was making moderate men their allies.

This comes out clearly in the municipal affairs of Colchester, dealt with at length by Mr Gardiner in chapter xliii, and by Mr Round in the 'English Historical Review' (July 1900). Party feeling was likely to be more violent and personal in Colchester than in other towns. Besides the Royalist and Puritan extremists, there were many inhabitants who had borne arms in the first instance for the Parliament, and in 1648 had fought for the King with Goring and Capel. This middle party had, no doubt, been strengthened by the violent measures of the years 1648–1653. They were not prepared to intrigue in the Stewart interest, nor even inclined to support the Royalist cause; but they were alienated from the Government, and the administration of the Major-Generals increased their disaffection. Mr Firth writes (pp. 416, 417):—

'As a measure of police the institution [of Major-Generals] was a great success, but politically it was a great mistake. It was a reversal of the policy which Cromwell had hitherto followed. By the amnesty he had carried in 1652, and by the repeal of the compulsory engagement to be faithful to the Commonwealth, Cromwell had sought to induce the Royalists to forget their defeat and become good citizens. In the declaration now published . . . he adopted the view that the

Royalists were irreconcilable . . . It was evident that the military party among the Protector's advisers had obtained the upper hand of the lawyers and civilians. The Protectorate, which had hitherto striven to seem a moderate and constitutional government, stood revealed as a military despotism.'

Much to the same effect Mr Gardiner says (p. 186) :—

'In treating Royalists as a class apart from the body of the nation the Protector did but follow in the lines laid down by the Long Parliament at the commencement of the Civil War. Yet to do so was none the less a political error. The greater the determination of any single class to stand aside from the main current of national life, the greater is the interest, to say nothing of the duty, of every Government . . . to treat those who repudiate its authority, so long as they abstain from acts of resistance, as erring brethren, but as brethren still.'

The government of the Major-Generals was the prelude to that change of opinion which made sober-minded Puritans, a few years later, prefer Charles II to a Richard or a Lambert. The sceptre was better than the sword, and Cromwell's constable's staff was a sword after all; and that, too, a sword held in an anxious hand. A strong government does not spend its energies in fussing and worrying. Burleigh could check disaffection by knowing everything and forestalling everything; Strafford and Richelieu by unmerciful repression. Cromwell was in danger of repeating Laud's mistake—which more than anything else ruined his master's cause—that of interfering with the everyday habits of the people, closing inns, gaming-houses, cock-pits, and bear-gardens, stopping horse-races, regulating the hire of post-horses, prying into men's ways of earning their living, tempting neighbours to inform against neighbours, keeping an eye upon inefficient constables, 'suspicious, idle, and loose persons, tipplers, sabbath-breakers, swearers,' and so on; endeavouring, in short, to convert the people as well as to govern them. The prisons soon became too full to hold the prisoners, many of them arrested with no legal warrant; and the Major-Generals frequently suggested that transportation to the Barbadoes would relieve the pressure. The decimation tax did not bring in enough to pay the expense of the new Militia; and several Major-

Generals proposed that the assessment should be taken lower so as to pinch the poorer Royalists. This, however, the Protector would not consent to. It has often been said that the Major-Generals performed their odious duty without gross excess, and that the soldiers were not only kept in good discipline but were popular as civil ready-money customers. But for all this, England was in a state of siege, and there was no military necessity sufficient to justify it.

We observe from indications in Thurloe that there was talk of 'purging' the Militia; that is, sifting out inefficient or disorderly soldiers. Is it possible that Cromwell had in view the creation of a second new-model army to supersede in time the veterans whose independent spirit thwarted his monarchical designs? We cannot affirm it, though it was Clarendon's opinion. But if so, the plan was not executed, for the state of siege soon came to an end, not because it was ineffective, but because money ran short. The Protector became engaged in a war with Spain, and even his hardihood did not go so far as to raise war supplies without authority of Parliament. On the whole the story of the Major-Generals is an unsolved riddle; and it is uncertain how much weight is to be attached to the various motives under which Cromwell may have acted, such as a well-grounded suspicion of the Royalists, and a desire to gratify the Puritans at the expense of the ungodly. He may have wished to lay the foundation of a new army, to try the experiment of a strong centralised administration in the disorganised state of local government, to raise money without asking for votes of supply, to prepare the way for the assumption of sovereign power by showing the people of England that they had found their master and could not do without him. It is conceivable that all these motives may have been present in Cromwell's mind. It is not likely that so wide-reaching a policy was taken up and dropped again in successive fits of impatience. What adds to the strangeness of the action is that Cromwell (as he himself said), by having been up and down in all parts of England for many years, probably knew the people better than any of his countrymen, and must have been aware how much odium he incurred.

In estimating the importance of Cromwell's illegal

action in the case of Cony and his counsel, the dismissal of three judges who questioned the validity of the Instrument, the arrest, imprisonment, and transportation of suspected persons without trial, the levying of customs, fines, and taxes without parliamentary authority, we must remember that all these were acts of authority in a revolutionary epoch, when responsibility for the peace of the country must rest somewhere, and 'the throat of the nation may be cut while we send for some one to make a law'; and further, that since the accession of Charles I England had never been governed by the law. Charles's government had been marked by frequent breaches of the law; the administration of affairs by Parliament during the war had hardly a semblance of legality; that of the Commonwealth was blasted by the overthrow of the old Constitution; that of the Assembly of Nominees seemed to aim at the abolition of law altogether; that of the Protectorate was so far experimental. A government which overrode the law did not create so much scandal then as if similar acts had been done at the beginning or the end of the century, thirty years earlier or later. The mass of the nation was sick of politics; and most men, if they had been let alone in the enjoyment of their liberty and property, and not vexed with unfamiliar burdens, did not greatly care whether they were under king or protector, presbyter or priest.

At this point Mr Gardiner leaves home politics and proceeds to the consideration of the war with Spain, into which we have not space to follow him. The result was that another Parliament had to be called, with the certainty of much opposition. The war was not popular; the Government was regarded with fear and suspicion; and sharp criticism might be expected. Cromwell lost no time in showing his new Parliament that he meant to be master. He at once purged it by excluding nearly a hundred members whose names had not been approved by the Council. This act was a declaration against the republican party, as the commission of the Major-Generals had been a declaration against the Royalists. By allowing the Bill for continuing the new Militia to be thrown out without protest, the Protector shook the allegiance of the soldiers who had served him so zealously during so many years, and perhaps set the leaders of the army against

the project, which soon came before Parliament, for converting the Protectorate into a monarchy.

This remarkable proposition, implying no less than a return to the ancient constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, was passed by 144 votes to 54; and if a vote of Parliament might in such conditions be considered valid, it was a call which could not be disregarded. 'There is no question' (writes Clarendon) 'that the man was in great agony, and in his own mind he did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe.' Nor is it doubtful that he would have accepted the offer, but for the opposition of the officers then quartered in London, who took alarm as soon as the project was mooted, and addressed the Protector against it. Cromwell accused them of inconsistency.* The officers who drew up the Instrument in 1653 had, in the first instance, under Lambert's guidance, proposed that Cromwell should be king;† now, Lambert was at the head of the discontented party. The assumption of the royal title was urged by the lawyers and steady-going parliamentarians, Whitelocke, Fiennes, Glynne, Lenthall, and the rest. The Humble Petition and Advice, in restoring the monarchy and the House of Lords, aimed at restoring with them the ancient use and wont which had been upset by revolution, and strove to reconcile peaceable Englishmen by laying anew the foundation of their rights and liberties. Cromwell, who was, in his own view and in that of Parliament, sovereign for life, was to get a parliamentary title—as good a title, but for the defect of blood, as that by which Henry IV and Henry VII had reigned; and use and consent would convert his *de facto* sovereignty into one *de jure*. On the other hand, the Cavalier party favoured the design as tending ultimately to a restoration.

If Cromwell soon quarrelled with this Parliament also, it was by no fault of his. The opposition, fortified by the re-admission of the 'secluded' members with their old grievance unredressed, and the drafting of many of the court party to the Lords, began, like their predecessors, to question 'fundamentals.' Whether politic or not, Cromwell's dissolution of the Parliament—suddenly done, but after warning—was justified by the ungenerous and

---

* Stainer, Speech 37, 28th Feb., 1657. † Gardiner, 'History' ii, 271.

unstatesmanlike action of the Commons in refusing to acknowledge the constitutional position of the 'Other House.' 'I did look,' said the Protector, 'that the same men that made the frame, should make it good unto me'; and proceeding to put the saddle on the right horse, he added, 'a new business hath been seeking in the army against this actual settlement made by your consent.'

That Cromwell chose the right occasion, as well as the fairest pretext for dissolution, may be judged from the rumour that ten thousand men were ready to rise for Charles Stewart, in the hope of an invasion from the Low Countries, and from the fact that at the same moment the City was agitating for the restoration of the Commonwealth. But dissolution put the Government in great embarrassment; for money was urgently needed for the war, and money could not be got without a Parliament. 'We are so out at the heels here,' wrote Thurloe on April 30th, 'that I know not what we shall do for money'; and in July, 'our necessities are much increasing every day.' Mr Morley and Mr Firth hardly do justice to the sense of disquietude, almost of consternation, produced by the sudden dissolution of Parliament before supplies had been voted, which appears in the correspondence of the Thurloe papers. The Royalists, in and out of England, were confident of success; and the suppression and punishment of plots only brought discredit upon the Protector's government, its methods of espionage, and its irregular courts of justice. The nation showed no indignation against the plotters. Victories abroad raised Cromwell's name higher than ever; but bankruptcy appeared imminent unless the Protector should take the law into his own hands and levy taxes by authority. It was thought that a new Parliament would be called immediately; but what matters (it was asked) could be safely entrusted to its judgment, and how could it be restrained from considering the whole constitutional question? A new Parliament would come together with the consciousness of power and the prestige of a victory already gained. It would be the old story of the Parliaments of 1640 over again.

To all appearance, Cromwell at this crisis had no policy. He and he alone was the state; but he seemed struck with lethargy. His usual strength of spirit appeared to have deserted him; and his health, which had never been strong

since the campaign in Scotland, now broke down altogether. Nothing was done to strengthen his rule during the seven months which intervened between the dissolution of Parliament in February 1658 and the Protector's death. Still, his faith did not desert him. The pious expressions of trust in God which we find in Thurloe's letters are the echo of his master's religion. So long as Cromwell lived, his towering personality kept together the fabric of the Commonwealth; but it rested upon him alone, and with his disappearance it fell. This is the condemnation of his work.

On a general review of the twenty years during which Cromwell was before the world as Parliament-man, soldier, general, breaker and builder of constitutions, and ruler of his people, it is not easy to say whether he is to be regarded as the child of circumstance or as the shaper of events. Few men have done so much in so short a time, and few actors on so grand a scale have owed more to external circumstance. Cromwell's ruling principle, from first to last, was that of religious liberty; 'in things of the mind we look for no compulsion.' This secured, and royal misrule put down by force, he had no desire to alter the frame of government. He did not make the revolution, nor did he come forward as 'our chief of men' till the crisis of the war. He did not turn the army into a political engine. He did not devise either the execution of the King or the establishment of a Commonwealth. He took all these measures as suggestions from others, having little constructive genius. But having adopted each in its turn, he made it his own, and worked it by the exercise of his indomitable will into a frame of things in which he, as the divinely-appointed ruler, was paramount; earning thereby the reputation of hypocrisy, fanaticism, ambition, and the rest of the catalogue of vices.

A parallel, such as our ancestors loved, might be drawn between Oliver Cromwell and Strafford. Neither had much respect for legality. Both believed in strong and just government, administered if possible with the consent of the governed, in any case for their good. Neither was a revolutionist, but each was capable of 'Thorough'—one in the cause of royalty, the other in the cause of religion. In their view of strong measures they agreed. Strafford said, 'Parliament refusing, you are acquitted

before God and man'; Cromwell put necessity, *salus populi*, above law. Cromwell consented to the invasion of England by the Scots; Strafford would have brought in an Irish army; both could coerce clergy and judges, use the services of informers, browbeat Parliaments, strike at powerful men, invite unpopularity, face danger. Both loved their country, and desired power as a means of doing good, not of personal aggrandisement, though each wished for and accepted the first place when it came to him. If Strafford was 'the grand apostate of the Commonwealth,' at one time declaring war against Buckingham in the popular interest and promoting the Petition of Right, and, at another, meeting by unconstitutional violence the unconstitutional action of the Commons, did not Cromwell both set up and pull down republican government, opposing parliamentary authority to Prerogative, and again, when his turn came, employing Prerogative against Parliament as freely as any Tudor king? The main difference between the two men is that Cromwell was an idealist, Strafford a servant of the Government, not looking beyond the needs of the day. Strafford's work ended with himself; much of Cromwell's, after the Restoration episode, bore fruit in and after 1689.

The character of Oliver Cromwell has been tossed about by critics and historians, from the 'brave bad man' of Clarendon to the 'So dies a Hero' of Carlyle. We wait for Mr Gardiner's concluding volumes for the final verdict. His opinion, as we gather it from his works, seems to be tending more and more to the view that Oliver's intention was always upright, and that to his matchless gifts of persuasion and practical action was added that of wisdom in the science of politics, had that science been reducible to rule in a time of revolution; but that he failed in appreciation of the conditions under which he must work, and allowed his masterful temper to hurry him into actions which, in removing a present difficulty, created a greater, and made a satisfactory solution impracticable. A man who takes a great part in public affairs must be judged by his capital actions. Cromwell's capital actions (apart from his conduct of military and foreign affairs) were the execution of Charles I, the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, the massacre of Drogheda, the expulsion of the Rump, the calling and breaking of three

parliaments, the government by Major-Generals, the attempt to re-establish the ancient constitution with himself as king. He attempted, through his own personal ascendency, to work out the good of three nations by submitting them to the will of the Puritan minority. 'Tis the general good of the kingdom,' he writes, 'that we ought to consult. That's the question, what's for their good, not what pleases 'em.' So Charles I had said on the scaffold: 'Their liberty and freedom consists in having the government of those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own; 'tis not for having share in government. Sirs, that is nothing pertaining to them.' To combine government by consent with religious liberty, and to control disaffection by the armed hand of authority, was the task which Cromwell set himself to do. He failed in obtaining the consent of the people; he could not secure the good affection of Parliament, nor prevent it from interfering with freedom of religion; he could not control the opinion of the army; and therefore he left no system behind him. The nation and the army might have been wiser if they had bowed to his will as well as to his power, for Cromwell was the wisest head among them; but things being as they were, the jarring atoms could not be reconciled, and the restoration of Charles II, with all it entailed, was the ignominious end of the aspirations of Pym, Cromwell, and Milton.

How would Cromwell have wondered if he could have foreseen that a fuller toleration, a more complete consensus of governors and governed than he ever dreamed of, and a standing army dissociated from politics, would have been born out of that 'perpetuity of Parliaments' which of all political devices he most abhorred!

Art. X.—THE DAWN OF GREECE.

1. *The Early Age of Greece.* By William Ridgeway. Vol. I. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.
2. *Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane.* Edited by D. G. Hogarth. London: John Murray, 1899.
3. *Prehistoric Man in the Eastern Mediterranean.* By J. L. Myres. Science Progress, 1896–1898.
4. *Primitive Painted Pottery in Crete.* By D. G. Hogarth and P. B. Welch. Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxi. 1901.
5. *Knossos.* By A. J. Evans, D. G. Hogarth, and P. B. Welch. Annual of the British School at Athens, 1899–1900.
6. *The Palace of Knossos in its Egyptian Relations.* By A. J. Evans. Egypt Exploration Fund, Archæological Report, 1899–1900.
7. *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece.* By H. R. Hall. London: Nutt, 1901.
8. *The Iliad of Homer.* Edited by Walter Leaf. Second edition. Vol. I. London: Macmillan, 1900.

THE year 1900 stands out conspicuous in the annals of archæological progress as marked by the momentous discoveries of Mr Arthur Evans in Crete. These discoveries have about them a personal halo, a flavour of knight-errantry; they are the fulfilment of a dream, the guerdon of half a lifetime's ardent, even passionate quest. But no haze of romance, no sense of gratified patriotism must blind us to the fact that, for science, the real significance of the Cretan discoveries lies in the fact that they are the latest link in a long chain, the climax of a series of investigations carried on during the last quarter of a century. This period has witnessed an access of new material, and, *pari passu*, an advance of method, that have already produced little short of a revolution in the whole outlook of classical scholarship. The altered attitude is indeed so clearly marked, the influence on aims and ideals so intimate, fundamental, and wide-reaching, that, to find an adequate parallel, we must look back to the days of the Renaissance.

The year 1900 brought the climax of the Cretan discoveries; the year 1901 brings with it the book that stands at the head of our list, a bold attempt to face the whole issue of the Mycenæan question. The time has clearly

come to ask where we are; what are these antiquities brought to light between 1873 and 1901—this series beginning with 'Priam's treasure' at Hissarlik, culminating, not ending, with the 'palace of Minos' in Crete? What is their significance for ancient history in general and for classical scholarship in particular?

We say advisedly, 'beginning with Priam's treasure' —though that, as we shall presently show, is not strictly true—because with the discoveries of Schliemann began the awakening of public opinion; and the fact is significant. Down to Schliemann's time, scholars, in England at all events, were busy almost exclusively with the interpretation of texts. The arrival of the Parthenon marbles in England had, indeed, forced even upon the English academic consciousness the fact that Greece had left behind her a monumental art as well as a literature; but this art was regarded as the 'handmaid' of literature, a graceful mode of illustration; and, for art so admitted, as for literature, the keynote of the position lay in a strict limitation of study to the 'fine,' the 'classical' period, with perhaps the inclusion of its outcome of decadence. Subject to this scrutiny, 'illustrations' from statues, basreliefs, even vases, slowly filtered into classical dictionaries and handbooks, while mythological 'allusions' began to receive a condescending attention. The terminology of the period tells its own tale: in a word, classical learning was untouched by evolutionary notions.

It is important to observe that this rigid limitation to the 'fine' or 'classical' period always admitted one notable exception. Homer, sacrosanct as a personage, was released from the taboo. The Homeric age passed into the precinct unchallenged, though the most cursory student could perceive that its civilisation was not Periclean. An exception had to be made for an age felt to be golden. Homer was revered as a cloud-wrapped image hanging between earth and sky. No attempt was made to link him either with the respectable Oriental past or the accredited Periclean future. He remained an unsolved, nay, an unasked ethnographical riddle.

Strange to say, these literary conceptions continued undisturbed by archæological discoveries which nowadays, we feel, might well have shaken them. Ten years before Schliemann, in 1862, during geological excavations

in that astonishing volcanic product, the island of Santorin (Thera), M. Fouqué had brought to light a whole civilisation buried beneath a layer of pumice-stone, due to an eruption supposed to have happened about 2000 B.C. He found walls coated with stucco, and painted with stripes and floral decorations, hand-made and wheel-made pottery; in short, the relics of a civilisation which we should now call 'Mycenæan.' Again, M. Biliotti, English Vice-Consul at Rhodes, opened at Ialysus a number of rock-cut tombs closely resembling those now so familiar at Nauplia, Mycenæ, and Spata. The objects found were brought to the British Museum—lustrous painted pottery, beautiful vases decorated with strange sea-beasts, cuttle-fish and murex, bronze swords, engraved gems, all vividly Mycenæan. But no one heeded; they were 'prehistoric,' barbarian, or 'Greco-Phenician,' a word long decently covering the unknown. Egyptian objects of the eighteenth dynasty were found among them, but men's eyes were blinded that they could not see. On the whole it seemed safest to relegate the whole *trouvaille* to the mists of the seventh century B.C. Was there not a respectable legend about the Phenician colony of Kadmus?

To arrest the attention of classical scholars there was needed, not mere facts, but facts that could be related to orthodox tradition, to an accredited department of literary scholarship. Touch the 'Homeric question' and you gain at length the academic ear. This was the true mission of Schliemann. Schliemann sought and fancied he had found the treasury of Priam, the tomb of Agamemnon; Mr Gladstone believed him; and the world was awake. It was a child-like love of Homer and a faith in his reality that gave us Hissarlik and Mycenæ, the material of the problem; it is the exact and searching study of Homer in comparison with this material that has finally, as the sequel will show, yielded a solution. Such is the eternal magic of the poet.

Dr Schliemann's discoveries on the prehistoric sites of Hissarlik, Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Orchomenus are now a thrice-told tale. Everyone knows of the eight superimposed cities at Hissarlik, the great gold *cache* at Mycenæ, the fortification walls at Tiryns, the decorated ceiling at Orchomenus. Thanks to the energy of Mr Arthur Evans, Mr Hogarth, and Mr Myres, thanks also to

the pressing need for funds, there is a like widespread familiarity with the most salient discoveries in Crete. The labyrinthine palace, the marvellously vivid frescoes, and, most of all, the unread tablets are in everyone's mouth. Less vividly before the public mind is the fact that between the eras of Schliemann and Mr Evans, during the twenty years between 1876 and 1896, a long series of excavations on prehistoric sites has been patiently carried on, rewarded by no specially sensational results, but not the less important for science. These excavations extend over an area reaching from Sicily to Cyprus, from Patmos to Crete and even Egypt. Site after site has yielded both distinctive Mycenæan structures and miscellaneous Mycenæan objects—as someone has truly said, 'beehive tombs and *Bügelkannen*,' two distinctive Mycenæan notes, 'crop up everywhere.' They are found all over the mainland of Greece and the Ægean islands, at Dimini near Volo, at Goulas, Thebes, Tanagra, Delphi. In Argolis itself, besides Mycenæ and Tiryns, we now have the Heraion, Nauplia, Trœzen, and Epidaurus. Athens has given back the Pelasgian fortress of her Acropolis, and in Attica also are the tombs of Menidi, Spata, and Thoricus. Laconia is represented by the sites of Kampos and Vaphio, this last with its astonishing gold cups, the masterpieces of Mycenæan art, already in its decadence.

Under the slow persistent pressure of facts accumulating over so wide an area, it began bit by bit to be felt that the new wine was about to burst the old bottles. It was no longer a 'Homeric question' that confronted us; the curtain was rung up on a whole new Ægean—nay, more, as Italy, Sicily, Sardinia came to be represented, a whole unknown Mediterranean—civilisation. The problem came to be not, Can we, by means of antiquities, illustrate and elucidate Homer? but rather, What people made the objects called Mycenæan? Whence did they come? Were they one or many, home-born or immigrants? What were their racial affinities? what tongue did they speak? what was the chronology of their civilisation, its rise and development? and what the cause of its downfall? How are this people, or group of peoples, related to Egypt and Babylonia on the one hand, to Phenicia and historical Greece on the other? These larger ethnological and historical issues have reduced to its true proportion the

Homeric question which gave the initial impulse, and have compelled classical scholarship to widen its horizon and include three several continents.

It was characteristic of the narrow outlook of former days that, when the question of *provenance* was first asked as to Mycenæan antiquities, and when it was no longer possible to dismiss them as barbarian, only one answer seemed possible. They had come from the East. Northern archæologists might know of a widespread civilisation of the bronze age, extending over Central and Western Europe, but such questions were not for the classical scholar; they savoured of flints and stone implements, matter for the eccentric collector or the student of savage customs. Philology long held that the cradle of the Aryan was in Asia, and the Biblical story of the dispersion of mankind pointed the same way. Egypt, itself of immemorial antiquity, was a respectable source for any civilisation. The wise men were not slow to follow the star in the East.

Such theories as to the Oriental origin of Mycenæan civilisation, be they Egyptian, Babylonian, Anatolian, or Syro-Phenician, are, it may be frankly stated, dead, and would be better buried. No one denies Oriental influence; no one who has once walked round the Candia museum can fail to be impressed by the fact of a strong dominant impulse from Egypt; but no sane person now pleads for Oriental *origin*. It is satisfactory to find that Mr Hall, whose close personal acquaintance with Oriental antiquities might easily have biased his judgment, utters on this question no uncertain sound:—

'Great' (he says) 'as may have been the influence exercised upon it by the civilisations of the East, the "Mycenæan" culture always retained its predominantly European character; it belonged not to the East but the West.'

We know at least, to quote Mr Hogarth, 'what Ægean civilisation was not. It was *not* the disguised product of any of the Eastern peoples with which we have long been acquainted, least of all of the Phenician Semites.'

Further than this, Mr Hogarth, writing in 1899, declined to go. 'No name,' he says, 'more distinctive than Ægean can yet be applied to the folk that produced the Ægean products.' Excavators and ethnographers were, in fact,

settling down into a kind of provisional agnosticism. The Ægean civilisation was, they were convinced, indigenous, but to the race that made it they, for the most part, declined to give a name.

In 1896 Professor Ridgeway published in the 'Hellenic Journal' his article entitled, 'What people produced the objects called Mycenæan?' The storm that attended the publication of that article has now happily died away; it is difficult indeed now to realise the panic which it at the time inspired. It was a storm in a purely classical tea-cup. Ethnographers and excavators took the matter very quietly, too quietly indeed. Mr Myres (if that accomplished scholar will pardon us for classing him for the moment as excavator and ethnographer), after noting that Dr Schliemann's identification

> 'only substituted an Achæan *y* for the Mycenæan *x*,' adds that, 'in identifying the pre-Achæan aborigines with the Pelasgians of Hellenic tradition, Professor Ridgeway has perhaps succeeded in substituting, yet again, a Pelasgian *z* for the Achæan *y*; but perhaps also in the process has contributed in detail to the eventual determination of both unknowns.'

Meanwhile Professor Sergi in Italy had been for years quietly engaged in 'upsetting the Aryan cart with its itinerant missionaries of culture.' He had sought to show, by arguments mainly anthropological, that the Mediterranean civilisations had their rise, not in these missionary races coming from the North and settling among barbarians of the South, but among a race which, starting in North Africa, had made its way upwards by several distinct routes, and, following the course of the pliocene land bridges, had thus peopled by land the several Mediterranean peninsulas. This people, with well-marked racial characteristics, had developed a high civilisation, ultimately of Mycenæan type; and it was the riches and splendour of this civilisation that tempted those successive hordes of the northern tribes formerly regarded as missionaries. About the same time, Dr Tsountas, with his wide experience in excavation, was seeking to draw an ethnological distinction between representatives of the 'Island, or Cycladic,' and the 'Mycenæan' civilisation proper. The Cycladic civilisation he proposed to identify with the Danaans, the Mycenæan with the Homeric Achæans,

whom he regarded as northern invaders. Thus, in various confused ways, excavators and ethnographers were feeling their way towards the main conclusion—that a great indigenous civilisation of southern origin had subsisted for millenniums in the Mediterranean; had developed, flourished, and died down before that Renaissance which we know of as Hellenic; and that of this civilisation we have the remains in the objects known as Mycenæan. Whether that civilisation was called Pelasgian or not, and how Homer was to be fitted in with it, were only bye-questions in the larger outlook.

For the Homeric scholar and the classical historian these bye-questions bulk rightly as supreme. Let us take the name Pelasgian first. For the classical historian to call the Mycenæan race Pelasgian, is not merely to substitute a Pelasgian *z* for an Achæan *y*; it is to resuscitate a whole body of ancient literary tradition, and to accredit the statements of Herodotus, of Thucydides, and Strabo, instead of relegating them to the limbo of myth. It is this that Professor Ridgeway attempts. After enumerating in his first chapter the various sites where Mycenæan objects have been found, and describing the results of excavations in each site, he proceeds to examine the literary and even mythical tradition of each site. The result in each and every site, notably in the three great Mycenæan centres, Argolis, Attica, and Crete, is that tradition points not to Achæans but Pelasgians; the mass of coincidence, when read in detail, is overwhelming. Why refuse then to follow Herodotus and give to the indigenous people the name he gave. Herodotus (i, 56–58) distinguishes clearly between an indigenous and an immigrant population. The enquiries made by Crœsus led him to recognise as pre-eminent among Greek states the Lacedemonians and the Athenians, the former of Doric, the latter of Ionic stock. 'These two nations' (says Herodotus) 'from early times had held the most distinguished place, the one being a Pelasgic, the other an Hellenic people.' Then follow the notable words, 'the one nation had never left their seats (*οὐδαμῆ κω ἐξεχώρησε*), the other was exceedingly migratory (*πολυπλάνητον κάρτα*).' Again (viii, 44), 'the Athenians, when the Pelasgians possessed that which is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians.' Ephorus, quoted by Strabo (v, ii), states that Peloponnesus had been

called Pelasgia in ancient times. Acusilaus, who wrote in the fifth century B.C., includes, in a fragment happily preserved, all Greece as far north as Larissa and Pharsalia under the name Pelasgia.

Given that archæology has proved the existence of an ancient, indigenous, homogeneous civilisation, surely, in the face of those ancient witnesses, a man may believe, as Niebuhr did, in the historical reality of the Pelasgi, and yet 'with safety still be allowed to mix with his neighbours.' Dr Leaf believes as firmly as Professor Ridgeway in the actuality of the Pelasgians, only he does not attribute to them the Mycenæan civilisation. Mr Hall, in his able and cautious book, treats the Pelasgians as having really existed; but, as he holds the orthodox view that the Mycenæan culture is Achæan, he is compelled to make the Pelasgians pre-Mycenæan.

We come to the second point, the identification by the old school of Homeric and Mycenæan antiquities. The real shock caused to Homeric scholars by Professor Ridgeway's paper was due to the fact that he took away the Mycenæan antiquities from the Homeric Achæans and gave them to the Pelasgians. It was bad enough to be asked to recognise the Pelasgians at all, but to find them put in possession of a supposed Homeric heritage was intolerable. It was here that the intrusion of the 'Homeric question' prevented the advance of Homeric scholars along the general ethnographic line. Nor can we be the least surprised. The case lay thus. Everyone, even Professor Ridgeway, is agreed that 'in the Homeric poems we have a picture of an age and a civilisation closely resembling that revealed to us from the tombs of Mycenæ.' Everyone also, even the late Dr Reichel, has had certain misgivings and doubts about a too facile identification; for under a critical survey many discrepancies between the culture of the Mycenæan age and that set forth in the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' revealed themselves.

These discrepancies were strongly emphasised by Professor Ridgeway in his 'Hellenic Journal' paper, and are further amplified in his present book. The most important are the following:—

In Homer the dead are always cremated; whereas the people of the Mycenæan age buried the body intact.

In Homer, though we hear much of bronze, neverthe-

less the iron age is fully developed. The Mycenæan civilisation is admittedly of the bronze age.

The Homeric shield is round, the Mycenæan bipartite, shaped somewhat like the figure 8. The Achæans of Homer are 'bronze-greaved' or 'well greaved.' No greaves have been found in Mycenæan strata. The Achæans of Homer wear the breastplate, which does not occur in Mycenæan finds.

In the Homeric poems the safety-pin brooch or *fibula* is a recognised part of the ordinary attire of men and women. The *fibula* is completely absent from the graves of the Mycenæan Acropolis, and only makes its appearance at the close of the Mycenæan period, concurrently with iron.

Pliny ('H.N.', xxxiii, 4) has remarked on the absence of any mention of signets in Homer; and this is the more remarkable as passages occur in which they might be expected, such as the descriptions of fastening and unfastening of doors and treasure chambers. The Mycenæan people used gems very freely, and many specimens have been found in their tombs.

In the matter of religion and social institutions there are other and more serious discrepancies, but as these are reserved for Professor Ridgeway's second volume, we omit them here. The case as it stands is sufficiently grave, and its gravity was perceived by all scholars who investigated the matter; but while realised sufficiently to cause discomfort, it did not compel determined enquiry. In various fashions, scholars soothed their doubts by the reflection that, though there might be difficulties, they were of no moment, and that for the sake of mere trivialities it was not well to disturb the convenient and pleasant doctrine that the remains recently brought to light were the 'tangible monuments of the Homeric age.'

Over some of the straits to which the orthodox were reduced Professor Ridgeway naturally makes merry. The Achæans are regularly termed 'bronze-shirted' (*χαλκοχίτωνες Ἀχαιοί*), which it is natural to suppose referred to bronze breastplates or coats. As no such breastplates or coats of armour have been found in the tombs, Dr Reichel boldly replies that the epithet merely refers to the great shields of the Mycenæan warriors, and that to the poet's eye the ranks of shield-bearing heroes would look as if they were shirted in bronze. This seems a little too much

even for 'the poet's eye'; but further, as no bronze shields have ever been found in the tombs, and as it is naturally inferred that the Mycenæan shield was of ox-hide, how could ox-hide shields appear as glittering shirts of bronze, even to a poet's eye 'in fine frenzy rolling'? Moreover, in the name of common sense, if the poet meant a shield why did he say a shirt? Homeric epithets are accurate descriptions rather than extravagant metaphors. The Homeric shield is 'circular' (*κυκλοτερής*), 'perfectly circular' (*εὔκυκλος*), equal in every direction (*πάντοσ' ἐΐσην*). Is this a correct way of describing a bipartite 8-shaped shield? With the 'Procrustean' method, as he terms it, of harmonising Homer and Mycenæ, Professor Ridgeway has naturally and rightly no patience. If we lop off as 'interpolated' every awkward or superfluous limb of Homer, we may make him fit the Mycenæan bed; but no other process will succeed.

But, say naturally enough the followers or allies of Dr Reichel, you have, it may be, proved, by insisting on these discrepancies, that the Achæans of Homer were not the makers of the Mycenæan objects; you have left us thereby desolate of 'Homeric illustrations'; you have in short robbed us, but you have given nothing in exchange. Is Homer again to be relegated to cloudland? If not, who and where are the people who cremated their dead, who fastened their garments with *fibulæ*, who wore shirts and greaves of bronze, who carried circular shields, who used iron for their weapons and knew nothing of signet-rings? If not Mycenæans, who were these Achæans?

Here we must enter a mild protest against Professor Ridgeway's procedure. In his 'Hellenic Journal' article, while he was ruthlessly cutting the Mycenæan ground from under Achæan feet, he appeared to have no scruple in leaving Homer and his Achæans 'in the air.' It is possible he did not know who or what they were; it is more likely that he knew but would not tell. As he has often been labelled 'rash,' perhaps he was justified at the time in being cautious. But no such caution was needed in the full exposition of his present book, and yet, incredible though it seems, the Achæan cat is not really out of the bag till the volume is nearly done.* It is only when

* 'Early Age of Greece,' p. 411.

the author begins, as we may say, 'ense pectus Norico recludere,' that he really strikes home. In the heart of the Austrian Alps, in the ancient land of the Taurisci, lies the little lake of Hallstatt, near to which a series of cemeteries has been excavated. The Hallstatt culture, supplemented by that at Glasinatz and other sites, *is* the Homeric-Achæan culture. Here Professor Ridgeway has sought and found a civilisation needing no Procrustes to fit it to Homer; here he has found an early iron age, with iron offensive weapons, with shield bosses, with bronze greaves, with *fibulæ*, with cremated dead. Here is the very mirror of Homer; and no Homeric scholar, we venture to say, will read the chapter on the Hallstatt-Glasinatz culture and fail to recognise the reflection. He will hail it with joy and promptly substitute it for the irreconcilable antiquities of Mycenæ.

Persuaded as we are of the substantial truth and illuminating brilliancy of his theory, Professor Ridgeway will pardon us if we quarrel with the method of its exposition. When will discoverers learn that the best method of exposition is the simplest, the most natural—to state at the outset what they have found, and how they came to find it? Instead of such a simple statement, which in the present case would have been to tell a tale as enthralling as any romance, the discoverer tries to persuade either himself or his readers, or both, that his discovery was made after a strictly scientific method; that an enormous mass of facts was collected, dispassionately viewed and classified, and that the theory then, and not till then, emerged out of the facts. It rarely, if ever, is so. As someone has truly said, 'the human intellect is like a dog, it cannot hunt until it has got the scent.' But Professor Ridgeway must needs be scientific in the method of exposition. So we are water-logged at the outset with some eighty pages of 'prehistoric remains and their distribution,' pages of condensed dulness, which the ordinary reader will barely survive, and which ought to have been relegated to an appendix—pages, too, in which the author, by his dishevelled style, plainly reveals his hurry and boredom. Even the chapter that follows, masterly as it is in its entirety, could have been condensed to half its length if the author could have renounced the dear delight of slaying dead and dying lions and giving passing

kicks to sleeping Carian dogs. When finally we come to the real gist of the book, it seems as if the writer could scarcely bear, even then, to tell us of his discovery; and the long and brilliant chapter, 'Whence came the Achæans?' loses half its cogency because it precedes instead of follows that on the 'early iron age of Europe.' We note these blemishes of exposition, not because they are vital, but because they will irritate the critic, dishearten the reader, and assuredly obscure the brilliancy of a splendid piece of work. It is more than probable that a large number of classical readers, even of Homeric scholars, will never push through to page 411, and so never really get at the gist of the book at all. The argument, we admit, was a highly complex one to marshal, the mass of evidence hard to co-ordinate; but an author with a mental grip like that of Professor Ridgeway might surely have got it better in hand.

To return to Hallstatt. It is interesting to note that the Hallstatt culture is no new discovery. Excavations were carried on there by Von Sacken from 1847 to 1864.* Upwards of 993 graves were opened and 6084 objects obtained; the tumuli of Glasinatz were first opened in 1888; and, since then, systematic excavations have been carried on year by year by Dr Truhelka, Dr Fiala, and others. The discoveries were, of course, known to all students of comparative anthropology, but it remained for Professor Ridgeway to see their significance in relation to Homeric antiquities; and that relation takes the form of a double identification leading direct to a momentous conclusion. The culture of Hallstatt, as revealed by the graves at Hallstatt, agrees with the culture of the Achæans as described in Homer. The culture of Hallstatt agrees also with the description left us by ancient historians of the culture of the Celts. Therefore the Achæans of Homer were Celts. This, baldly and crudely, is Professor Ridgeway's contention.

There will probably arise critics who will say, This is not original at all. The Greeks themselves knew the Achæans to be invaders from the North. Professor Ramsay† has seen in Greece and Asia Minor two strata of

---

* Von Sacken, 'Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt,' Vienna, 1868.

† 'Journal of Hellenic Studies,' ix, p. 350.

mythological conceptions, one of the indigenous southerners, another imported from the North. Dr Montelius, Mr Arthur Evans, Mr Hogarth,* have pointed out analogies between the Hallstatt culture and the 'geometric' or late Mycenæan period of Greece. Yes, but Professor Ramsay's theory remained an isolated mythological conjecture, while the other savants saw in the Hallstatt culture not the source but the survival of Ægean art. If, as we have pointed out, in his view of the Mycenæan civilisation as indigenous, homogeneous, and even Pelasgian, Professor Ridgeway is not wholly original, but in substantial agreement with the best ethnographical opinion, the connexion established between Hallstatt and Homer is certainly all his own.†

But, it may be asked, are we really any further advanced, or is the Hallstatt culture only the substitution of a fresh unknown? Assuredly not. As the name Pelasgian brought us into touch with a great body of ancient tradition, so does the identification of the Hallstatt culture with Celtic. Whence came the Achæans? Who were they? Professor Ridgeway's answer to this question is supported by a mass of complex evidence which we cannot even summarise here. They were the Keltoi or Galatai (dialectic forms of the same word) of the ancients, the fair-haired, large-statured people of the North who again and again, in wave after wave, burst from the heart of Germany, over the great mountain barriers, into the southern lands. Much confusion, Professor Ridgeway points out, has arisen from our modern inaccurate use of the term Celt and Celtic. We speak of the dark-complexioned Iberic people of France, Great Britain, and Ireland as 'black Celts'; but 'the ancients never spoke of any dark-complexioned person as a Celt, for great stature and a xanthochrous complexion were to them the characteristics of the Celt or German.' They grouped together in fact as homogeneous all the fair-haired peoples north

---

* 'Authority and Archæology,' p. 252.

† Mr Hall writes, p. 39: 'The place' (of Homeric culture) 'is exactly paralleled in the history of the development of the civilisation of Central Europe by that of the culture of Hallstatt.' But the intrusion of this iron culture into Greece Mr Hall attributes to the Dorians; and Homer's Greeks are certainly *not* Dorians. Mr Hall's valuable book, the conclusions of which are in many respects substantially the same as those of Professor Ridgeway, reached us too late for detailed notice.

of the Alps, which physical anthropologists now divide into the two groups, Teutonic or Scandinavian for the northern, and Celtic or Alpine for those standing midway between North and South. The ethnographical story of the three Mediterranean peninsulas, Spain, Italy, Greece, has been, it seems must always be, virtually the same. All three, from neolithic times, have been peopled by a long-headed, dark-skinned race, a race whose sensuous artistic temperament has constantly tended to sensuality and effeminacy. Into these three peninsulas many incursions have been made by a fair-haired population developed under the bracing conditions of northern Europe, a warrior people of larger stature and higher morality, whose dress, as was natural, and whose armour and habits of life were in marked contrast to those of the people of the South. Of these southward rushes we are familiar with many of the later instances. Did not the Gauls sack Delphi? Did not other Gauls sack Rome? Were there not 'foolish Galatians' left stranded in Asia Minor? In a beautiful and pathetic passage Professor Ridgeway describes the inevitable fate of these sons of the North as they dwindle and merge in the uncongenial climate and conditions of the South.

'Where are the hosts of fair-haired warriors who streamed into the Balkan and the Mediterranean basin under the Roman empire? Where are the Goths of Mœsia for whom Ulfilas translated the Bible? Where are the posterity of the stalwart Norsemen who formed the Varangian guard of the Emperors of the East? Where are the Normans who once carved out kingdoms, marquisates, and counties in Sicily, Italy, and the Levant? These children of the North have all melted away beneath the southern sun as inevitably as melts the glacier when it descends into the heat of the valley; and, as the gross underlying earth reappears when the beautiful ice wastes away, so surely does the older stratum of population once more rise to view.'

Classical scholars will be delighted to find ancient echoes of the land of the Hyperboreans assuming a new significance. We are suddenly at home among the long-haired Achæans because they are ourselves. These banquets of abundant roast flesh are Homeric, but also British, and contrast significantly with the dainty fish

diet of the Pelasgian Athenians. They are the natural meals of a northern people, coming from a well-wooded country, where men can afford to roast their meat, and, as we shall presently see, to cremate their dead. Then there is the now familiar argument of the 'cow with the crumpled horn.' The Mycenæan cow and bull have uniformly spiral, lyre-shaped horns, but Homer knows, not only of the spiral-horned (ἑλικτός), but of another and a better breed, the short and straight-horned (ὀρθόκραιρος). Where did the latter come from? From the home of most good things—from the North. The short-horn is characteristic of central Europe, the British Isles, Scandinavia. More fascinating still, there is the 'hind with the golden horn' (χρυσόκερως ἔλαφος), in quest of which Herakles 'beheld the land behind the chilling north wind.' We hope there may be others besides ourselves to whom this gifted creature presented no difficulties; we must bear, with Pindar and Euripides and the sculptor of the Diana of Versailles, the censure of Aristotle for our ignorance of the fact that female deer do not possess horns; and then is there not the 'poet's fancy'? But it seems Aristotle is wrong after all; he generalised with one particular unknown to him left out. There is one female deer, and only one, that has horns, and that is the reindeer. Was it to capture a horned female reindeer that Herakles passed behind the north wind, not to Lapland, but to the Hercynian forest where he 'stood and marvelled at the trees'? Naturalists say that the reindeer still lingered in North Germany in Cæsar's time; and Mr Frazer has found that in north-east Russia, down to one hundred and fifty years ago, there was an annual celebration of the 'Feast of the Golden Reindeer Horn.'

Homer himself knew of a people in the furthermost North. There are the huge Laestrygonians who dwelt in the land where a 'sleepless man might earn a double wage, so near are the ways of the day and the night.' There is the actual Danube-Adriatic route from north to south, by Dodona, followed by the Hyperborean maidens when they brought the sacred offerings from Scythia to Delos—an echo, no doubt, of traffic and barter long preceding conquest. More curious still, there is the tradition that iron came to the Greeks through a fair-haired people. Hesiod, after describing the golden, silver, and bronze

ages, depicts the men of the iron age. Iron had in truth, as Professor Ridgeway says, 'entered into their souls'; for Hesiod imputes to them every form of lawlessness, and, he adds, their children were born white-haired (*εἰ̓τ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν*). The conjecture was long ago made by Goettling that this referred to fair-haired Teutonic invaders: the coincidence is clinched by Professor Ridgeway's reference to Diodorus Siculus (v. 32, 2), who says, speaking of the Gauls, 'the children from their birth are, as a rule, white-haired (*πολιά*), but as they grow older they change to their father's complexion.'

We have been obliged to state the new theory in the broadest outline. Without numerous illustrations it is impossible to give any idea of the mass of evidence accumulated, and the relentless logic with which the argument closes in on every side; it is the thing in its totality that is so persuasive. But that we may give some idea of the method of the book we propose to examine, in greater detail, one chapter, and that the most interesting, on Inhumation, Cremation, and the Soul.

Cremation, it has been already stated, is one of the notes of Homeric as opposed to Mycenæan culture. In the shaft graves of the Acropolis of Mycenæ there is no trace of cremation. In classical days, though cremation was occasionally practised, inhumation was the ordinary rule; of this adequate evidence is given, literary and monumental. To what cause is the Homeric interruption due? The point Professor Ridgeway sets out to prove is this. Cremation entered the Ægean with the Celts from the North; it was no part of the indigenous civilisation of the South, nor did it enter from Egypt or Babylonia. This proved, the argument is further clinched by an examination of the views concerning the dead and their after-life that are connected with cremation; these views, it is shown, were held by the Achæans of Homer and by other northern races, and are in marked contradistinction to those held by the people of the South.

A survey of the burials of Europe, Asia and Africa, from the Canaries to Babylonia, from Scythia to Libya and Egypt, shows that,

'with the exception of two cremation interments in the late Mycenæan cemetery of Salamis, inhumation, or at least some

other method of disposing of the body (e.g. such sporadic variations as tree-burial and tearing of the corpse by dogs), was universal in early times and continued so over most of the aréa down to the Christian era.'

Egypt, Libya, Phenicia, Babylonia, the Islands, Asia, all tell the same tale. Even Persians, down to the time of Cyrus, buried their dead, though, as is proved by the story of Crœsus, they had no scruple in burning the living. The Romans, towards the end of the Republic and in the early Empire, practised cremation; but Pliny knew that some of the most ancient Roman families always went on burying their dead unburnt, and he holds, with Cicero, that inhumation was the earlier practice.

'Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti; terra condebantur . . . et tamen multae familiae priscos servavere ritus, sicut in Cornelia nemo ante Sullam dictatorem traditur crematus.'

Turning to the peoples living north of Greece, we know from Herodotus (v. 8) that the Thracians either burned or buried their dead. The genuine Thracians are of the same race as the Illyrians, and the mixed practice of the Thracians is exemplified by the Glasinatz burials. Burials of the inhumation class occur in the proportion of sixty per cent.; thirty per cent. belong to the cremation class. Here, too, it is probable that inhumation preceded cremation, as the few very early pre-iron age burials are all inhumations. As there is the best possible historical evidence for the conquest of native Illyrians and Thracians by Celts, there is a high probability that the practice of cremation was brought in by the conquerors. The burials of Carniola and Styria tell the same tale. In Italy the people of the Terramare culture, i.e. of the stone and early bronze periods, whom Professor Ridgeway considers to be represented by the name Ligurian, buried their dead; but above this culture is superimposed the Umbrian or Villanova stratum, and this, which extends from the late bronze into the iron age, is marked by cremation. Ombriké extended right up to the Alps, and the closest relations existed between Umbrians and Celts. The dual burials at Rome are accounted for by the mixed nature of the population. The Sabines belonged to the later

Umbrian population; and it is in all probability to them that the practice of cremation at Rome was due.

So much for the borderland countries where mixed practices are observed, and where cremation, roughly speaking, represents the conqueror, inhumation the conquered. Crossing the Alps, we come to a portion of upper Europe where cremation is all but universal, and occurs certainly in the bronze period, probably even as early as the period of transition from stone to bronze. Tacitus ('Germ.' 27) says that the Germans 'observe the custom of burning illustrious men with certain kinds of wood; . . . the arms of the dead man, and in some cases his horse, are consigned to the fire.' The evidence of Tacitus is amply confirmed by excavators, as, though inhumation was the custom in the stone age, cremating urns are plentiful in later burying-places throughout Germany. Cremating seems to have been practised by the old Saxons down to the end of the eighth century, for it was prohibited in A.D. 785 by an edict of Charlemagne. The Norsemen sent their dead kings to sea in burning ships. In Denmark the stone age has inhumation, the bronze almost universally cremation; but in the iron age inhumation reasserts itself. In Sweden the lower classes always buried their dead, the nobles only cremating. In England the evidence is exceedingly complicated and can scarcely be said to be decisive, but it should be noted that cremation is very common among the Angles of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. In France it is much clearer; inhumation is universal for the palæolithic and neolithic ages for long-headed and round-headed people alike, but soon after the beginning of the bronze age cremating begins in the area occupied by the round-headed Alpine race. This survey leaves no doubt on the main issue. Cremation is, in the ancient sense, Celtic. Cremation prevailed in central Europe certainly by the bronze age, probably before; in the Mediterranean countries it never really developed at all, and was employed only sporadically. It was practised by the Homeric Greeks about 1000 B.C.; it must have come to them from the North.

Of special human interest is the supplementary enquiry, what caused cremation to come into use? With what notions respecting either the body or the soul is it connected? Are these the common property of Celts and

Achæans? In determining the purpose and significance of cremation it is well first to get rid of an ancient fallacy, viz. that cremation is the custom of nomadic tribes. This fallacy has been revived by Rohde to explain the Homeric practice of cremation. The whole hypothesis falls to the ground in face of the simple fact that the three most notable nomad nations of the ancient world, Libyans, Arabs, Scythians, buried their dead unburnt.

Central Europe, a land of vast forests, is the cradle of cremation. For primitive man the body came before the soul; and it seems probable that the first impulse to cremation was given by the dread of the pollution of the corpse. The body of the dead man is *taboo*, potent indeed sometimes for good, but also for evil. The theology of Christianity, the fear of embarrassing the Resurrection, put an end under the Roman Empire to cremation; and it is probable that cremation took its rise also, or at least its impulse to development, in some theological conception. This conception comes out clearly in Homer. After death the soul leaves the body, but it cannot pass through the portals of Hades till the body is wholly consumed by fire. Fire was the instrument whereby the necessary etherealisation was obtained. Homer says nothing of purification, but it is clear that some sort of sublimation is in view. Precisely the same was the view held by the cremationists of upper Europe. Odin ordained that all men should be burned with their property; the dead man came to Valhalla with such gear as he had in the fire—a notion precisely paralleled by the last words of the shade of Elpenor. But Odin is a conqueror; he brought in cremation together with iron and shirts of mail; the souls of the common people who practised inhumation abode with Thor. From central Europe cremation spread northwards as well as southwards.

The intent of cremation comes out most clearly in the doctrines of another cremationist people, the Hindus; and are not the Hindus those very Aryans whom we now believe to have entered India from central Europe? They, like the Achæans, found a primitive aboriginal folk practising inhumation, and, being a meditative people, they tell us what their own practice meant. It should be noted that they burn the good and not the bad. Clearly, cremation is not practised by them with a view

to getting rid of a malevolent spirit, but rather with a beneficent purpose to the soul of the deceased. Agni, Fire, is the corpse-destroyer. Agni, again, is he who sends the soul to the abode of Yama; he is the messenger from men to the gods. It is fire that ensures the sublimation of sacrifice among those who believe their gods to dwell above; fire was also the natural medium for the transmission of the soul. Agni is alike Purifier and Psychopompos. Eustathius, who knew so much, knew this also; and it is satisfactory to find Professor Ridgeway can adduce this early episcopal authority. Eustathius says ('ad Hom. Il.' cap. 43)

'the Hellenes had formerly the custom of burning the dead, a practice which still prevails with some of the northern barbarians. They did so to show that the divine element in man, when borne on high by fire as if in a chariot, mingled with the heavenly beings, whilst the earthy element remained below, partly consumed by fire, partly surviving in the remains of the bones. Some say that it was because the corpse was held to be impure, and because the consumption of decomposed matter by the agency of fire was a form of purification, because fire is purificatory.'

Celts, Achæans, Hindus, by burning the body, released the soul; and it went to 'a happy land far, far away,' remote, inaccessible; it went never to return. In striking contrast to this was the faith and practice of the primitive peoples in the lands which these conquerors invaded. These peoples, to take only the Mycenæan culture, buried their dead, and believed that in and about the graves the dead remained; they fed them, they worshipped them. Countless Greek vases represent the souls of the dead fluttering round the tomb, countless bas-reliefs commemorate the worship of the local hero; legends innumerable recount his potency for good or evil. It is highly interesting to observe that poets of the fifth century B.C. present us with—just what we should expect—a *contaminatio* of the two doctrines, Achæan and Pelasgian. Agamemnon has been burnt, so, according to Achæan doctrine, he could return no more; yet to his tomb the maidens are bearing offerings due to the dead (*οἷα τοῖς κάτω νομίζεται*); their custom is Pelasgian. Orestes is in theological perplexity, as well he might be, holding two

faiths, or rather combining Achæan faith with Pelasgian custom.

'"Father, strange and terrible, what can I say, what do, to waft my signal from so far, thither where thou art anchored fast?" And the chorus makes answer: "Child, the spirit of our dead is not conquered by the fierceness of all-devouring fire. He does make known his desires, but not so soon."' (Æsch. 'Choeph.,' 321.)

Even in Homer the blending of two wholly different conceptions of an after-state of the soul is plainly apparent. The ghost goes down into Hades; Odysseus himself says he goes *down* (*κατέβην δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω*); and yet, when that journey is described in detail in the 'Nekuia,' it is to no underworld he goes; rather he sails in a black ship to the deep flowing Oceanus, to the land of the Cimmerians (the Cimbrians); and in that chill land, where deadly night is overspread over invisible mortals, he reaches a northern Valhalla. Professor Ridgeway lays himself open to misconstruction when he says 'the Homeric abode of the dead is not an underworld'; what he means is that the picture, as he leads us to expect, is a double one due to a racial fusion; we have both *below* and *beyond*. The Achæan, like the Hindu and the Persian, entered countries occupied by alien races; and the doctrines brought by the conquerors were modified by those of the conquered.

A final question remains, to many the most absorbing of all, what is the Homeric language? Is it Pelasgian, indigenous, or is it imported Achæan? In Professor Ridgeway's brilliant chapter on the 'Homeric dialect,' we have only one flaw to regret. The author distinctly states, what is obviously true, that the controversies respecting the unity of Homer, from Wolf's 'Prolegomena' onwards, are outside the scope of his work; and yet his besetting pugnacity compels him to interrupt his argument and spend several pages in exposing the supposed absurdity of a controversy based on 'subjective impressions.' This disposed of, he comes to the consideration of two questions really relevant: first, were the poems composed on the mainland of Greece or on the coast of Asia Minor? second, were they composed in the Achæan language or in the Pelasgian?

The first question, which is, after all, a subordinate issue, is answered in substantial agreement with the views of Mr D. B. Monro in favour of Greece proper. The question of the dialect of Homer is more vital; and here a surprise awaits us. The incoming Achæans brought with them, we have been told, the civilisation pictured by Homer, cremation and the Valhalla, the use of iron, characteristic dress and armour; we confidently expected to learn that they imposed their Aryan speech on the conquered. Here we may pause to note the extraordinary boldness of the author in stating his views while the riddle of the Cretan tablets is still unread. In them we have, according to him, the Pelasgian *σήματα* that preceded the Phenician *γράμματα*; and might they not at any moment turn out to be for his theory *σήματα λυγρά*? Professor Ridgeway knows no fear. He maintains that we should naturally expect the speech of Homer to be Pelasgian, not Achæan; he holds, that is to say, the general principle that the conquerors, instead of imposing their own speech, adopted, with slight modifications, the speech of the conquered. The conquerors marry the daughters of the land, and the mothers bring up the children to speak their own language. This thesis is supported by a number of ancient and modern examples, of which we need only mention the gradual adoption by the Norman invaders of the speech of their subjects. What does philology say in respect to the dialect of Homer? Hoffmann has shown that, of all Greek dialects, Arcadian and her daughter Cypriote come closest to the Homeric, so much so that he has given to the Thessalian and Arcadian dialects the names of North and South Achæan. Now Arcadia is the very stronghold of the Pelasgian race. Nor is it strange that the conquered should celebrate in their own tongue the glory of the conqueror.

'The exploits of the Normans in Ireland were sung by the native Irish bards in the native Irish tongue; and the renown of the present Tartar dynasty of China is recorded, not in Tartar, but in the old literary language of their Chinese subjects.'

The Homeric dialect then is the old literary Pelasgian. To the Pelasgians we owe the hexameter, obviously the outcome of an ancient civilisation. Among tribes of

rough migratory warriors like the Achæans the natural form of literature is the ballad, which, as Dr Leaf rightly holds, is not to be compared with the Homeric epos. No trace of the hexameter has ever been observed in the natural poetry of Celto-Teutonic peoples; moreover, Dodona, according to tradition the early sanctuary of the Achæans, delivered her oracle in prose, while Delphi, the most hallowed sanctuary of Mycenæan Greece, uttered herself in hexameters.

This new doctrine also explains two anomalies—the supposed Doric forms in Attic tragedy, and the phenomenon of Greek and Latin labialism. Why, in the name of common sense, should the Athenians compose their most ancient songs in the dialect admitted to be most recent, the Doric? But if we suppose the long *a*, and other Doric forms which are common also to Æolic, to be a survival of the primitive Pelasgian of Pelasgian Attica, the anomaly is simply and naturally explained. In like manner, labialism—the characteristic tendency of the Celto-Teutonic peoples of upper Europe—is simply explained as a modification introduced by Celto-Achæan conquerors. A specially interesting case is that of the difficult *ἵππος*. When we remember that Epona, the Celto-Umbrian horse-goddess, got engrafted into Latin along with *equos* (*ecus*), and when we consider that the horse was much more the animal of the chariot-driving Achæans than of the Pelasgians of Attica and the island people of the Ægean, whose chariots were swift ships, we need not be surprised if a labialised form of the name for horse, corresponding to Gallic *Epona* and Welsh *eb*, had made its way along with *πέτταρες* and *πίσυρες* from the Danubian regions into the Greek lands and Thrace.

With his examination of the linguistic problem Professor Ridgeway's book concludes; and the question naturally arises, how far are his conclusions, based as they are, for the most part, on previous excavations, confirmed by the recent discoveries in Crete? Here it must frankly be owned that, with the script yet unread, and the palace of Minos only about half uncovered, Crete has done more to open up fresh problems than to solve old ones. Day by day fresh monuments come to light which enhance the splendours of Mycenæan civilisation. Day by day brings fresh links with Egypt, as notably in the

case of the wonderful royal draught-board discovered early last May, with its mosaic of ivory, its crystal bars and plaques, its medallions closely paralleled by the draught-board of Queen Hatshepsut, known by the Enkomi example to have been imitated by Mycenæans. But all these splendid discoveries, while they amplify and vitalise the picture, can scarcely be said to solve the problem.

One scientific point, however, has clearly emerged, and it is confirmatory of Professor Ridgeway's view. In the first flush of discovery, many archæologists were tempted to regard Crete as the probable cradle and the certain zenith of Mycenæan civilisation. This temptation Professor Ridgeway resisted; and the event proves him right. 'The evidence,' he says (p. 291), 'up to the present points to the mainland of Greece as the focus of fullest development.' From a study of the pottery of Crete one fact clearly emerges. Mycenæan pottery, so far as at present known, appears in Crete suddenly and, as it were, full blown. It is preceded by neolithic ware of the ordinary type, and by the very peculiar and well-marked type known as 'Kamares.' The transition from neolithic to Kamares is easily traceable; that from Kamares to Mycenæan is not, so far, made out. The best authorities on this subject, Mr Hogarth and Mr Welch, draw the conclusion that Mycenæan pottery came to Crete from without. It seems as though, after all, Mycenæ may prove to have been the home of what is Mycenæan, or, as Professor Ridgeway puts it more broadly, 'it was probably under the shelter of the great walls of Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Goulas, that the Pelasgian art took its highest form.' Again tradition is vindicated; Dædalus passes from the mainland to the court of Minos.

Before we quit Crete, it may be observed that, when the tale is fully told, it will probably be found that the most definite gain accruing to science from the Cretan excavations will be in the field of religion and mythology. Some of that gain is already before the public in Mr Evans' full and masterly paper on 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult.' It has constantly been noted as remarkable that, in the long series of Mycenæan discoveries, so little has been found to throw light on religious belief. That reproach Crete is fast wiping away. Into this wide and fascinating field we cannot now enter, but we may call

attention to the fact that the last report from Crete records the discovery of two seal-impressions which are each severally a religious revelation. On the one is represented a female goddess in the characteristic flounced Mycenæan dress, standing on a rock or heap of stones, and guarded by heraldic lions, to the left a shrine with 'consecrated' pillars, to the right a worshipper. Surely we have here the ancient matriarchal goddess-mother, the pillar of the Mycenæ lion-gate in human form, a being primeval, long prior to the Cretan Zeus. Perhaps more striking still, on another impression we find a creature with the fore part of a hoofed, calf-like animal, a curled tail, and the legs of a man, seated on a kind of throne, a worshipper before him. It is all very well to joke about the 'Minocalf,' but this can scarcely be other than the ancient Minotaur, primitive divinity of the place before the Achæans came and made of him the mere barbarian monster. It is to these seal-impressions that we must look for a real instead of a fanciful conception as to Pelasgian religion.

We return at the close to the point from which we set out, and ask what is the outcome of these prehistoric discoveries for scholarship at large? In the course of the discussion it has, it may be hoped, become abundantly evident that the access of material, and the adoption of scientific method necessitated by this material, have given to classical studies a momentous impulse. They have transfused new life into a plant which was beginning to perish from atrophy. We were all of us taught in our childhood that Athene sprang full-grown from her father's head. Athene herself now abjures this monstrous origin. With the humility born of contact with actual fact, she owns herself 'the daughter of Earth, our mother'; and from every fresh contact with earth, with reality, Antæus-like, her strength is renewed. To drop metaphor, we renounce perforce that academic phantom, the insulated and 'ideal' Greek, and find in his place the actual man, the outcome of a long past, the Greek of anthropology and archæology. The 'great age' is still there, but, as prologue to it we thankfully accept the unrolling of the great panorama of history, the shiftings of populations, the action and reaction of North and South, the eternal *πάντα ῥεῖ*.

The gain of all this is so obvious, the outlook so inspiring, that emphasis would be superfluous, were there not signs of a certain resentment against this intrusion into classical studies of archæology and anthropology. The citadel of scholarship, we are told, is undermined, the enemy is inside the camp, archæology, which should be 'ancillary'—a word hateful to the free republic of science—thréatens the master-function of literary scholarship. 'I had rather a young man knew a single book of Homer than he should dig up and date all the crockery in the Archipelago.' Why this antithesis? Is it impossible to examine scientifically the stones of the palace at Knossos and yet to know and love the deathless tragedy of the princess who dwelt there? In the infinite web of human knowledge, who is to say which thread lends most to the weaving of the ultimate pattern? For the literary and linguistic scholar there will always remain the garden enclosed—let him see that it be not a *hortus siccus*—a garden full of rare and delicate flowers, which he may gather at his will. Is he any way the poorer because in the wider horizons around him the broad fields of archæology are outspread, white to the harvest?

Nay more, let the timid take note that this new archæological scholarship is instinct with a fine conservatism; its function is conciliatory, its issue so far is the rehabilitation of tradition. 'Thus,' concludes Professor Ridgeway, 'archæology, tradition, and language are all in harmony.' After decades of scepticism we are bidden once more to believe that Herodotus and Thucydides, Pausanias and Strabo wrote substantial truth. Faith in authority is restored by archæology; and, moreover, with new significance comes back the good old Aryan paradox 'e Borea lux.'

Art. XI.—THE POPULAR NOVEL.

1. *The Christian.* By Hall Caine. London: Heinemann, 1897.
2. *The Master Christian.* By Marie Corelli. London: Methuen, 1900.
3. *Colloquies of Criticism, or Literature and Democratic Patronage.* Anon. London: Fisher Unwin, 1901.

And other works.

THE relation of books of all kinds to the reception which they meet with in the world has afforded from time immemorial a subject of frequent reflection. *Habent sua fata libelli* is as true now as it ever was. That the ultimate success of a book, and the extent of its fame and influence, are in some measure proportionate to the degree and quality of its merit, is a proposition which, taken generally, no one will be tempted to deny. But the exceptions to this rule, at least in its immediate application, are so signal and numerous as to force the most careless critic to ask for some explanation of them, and prompt him to examine more carefully the general rule itself. In no department of literature are such exceptions more striking than in works of imagination, such as the drama and poetry, and—still more emphatically, so far as the modern world is concerned—in the literature of prose fiction, or the novel. We are, moreover, not exaggerating when we say that the relation between the merit of novels and their popularity has never been of a kind so anomalous, so independent of any serious literary standards, as it is in our own country at the present moment. We are not here maintaining that the best novels of to-day are not as good as the best novels of yesterday; nor are we denying that the best modern novels command the attention and admiration of a considerable body of readers. The fact—and it is a remarkable one—which we have in view is this: that though the best novels of to-day are very far from being neglected, the popularity they attain is as nothing in comparison with that which, of recent years, has been attained by certain of the worst. There are, doubtless, many bad novels which do not succeed at all. We do not refer to these: they are of no interest to anybody. But putting them aside, and confining our

attention to such as have excited public interest to any appreciable degree, we might almost be justified in saying that the number of their readers is great in proportion to the conspicuousness not of their merits but of their defects. It is this condition of things that we here propose to consider.

But before dealing more particularly with these anomalies of popularity, let us ask ourselves what it is that persons of education and culture are, consciously or unconsciously, contented to regard as the rule. If we think it an anomaly that the most popular novels should be the worst, between the merit of novels and their popularity what relations are normal? This is a question which must be answered by an appeal to history, taken in connection with the verdicts of competent literary judges. We must consider what novels such judges have regarded as the best, and we must see to what extent the great mass of readers has agreed with them. The general conclusion to which such an enquiry will lead us is summed up in the opinion which is frequently expressed by critics, that, though literature of certain kinds may possess within its own limits the highest and most lasting merit, and may yet appeal only to a small and exclusive circle, the greatest literature of all, whilst appealing to the best judges, appeals to the mass of ordinary readers also, and shows its degree of greatness by the extent to which it does so. Thus, of works which are classical of their kind, but are appreciated by the few only, and whose kind is, even by these, admitted to fall short of the highest, we may take as examples the masterpieces of Walter Savage Landor, who gave to the English language the beauty of chiselled marble; or Pater's 'Marius'; or 'The Way of the World,' of Congreve. To say of such works as these that they are above the comprehension of the vulgar, is to praise them as they deserve, and is also to praise them highly. But then, on the other hand, we can point to the plays of Shakespeare, to 'Don Quixote,' and to the novels of Scott. Here we have a class of literature which is, we need hardly say, beyond the reach of the Landors, the Paters, and the Congreves; but which, although, like the work of these, it appeals to the gifted few, makes at the same time a vital appeal to the many; and the more universally it appeals to them, the greater it is admitted

to be. Such works are greater than works of the order just below them, not because they have higher merits, but because they have more merits. They have the same comprehensiveness that life has. They present the aspects of it that touch all, the many and the few included, in addition to those that touch the few only.

Who then, let us ask, since fiction became a developed form of literature, have been the novelists whom all qualified judges have agreed in regarding as the greatest? We need only mention a few of them to show that, besides being the greatest, they have at the same time been the most widely popular. Cervantes, Fielding, Defoe, Scott, Balzac, Dumas, will at once suggest themselves as types of supremacy in the art of fiction. Their genius is admitted universally. Their principal works are classics. All of these writers have not only appealed to the great mass of readers amongst their own fellow-countrymen, but they have also (with the exception perhaps of Fielding) appealed to the mass of readers throughout the civilised world. If we give our attention to our own country more particularly, and consider the novelists who have flourished between Scott's time and the present, we still find the same conditions prevailing. The greatest of these novelists have, undoubtedly, been Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot. Such has been the judgment of all competent critics; and their judgment was re-echoed by the contemporary reading public. This condition of things—this normal and sound condition—was the condition that prevailed amongst ourselves till a comparatively recent period.

Now let us compare the past condition with the present. To events of the kind of which we are about to speak it is impossible to assign any exact date; but we may say with sufficient accuracy that about twenty years ago a change began to come over the public taste, which has, year by year since then, been growing more marked and remarkable, until now, to many observers, it seems nothing short of a revolution. Putting aside that enormous majority of novels which secure little attention either from the few or the many, and confining ourselves to those which, to some appreciable degree, have gained the approval of one class or the other, we shall find the peculiar characteristic of the existing situation to be this: that whereas formerly the novels which had most

readers were those which, in the opinion of all competent judges, were the best, those which notoriously have the most readers now are those which, in the opinion of all competent judges, are among the worst: that others, which all competent judges place highest as literature amongst the works of existing novelists, are, of the contemporary novels which can be called popular at all, those whose popularity is confined to the narrowest circle; whilst between these two groups there is another composed of novels, incomparably better, but very much less popular, than the worst; and incomparably worse, but very much more popular, than the best.

These statements can be verified by certain typical instances. They are instances which can be easily chosen; because, though the number of novels year by year poured out from the press is incalculable, the number of those which achieve any great circulation is comparatively not large, and their names are sufficiently notorious. The principal or most recent works of the following living writers, and the kind of reception which generally they have met with at the hands of the public, may fairly be taken as representative of the literary conditions of to-day, so far as imaginative literature in its most important modern form is concerned. The novelists we refer to are these: Mr George Meredith, Mr Thomas Hardy, Mrs Humphry Ward, Miss Braddon, Mr Anthony Hope, Mr Stanley Weyman, Miss Thorneycroft Fowler, Miss Cholmondeley, Mr Hall Caine, and Miss Marie Corelli. Here we have representatives of the novel in all its varieties; and, various as are the degrees of popularity which these writers have met with, not one of them has failed to secure a reputation sufficiently marked to make it important as an index of contemporary taste. We shall begin our examination of them by taking two of the number, whose novels, whatever opinion may be held with regard to others, are, considered as works of literature, generally admitted to belong to the highest class of contemporary English fiction. In assigning them to this position, we put aside for the moment the test of popularity altogether: we are appealing to standards of merit which have only an accidental connexion with it; and before going further we must pause to consider briefly what the true standards of merit in a novel really are.

In order to answer this question it would be out of place here to make any search for final principles, or to reason things out from the beginning. We need merely appeal to the consensus of all cultivated judges of literature; take certain typical novels which these judges have admitted to be amongst the best and greatest; and consider the distinctive qualities which these novels possess. Let us begin, then, with the primary characteristic of all novels whatsoever—the fact that a novel is a book which tells a story. It is the novelist's story which sets his characters moving, and distinguishes them from the disputants in a philosophical dialogue. Now all the great novelists mentioned above have, as story-tellers, considerable skill, some of them supreme skill; but it is not to their skill as story-tellers that their exceptional success is due. All of them have been equalled, and some of them far excelled, as mere constructors of stories, by writers in other respects incomparably inferior. Everyone will admit that an ideally perfect story should have as a whole some complete structural unity. But the plot of 'Don Quixote' is merely a series of incidents, connected with one another only by being strung on the same thread. It cannot be said that 'Pickwick' has any plot at all. In the other novels of Dickens the plot is the weakest part. Taken generally, Thackeray's plots are commonplace. The novels of George Eliot, though far better constructed, have, as mere stories, no remarkable interest. 'Tom Jones,' it is true, is in point of construction, admirable; but it is not more admirable than are many of the novels of Miss Braddon. Balzac, as a story-teller, was equalled by Eugène Sue. Of all the great novelists we have mentioned, Scott and Dumas alone can be plausibly said to owe much of their eminence to their exceptional power and skill in devising and unfolding their stories.

But the stories even of Scott and Dumas would lose most of their merits, and their writers would not rank amongst the great masters of fiction, if these merits were not united with others of a different kind. The truth is that, although in great novels, as in all novels, the story is essential, and cannot fulfil its purpose unless it attains to a certain degree of excellence, it is, in great novels, not the greatness itself, but merely its vehicle—merely the cup that holds it.

They are great in virtue, not of what their stories tell, but of what their stories illustrate—in virtue, not of their narration of events, but of their exhibition of human nature. Every great novelist has, of course, idiosyncrasies of his own, which make his works and his genius distinct from those of others; but there are certain qualities which all of them possess. In the first place, they all of them possess an exceptionally penetrating insight into human nature and the springs of human action; and in the second place, they are all exceptional in their knowledge of actual human circumstance, a knowledge derived from actual experience of the present or deep study of the past, fused and illuminated by imaginative sympathy. Every great novelist, in a certain sense, has been a profound man of the world. He could not have been a great novelist otherwise. The novel is essentially a form of art which deals with life as it is actually lived, or has been lived; its characters must be concrete men and women, acting, living, and expressing themselves as men and women actually do or have done, in some class or classes of society belonging to some actual country—to England, Spain, France, or any other we may please to name.

The great novelist, therefore, since he must of necessity occupy himself with the world, or some portion of it, as it actually is or has been, must, so far as it concerns him, be intimately and accurately acquainted with it. It will be his aim, no doubt, to discover the universal in the particular; but it is in terms of the particular that his art expresses the universal, and it is only through knowledge of the former that he will be able to reach the latter. But in addition to these qualities of imaginative and sympathetic insight, and accurate worldly knowledge, all great novelists possess also a third, and this is some quality of philosophic thought. It is not enough that they see the facts of human character and circumstance spread before them as a mass of varied phenomena. They must, consciously or unconsciously, see them in the light of some unifying principle or philosophy derived from profound reflection on life—reflection *on* it, as distinct from observation *of* it. Such a principle implies some judgment of human life as a whole, of what is good in it, and what is evil, of its value or its vanity; and the profundity and the sincerity of this judgment

forms one of the chief elements in the great novelist's greatness.

Of the great novelists whom we just now mentioned, this quality of philosophic thought is perhaps least marked in Dumas, and, next to Dumas, in Scott. But it is present in both, though its presence may escape our notice; and in all the others, to those who look for it, it is conspicuous. No one can read 'Don Quixote' without feeling that behind Cervantes the novelist is Cervantes the great thinker. After a lower fashion, though hardly in a less degree, the same may be said of Fielding. His philosophy of life is as virile and firm as his delineation of it. Balzac's vision of life was, in some way, akin to Dante's. He saw it illuminated by the glare of a kind of sombre theology, very different from Dante's, but to him equally vivid. In George Eliot the element of thought is sometimes only too apparent; but though it injures the effect of her latest and least successful work, it forms the strength of her greatest. Thackeray has been called a cynic; Dickens a sentimentalist. Both criticisms are inadequate; but the fact that they are frequently made shows that each of these writers had some distinctive, some comprehensive philosophy of his own which the most ordinary reader recognises, even though he may be unable to analyse it.

Having ascertained by a consideration of these examples what the really great novel is, let us return to the typical novelists of our own day and country, and ask which are those whose works come nearest to this standard. The two, and the only two, whom critics of all schools would agree in selecting, as an answer to this question, are Mr George Meredith and Mr Thomas Hardy. Whether they are as great as the greatest of their predecessors we need not here enquire. The only point which we are here concerned to insist on, is that, in so far as they are great, they are great for similar reasons. Whatever the merit of their stories, regarded as stories, they use them as the vehicle of something which is much more valuable—as a means of expressing the realities of human nature. They both of them possess that profundity, that directness of insight into motive and character, which is distinctive of the great novelist. They have brooded and meditated over the lot of man as a whole. Each has also, within

the limits of his own art, a knowledge of social circumstance sufficient for his peculiar purpose.

Both these writers have, however, marked defects; and it is necessary to notice and allow for them, in order that we may understand their merits. Of all writers of equal rank, none has done himself such great, such unnecessary injustice as has Mr Meredith, by the contortions and violences of his later style. Moreover, though his knowledge of the world is shrewd and extensive, he has apparently arrived at it rather by intuition than experience; consequently his pictures of manners and social circumstance have rather the truth of symbolism than that of reality. In a poem this would be proper: in a novel it is out of place. But, in spite of these defects, no one who has studied his best work carefully can doubt the reality and the original force of his genius, or can fail to detect in him those notes of true greatness which entitle him to a place in the highest class of novelists, even if his place in that class be not itself a high one.

Mr Hardy's defects differ in their nature from Mr Meredith's, though, like certain of Mr Meredith's, they are due entirely to the limitations of his practical knowledge. His knowledge is sure and accurate as regards one class only. It is apt to fail him when he goes further: but of this class—the peasantry of the South of England—his knowledge is extraordinary; and it is allied with an insight into human nature which has enabled him to give a universal significance to characters and incidents which at first sight seem narrow in their marked provincialism. Here we have an example of the vision of real genius. Mr Hardy sees all the fundamental elements of the tragedy and the comedy of life, in the cottage, and the dairy-farm, and the little country town, as clearly as others have seen them in palaces and in great cities; and his knowledge and grasp of what he thus sees is complete. Nor does he see only as an observer; he sees as a thinker also. In no English novelist, with the exception, perhaps, of George Eliot, is the quality of philosophic thought so remarkable as in Mr Hardy; but he never parades it. In him, as has been said of another writer, 'it is not apparent, except in the victories which it has won.' Only now and then do we see, by some direct indication, how constantly he has lived in the presence of all the deepest feelings which the

old experience and the new knowledge of the world present to the human soul; and how closely, and with what sad irony, he has questioned 'the President of the Immortals' with regard to 'his sport with man.' Mr Hardy also, unlike Mr Meredith, possesses a style which is for his purpose perfect. Unlike Mr Meredith's, it never overshoots its mark. He has the clearness, the directness, the illuminated originality of vision which are characteristic of the great masters of his art. He is, in fact, within his own province, a master; and though locally and socially the limits of his province may seem narrow, the universalising quality of his genius has made this province a kingdom.

Such then, in respect of literary merit, being the position of Mr Meredith and Mr Hardy, how do they stand in respect of popularity? Of those living novelists whom we have already selected for notice as having achieved a popularity wide enough to make them representative of the condition of contemporary taste, Mr Meredith and Mr Hardy are those whose circle of readers is the smallest. Why is this the case? The reason cannot be that Mr Hardy and Mr Meredith are suffering from any accidental neglect—that they are not read because they happen to have escaped notice. They are read and admired by a minority quite sufficiently numerous to have forced them on the attention of the majority, had the majority been able to appreciate them. Nor again can they be unpopular because, like Mr Pater in his 'Marius,' they deal with aspects of life which only a few can understand, or which the many would turn away from as too serious for works of fiction. For in the first place, they deal with life as the ordinary man experiences it. In the second place, serious as their thought and intention is, no serious intellectual problems are ever obtruded by them on their readers; and in the third place, this discussion of serious problems by a novelist, even when obtruded in its least artistic form, is not itself any bar to popularity, as the case of Mrs Ward will show. Of all the novelists to whom we have just now referred, Mrs Ward is the one whose seriousness is most portentous; and yet, with two exceptions, her popularity is far the widest. The two writers to whom we allude are, in their avowed intentions, not less serious than Mrs Ward, and are serious in the same

way. Their greater success forms, therefore, a better speculum in which to study the taste of the mass of the reading public, and the social and mental conditions to which that taste is due. To the works of these writers we will accordingly turn first.

The two supreme favourites of the reading democracy of the day are Miss Marie Corelli and Mr Hall Caine; and they have been raised to this position by their two latest books, 'The Master Christian' and 'The Christian,' to which alone, of all their writings, we need here give our attention. The subject which both authors have selected is nothing less than the essence of Christianity, which they profess to expound, and the relation which exists in the modern world between Christianity, so expounded, and two other things—on the one hand, mankind at large, in the nominally Christian countries; and on the other, the Churches, by which Christianity is at present misrepresented. It is a subject which is indeed a vast one, and each of them recognises that it is so, advancing with the air of an intellectual giant to grapple with it. Miss Corelli's novel was described in a preliminary announcement—

'as one of the most remarkable works of recent years. In vigour of style,' so this document proceeds, 'and in delicacy of conception, it presents features of extraordinary interest. . . . It deals with the great features of humanity and religion—the eternal struggle between the spiritual and the material. . . . It appeals with an irresistible attraction to the Roman Catholic, to the Anglican, to the Nonconformist; to the worldling, and to the religious. This book will inspire the keenest and most sustained interest, and will excite eager discussion. It puts into cultivated language the inarticulate thoughts of the majority of mankind.'

Mr Caine, though in a more temperate style, makes for his own masterpiece precisely the same claims.

Now in order that these writers should carry out such a programme as this—we do not say with complete success, but without ludicrous failure—what, on the lowest computation, are the qualities they ought to possess? They undertake, in the first place, to do over again, in a more thorough and convincing manner, a work which has occupied the profoundest and saintliest thinkers within the

Church, from the days of St Paul to those of Thomas à Kempis, and from those of Thomas à Kempis to our own; which has occupied the most sympathetic and the profoundest scholars without the Church, such as Strauss, Renan, and Matthew Arnold; and in which, according to Mr Caine and Miss Corelli, saints and scholars have failed —that is to say, the work of formulating the real 'secret of Jesus.' In the second place, they undertake to analyse and to give an absolutely accurate picture of the *ethos* and practical working of one, at all events, of the great Christian bodies, firstly, as regards the relation of its theology to modern knowledge, and secondly, as regards its attitude towards the problems of modern society. And finally, they undertake to give an accurate analysis and picture of the conditions of modern society—so far, at all events, as they pretend to deal with them.

What follows from this is obvious. Since both these writers set out with the professed assumption that the Christian churches fail to represent true Christianity, and that it is their own mission to discover and explain to the world the secret which has escaped St Paul and Renan alike, and to reconcile religion with sciences of which St Paul knew nothing, it is obvious that they must, if their attempt is to have any chance of success, be illuminated by some gift of original moral insight; that they must be theological and historical students of no mean order; that they must be well grounded, at least, in the history of philosophic thought; and that they must have an accurate and comprehensive, though not necessarily a minute knowledge of the scope, the character, and the significance of modern scientific discoveries. Further, since these writers both propose to reveal to us the relations which scientific teaching and true and false Christianity bear to the various classes of society as it exists to-day, it is necessary that they should have a familiar and absolutely accurate knowledge of every class of society of which they profess to give us a picture.

When, however, we examine the way in which they deal with these great questions, we find that, instead of being remarkable for the completeness with which they fulfil these requirements, they are, as to each question, remarkable for their ignorance. We will begin by pointing out the way in which they deal with the churches—

the churches whose Christianity they declare to be not Christianity at all. Of these churches, Mr Caine takes, as his example, the English, Miss Corelli, the Roman; but neither of the one church nor the other, as an historical body, as a teaching body, or as a ministering body, does either of these writers display any knowledge whatever, which extends beyond a few scattered and superficial facts, or fragments of idle gossip.

Let us take Mr Caine's case first. He affects to give his readers a picture of the Church of England as it is, by means of certain characters—clerics and dispensers of patronage—which he offers thus as representative of the spirit and methods that prevail in it. One of his representative clerics is a certain fashionable Canon—Canon Wealthy, as Mr Caine, with delicate art, calls him. The others are a set of Anglican monks or brethren, whose monastic retreat is in the City, where they imitate the discipline of La Trappe.

In the person of Canon Wealthy Mr Caine professes to reveal to us the damning fact that one half of the English Church is the base sycophant of the world; and, in the persons of his monks, that the other half is useless, because instead of facing the world it practically turns its back on it. Now the Church of England, as an exponent of doctrinal Christianity, has no doubt some inherent weaknesses; but no one who has any real acquaintance with it can fail to see that Mr Caine's conception of its character, as a working institution, is so false as to be absolutely childish. However ill-equipped the English clergy, as a body, may be for dealing with the intellectual difficulties of the time, the great majority, as practical workers amongst the people, have never been so remarkable as they are at the present moment for their zeal, their self-sacrifice, and their efforts to help the helpless. There may be, within the pale of the Establishment, other and less worthy elements; but if they exist, as no doubt they do, Mr Caine at all events knows nothing at all about them. The manner in which he attempts to exhibit them in the persons of typical individuals at once enables us to detect how complete is his ignorance.

On a former occasion, in the pages of this Review, attention was called to the extraordinary and ludicrous blunders made by this writer in his description of an

Anglican monastic community. His description of the fashionable Canon shows even clearer evidences of his lack of acquaintance with such clerics, as they are in actual life. For instance, when Canon Wealthy introduces the hero, Mr John Storm, to his daughter, he speaks of him as 'The Honourable and Reverend Mr Storm.' If Mr Caine knew anything of persons in Canon Wealthy's position, he would know that such a form of introduction would be as impossible as would be the introduction of a layman as 'Jones, Esquire,' or of a doctor as 'Brown, M.D.' Again, as a still more typical feature, Mr Caine tells us that the Canon's footmen were powdered. Now whatever might have been the case seventy years ago, not even the most worldly cleric in the position ascribed to Canon Wealthy would dream of having his footmen powdered now. He would as soon think of having their heads covered with gold-dust. But a still more striking example of Mr Caine's ignorance of the real condition of things of which he professes to be giving us a picture, is to be found in the character which he puts before us as typical of the nature and the working of the system of church patronage. His typical patron is a peer's younger son, whose income is so small that he cannot pay his tailor's bill, and whose only home is apparently a lodging which he shares with a friend. This gilded pauper who, we need hardly say, is a prodigy of cynical vice combined with mental imbecility, not only sits on the board of a great hospital, but also has in his gift some of the most coveted livings in the metropolis, and is constantly surrounded by a court of ecclesiastics who are competing for his favours. 'The clergy are at me,' he says one afternoon at a tea-party, 'the clergy are at me like flies round a honey-pot, don't you know'; and he adds, addressing the company, in which the hero, a clergyman, is included, that a friend of his, who on his behalf had received an applicant for a living, could not promise the living, 'but gave the man sixpence instead; and the creature went away quite satisfied.'

Now no one who possesses any knowledge of the world and society will require to be told that this nonsensical picture bears no more resemblance to the realities of which it affects to be representative than the policeman in a pantomime, playing at leap-frog with the clown,

resembles the policeman who is on duty in the street outside. It may be said that such blunders in detail need not, in a novel, be injurious to its vital truth. They need not be so in novels of a certain kind. If the novelist's aim is merely to create a picture true to human life, in the widest and most general sense, these blunders and inaccuracies as to manners, furniture, and liveries, or even as to the typical status of the dispensers of clerical patronage, might be no more injurious to the real merits of his novel than Shakespeare's presentation of Bohemia as a maritime country is injurious to the merits of 'A Winter's Tale.' But Shakespeare, when he laid his scenes in Bohemia, regarded Bohemia as a symbolical, not as an actual kingdom. He did not invite his audiences to accept his play as an accurate representation of the peculiarities of Bohemian manners, or the position held by Bohemia amongst the kingdoms of Europe. Had he asked us to listen to him as an authority on these matters, as a man who, from personal experience, knew Bohemia intimately, the fact of his crediting this country with a seaboard, which would show conclusively that he did not even know where it was, would at once reveal him as an impostor unworthy of a moment's attention. This is precisely the criticism which is here applicable to Mr Caine. What he professes to be representing to us is not churches and the world in general, but the English Church and the English world as they actually are now. Consequently, his errors, however insignificant in themselves, have the highest significance incidentally, because they show, more sharply and clearly than might many of a graver kind, that Mr Caine has really no acquaintance whatever with those conditions of things with which he professes to be intimate; and that he is no more competent to depict Anglican priests and patrons, or to tell us whether Anglican Christianity is true Christianity or not, than he is to depict the priests in the temples of Pekin or Lhassa.

The same objections apply to Miss Corelli's picture of Romanism. Her picture, like his, is made up of clerical characters which she offers us as typical of the great institution which she describes: and she, like him, betrays in every page her lack of acquaintance with the deeper realities of her subject by her childish blundering with regard to the commonest and most obvious aspects of it.

Her typical ecclesiastics resemble nothing so much as the villains or impostors of some old-fashioned Adelphi melodrama. Not one of them, from the Pope downwards, believes in the religion he professes. They all of them admit in private that such belief as they have is a belief in the Church as a mere political institution, by whose means they acquire and retain money, rank or power; and they all of them, the Pope excepted, are infamous in their private lives. In private conversation they admit that the entire ritual of the Church is a system of mummery, the use of which is to delude the masses. They invent miracles in order that they may 'run' places of pilgrimage, such as Lourdes, these being the property of syndicates, in which they are the principal shareholders. They have villas near Rome, rented under assumed names, which are swarming with mistresses, and tribes of natural children. In the intervals of debauchery they employ themselves in tampering with the administration of justice, and in forging evidence against persons who happen to displease them; and whenever they express their devotion to Mother Church, the 'light of Hell' appears to be flaming in their eyes. Even the Pope, who, as compared with his monsignors and his cardinals, is a saint, is, says Miss Corelli, 'merely a poor weak old man, who passes his leisure hours in counting up his money and inventing new means of gaining it.'

But the principal indictment brought by both authors against the churches, is not that churchmen do not believe in Christianity, and do not practise Christianity themselves. It is that they do not even present a true Christianity to the world, which in its present miserable condition is crying to them to redeem and guide it. Let us first see what, according to Mr Caine and Miss Corelli, the present unfortunate condition of the world is; and we will then consider the nature of the true Christianity which is to redeem it.

Here, again, these authors tread in each other's footsteps. Just as they represent the churches by means of typical individuals, so do they represent the world by means of two typical cities. Miss Corelli takes Paris, and Mr Caine takes London; and Mr Caine with regard to his city, and Miss Corelli with regard to hers, sum up the existing situation in the same remarkable propositions.

Mr Caine says that contemporary London, and Miss Corelli that contemporary Paris, is the wickedest city that has ever existed upon the earth; that, as a fact of moral statistics, it is daily becoming wickeder; and that, if true Christianity is not preached to it in time, and if its progress in wickedness is not in this way checked, Providence will presently destroy it in some stupendous catastrophe. How London and Paris can both of them enjoy this bad pre-eminence we need not pause to enquire. We will leave Miss Corelli and Mr Caine to settle that point between themselves, and go on to ask in what this growing wickedness consists. According to Mr Caine, it is entirely, and according to Miss Corelli it is mainly, sexual. It appears, according to these two profound philosophers, that women, with few exceptions, would remain to the end of their lives almost as innocent as Eve before the Fall, if it were not for the temptations put before them by men; that, while the majority of women ruined by these temptations naturally belong to the most numerous class—the poor—the tempters belong to the least numerous class—the rich; and that unless the increasing activity of the rich in these demoralising pursuits is checked, either Paris or London, whichever may be really the wickedest, will be suddenly destroyed by some miraculous agency.

Now what, let us ask, does all this mean? Is there, amongst all these propositions, any one that is founded on serious thought or observation, or in any way approaches truth? Is there any ground for asserting, as a fact of moral statistics, that the inhabitants of either London or Paris to-day are more wicked than the inhabitants of Rome in the days of Juvenal or Petronius Arbiter, or than the inhabitants of London or Paris in the days of Charles II and Louis XIV. Or, again, does the past history of the world give us any reason for supposing that the wickedness of cities is punished by any immediate judgments of Providence? Was Rome more wicked when it was sacked by the Barbarians than it was in the days of Domitian, when it flourished in complete security? Do the towers of Siloam habitually fall on the worst sinners? Both Christ's words and our own experience teach us the exact contrary. Further, is it a fact that all actively vicious tendencies are confined to men, and that women would live like vestals if it were not that men bribed their

reluctant innocence? It is clear that Mr Caine himself does not really believe this; for the principal victim of aristocratic vice described by him he represents, with accidental candour, as being nearly as vicious as her seducer. Finally, is it a fact that the men who vitiate women nearly all of them belong to that corrupt minority, the rich? Anybody who knows anything of the poorer districts of London, or of country villages where no rich men exist, must know that such an assertion is false. In a word, Miss Corelli and Mr Caine, when they purport to be describing the moral conditions of the world, are either ignorantly uttering nonsense, sincerely believing it to be true, or are merely mouthing at random in order to attract an audience.

That genuine ignorance has much to do with the matter is shown, as we have seen, in Mr Caine's case, by his description of Canon Wealthy; and before we dismiss this part of the subject we will show that Miss Corelli is as ignorant of the world as he. Mr Caine, except for his Canon and his profligate patron of livings, is content to leave the fashionable world alone, and to denounce the iniquity of London and the world as a whole without illustrating his doctrine of the special iniquity of the rich by an elaborate picture of the profligacy of their private lives. But Miss Corelli is very much more genteel. Except when she makes a concession in favour of some supreme genius, she confines her social gaze to what she elegantly describes as 'swagger' or 'tip-top' society. Now one class of society is a microcosm just as much as another. Human nature can be studied in palaces as well as in back-parlours; and if Miss Corelli were sufficiently familiar with the world she professes to describe, to be able to give us a really accurate picture of it, such a picture might constitute just as good an illustration of the relations existing between the world and the Christianity of to-day as a picture of any other class. But it is impossible to read a page in which Miss Corelli deals with society without seeing that she is dealing with something of which she has no real knowledge whatever. If she really knew anything of it she would at least know how its members described one another, or addressed one another in conversation. She knows no more of this than an English footman knows how one Rajah addresses another

in India. Most of her 'tip-top' society is the 'tip-top' society of Paris. She affects to have her finger on this, as though it were the moral pulse of the world. One of her principal characters is a 'tip-top' Parisian marquis, a Lothario of the most dangerous kind; and this great man is spoken of, and addressed indifferently by his intimates, as the Marquis de Fontenelle, the Marquis Fontenelle, and Marquis. If Miss Corelli had been writing an English political novel, she would have shown just as much familiarity with the kind of life she was describing had she represented Lord Randolph Churchill as being spoken of, and addressed indifferently, as Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Churchill, and the Lord. But a yet more remarkable illustration of her remoteness from the class of which she poses as so profound a student is shown in the manner in which her 'tip-top' marquis conducts his most representative amour. The object of his passion is a 'tip-top' Hungarian countess, so fascinating and so fabulously rich that she has all the world at her feet; and the manner in which he woos her is almost exactly that in which two widowed dukes, in one of Mr Gilbert's 'Bab Ballads,' compete for the affections of a young lady who sold periwinkles. 'Two dukes,' she says, when rejecting the proposals of a 'humble earl'—

> 'Two dukes would make their Bowles a bride,
> And from her foes defend her.
> "Well, not exactly that," they cried;
> "We offer guilty splendour."'

This is precisely what Miss Corelli's marquis says, in so many words, to the countess. Finding that she shuns his company, he at last makes his final declaration. He has not, he says, the smallest desire to marry her, but if she will consent to live with him, after the manner of a professed *cocotte*, he has a beautiful little retired house, in which he will provide her with every luxury; and he is mortified and surprised when he finds that this mistress of castles and principalities is not sufficiently fond of him to accept his tempting proposal.

But not only is Miss Corelli wanting in any knowledge of the life she deals with; she is utterly wanting also in any mental grasp of the meaning of such of its characteristics as are naturally obvious to everybody. One of her

most withering attacks on the ritual of the Romish Church is founded on the rich embroideries of the vestments worn by the priests at a great church in Paris. How, she asks, can the ministers of Christ dare to array themselves in finery bought with the life-blood of toiling women, whose fingers are worn to the bone by the needles and the golden thread? But when she is describing her heroine, Countess Sylvie Hermanstein, the delicate stuffs and embroideries which she denounces when used at the altar fill Miss Corelli with a species of grovelling ecstasy.

'Her tiny feet,' she says, 'shod in charming little French walking-shoes, peeped in and out, with a flash of steel on their embroidered points, from under the mysterious gleam of silk flounces that gave a soft swish as she moved.'

In fact her comprehension of society, regarded as a subject of thought, is on a par with her knowledge of it regarded as a subject of observation. Instead of having formed with regard to it a single serious opinion, she alternately fawns on it like a puppy, and scratches it like an angry kitten. In either attitude the ignorance she betrays is equal; and her manner of dealing with this society, which she takes as representative of the moral and mental condition of contemporary humanity as a whole, shows how utterly deficient she is in any kind of qualification for dealing with the relations of humanity to Christianity as taught by the churches, or its need of Christianity as she thinks it ought to be taught.

And now let us see what this true Christianity is which she and Mr Caine both aim at reproducing—the true Christianity which has, according to both authors, remained in abeyance from the death of Christ till to-day. Mr Caine's preacher and exemplar of the true and new Christianity is the gentleman whom Canon Wealthy introduces as 'the Honourable and Reverend Mr Storm.' The only definite opinions to which Mr, or Father, Storm gives utterance, are those which we have described already—that the principal and peculiar problem of the modern world is a sexual one; that this has assumed proportions which it never had before, because rich men are corrupting the daughters of the poor year by year in ever increasing numbers; and that it will, if the new Christianity does not stop them betimes, presently cause

London to be swallowed up by an earthquake. This account of the morality and the moral and physical prospects of London can hardly be said to be part of the forgotten teaching of Christ; so that true Christianity must be looked for in Father Storm's character and career rather than in his formal utterances. Now, briefly stated, his character and career are as follows. He is simply a weak young man under the influence of two manias, one religious, the other frankly erotic; and the erotic mania throughout is considerably the stronger of the two. His conception of his mission as a Christian changes from week to week; but one thing never changes, and this is his physical passion for a beautiful hospital nurse, who becomes a music-hall singer, takes the world by storm with the suggestiveness of her songs, and finally blossoms into an actress, as the heroine of an indecent play. The thought of this lady, her hair, her figure, and her toilettes, her lips and her kissing-songs, so dominate Father Storm that it does give his Christianity one peculiar feature, and the only one it possesses. It connects it with an exclusive solicitude for women who have lost their virtue, a solicitude which again resolves itself, when he finds this possible, into a chase, on his own behalf, of the tantalising heroine, Miss Quayle. His passion for Miss Quayle sends him first into the Anglican monastery. It then drives him from the monastery to Epsom and the promenades of music-halls. It convinces him that God has ordered him to remain in London; then, when he thinks that Miss Quayle can be induced to fly with him, it convinces him that he is ordered to retire with her to an island in the South Pacific. Finally, when he discovers that Miss Quayle is not only unwilling to do this, but has been dining at a demi-mondaine club with a gentleman whose horse has just won the Derby, his new Christianity takes yet another form, and becomes a conviction that he must save her from temptation by murdering her. He goes to her rooms prepared to perform this painful duty; and there his religion undergoes one more metamorphosis before flowering at last into all its neo-Christian fulness. Miss Quayle, who divines in a moment his new scheme for her salvation, at once calls to her aid all the arts of Delilah. With her lips, her arms, and the dazzling deficiencies of her toilette, she makes a most efficient answer to the jealousy

and the dialectics of her lover; and the new Christian, with his gospel and his clerical coat, discreetly disappears from sight under the masses of Miss Quayle's hair.

Such then is the new and true Christianity as Mr Caine presents it to us. Let us now see how it looks when presented to us by Miss Corelli. In one respect she is better equipped for her task than Mr Caine; for, whilst Mr Caine presents the new Christianity in the person of one hero only, Miss Corelli is provided with a staff of four. One of them is a virtuous cardinal, excommunicated on account of his virtue; but as it appears that he was peculiar in his virtue only, and did not indulge in the luxury of a single formal heresy, we may pass him by, and confine our attention to the others. These consist of an American Christian-Democrat, a French Christian-Socialist, and a boy called Manuel, who is found by the good cardinal dying of cold and hunger at the door of Rouen Cathedral. These three persons are all of them stupendous in their powers. The first, by his attacks on the churches and his exposition of the true Christianity, has revolutionised all thought through Europe and North America; the second has produced a corresponding effect in France; and the third is Christ himself, incarnate for a second time. Now what do these personages say and do for our edification? As for what they do, this can be easily told. The American Christian-Democrat insults an English clergyman, spends some time in a fishing village in England, declaring himself the brother of the humblest sons of toil, and finally marries the 'tip-top' Hungarian countess, whose 'tiny feet, shod in dainty little French walking shoes,' completely subjugate him and Miss Corelli alike, as their 'embroidered points peep out' from the 'mysterious silken flounces.' The only recorded act of the French Christian-Socialist is an attempt to murder his father in church; and as to the boy Manuel, he does nothing at all except dawdle in the drawing-rooms of the cardinal's 'tip-top' friends, play the organ unasked, and display a talent for eavesdropping. Their true Christianity must be sought for, not in what they do, but in what they say; and what they say, as reported by Miss Corelli, is enough to make up an ordinary novel by itself.

Now, so far as the Christian-Democrat and the Christian-Socialist are concerned, it is no exaggeration to assert that,

in all their wilderness of words, there is not a single phrase, not a single idea, that casts any new light on any of the subjects upon which they touch. The most sensible passages are merely repetitions, in tawdry language, of the time-honoured truisms of every evangelical pulpit; and not only is there no attempt anywhere to discuss any definite doctrine of religion in its relations to modern life and knowledge, but there is also no indication that either the French or the American genius has any clear conception of what the problems of the day are. The only definite utterances to which Miss Corelli condescends she puts into the mouth of the miraculous boy Manuel. This prophet, while generally contented with reading out texts from the gospels or enunciating such startling propositions as 'honesty is the best policy,' does commit himself on one or two occasions to certain categorical statements with regard to the real Christianity and its relation to modern science. In these we have the kernel of Miss Corelli's revelation to the world, the lost 'secret of Jesus,' as rediscovered by herself; and the details of her revelation may be briefly stated thus.

In the first place, according to the real teaching of Christ, instead of one God, there are two. One is the God of the New Testament, the other is the God of the Old. The latter is, or was—for it seems doubtful what has become of him—a most reprehensible power, almost as wicked as a cardinal. The former, who is revealed to us in the Gospels, has nothing whatever to do with him. As for the Gospels, they are divinely inspired and true; but the Church from the very beginning has entirely failed to understand them. It has failed because it was misled by the apostolic authors of the Epistles, and especially by two of them, the Apostles Paul and Peter. As for St Peter, says Miss Corelli, he was nothing but a pitiful traitor, who was quite unworthy of the injudicious love of his Master, and to whom we should be wrong in paying the least attention. St Paul, however, was a worse traitor still. Instead of denying his Master, he completely perverted his teaching, artfully concealing the true doctrine of the Gospels, that the God of the Old Testament—the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—had nothing to do with the God of whom Christ was the Son and the representative. This, however, was but a small part of his

delinquencies. He concealed a truth of still greater importance than this, a truth which would still be hidden from the world if modern science, with Miss Corelli for its interpreter, had not discovered it afresh for the benefit of lost humanity. This is a truth which at once and for ever reconciles human and divine knowledge, theology and science, and is about to inaugurate a new era of faith. God, we are to understand, is neither more nor less than electricity—electricity in its purest form. The miracle of Pentecost, for example, was a species of electric shock. The blessed practical significance of this great neo-Christian discovery is summed up by the boy Manuel thus. Electric theology explains man's living connexion with God by supplying us with a scientific solution of the nature and efficacy of prayer. Prayer, he tells us, as heard and answered by God, is nothing but a species of wireless telegraphy; and every difficulty connected with it which has ever occurred to man will be set at rest by the study of Signor Marconi's apparatus.

Here, then, we have the two, amongst the English novels of to-day, which have secured, beyond all comparison, the largest number of readers; and of all English novels which have ever been popular at all, these, when tested by any serious literary standards, may be safely set down as the worst. This brings us back to the question with which we started. Why has the normal relation between the merits of novels and their popularity—the rule which, as we have seen, has hitherto generally prevailed—why has this been in the present day so strikingly inverted? The question is an interesting one, not because it relates to these books themselves or their writers, but because it relates to the mental condition of an enormous class of our fellow-countrymen. What is there in the present condition of the reading public that makes the worst novels of our time so much more popular than the best? What is it, indeed, that makes them popular at all?

The former of these questions has, under its most general aspect, been recently discussed in a volume by an anonymous author, entitled 'Colloquies of Criticism, or Literature and Democratic Patronage'; and the answer there given is, we believe, the true one. It is to be found in the immense development of the middle and the lower-middle class which took place during the second half of

the nineteenth century. A new reading public, five or six times as numerous as the old, has lately been brought into existence—a public whose appetite and leisure for reading, owing to the rapid increase and diffusion of wealth, have altogether outstripped its knowledge and its power of assimilating true literary culture. But, though wanting in taste and knowledge, this public is not wanting in curiosity. Entirely untrained in scientific or theological thought, it cannot help thinking about religion in its relation to modern knowledge. Conscious of the novelty and the limitations of its own circumstances, it is eager to enter into the conditions, the life, and the tastes of the leisured classes; and any book which, in a popular manner, professes to lay bare for it the mysteries of science, religion and society, appeals to some of the keenest of its mental tastes and ambitions. It is to this new, and as yet half-educated public that writers like Mr Caine and Miss Corelli are able to offer themselves undetected, as serious thinkers, with a real comprehension of life—as being specially familiar with science, history, and theology, the *ethos* of churches, and the manners of 'tip-top' drawing-rooms. Such writers as these have never had such a public before—a public with brains enough to read novels and money enough to buy them; possessed of sufficient education to make it eager to be taught the truth, provided it be by the easy methods of the novelist, but with too little education to enable it to discriminate true teaching from false. Such a public is the natural prey of intellectual impostors.

We have here, however, the answer to but half of the question which we are considering. We have an explanation of the fact that no depth of ignorance can prevent a novel from being received as a work of profound wisdom; but, whatever may be the deficiencies of Miss Corelli and Mr Caine, in respect of the subjects with which it is their main ambition to deal, other writers have been in a condition equally abject, and yet have failed to gain similar favour with the masses. It remains for us, therefore, to enquire why, when so many bad novelists fail, the authors of 'The Christian' and 'The Master Christian' have succeeded. The reason is that, though they have none of the qualities which fit them to deal with the subjects of their most pretentious and successful novels,

they have certain qualities which are very far from ordinary. Wanting as they are in the higher qualities of authorship, they have both of them an unusual talent for constructing an effective story, and their very ignorance helps them to tell it with unusual verve, just as an ignorant boy will gallop his horse over ground which any more educated rider would traverse with the utmost caution. They have, moreover, a talent for designing and colouring their scenes which, low as it is, is not by any means common. It resembles the talent which enables a man to produce a startling poster; and their scenes have thus the precise power which posters have—the power of arresting the attention and exciting the curiosity of the vulgar. Mr Caine, again, so long as he condescends to confine himself to the facts and phases of life with which he is really familiar, is, as a writer, graphic, direct, and forcible. He sometimes even exhibits a genuine touch of poetry; while Miss Corelli possesses a certain gift of imagination which might, were it controlled or guided by taste and knowledge, have produced results of real literary value. Miss Corelli and Mr Caine have, in fact, to a remarkable degree, the talents which enable the story-teller to entertain and excite the partially educated in their lighter moments, combined with an assumption of the profoundest knowledge of the subjects in regard to which such readers are most curious in their more serious moods. The same combination of talents may be seen in the 'cheap Jack' at a fair, who first attracts a crowd by his eloquence and then sells sovereigns at a shilling, and five-shilling knives for sixpence. There is genuine talent in his persuasiveness, though there is no value in his wares.

We thus see that, though the most popular novels of the present day are signally deficient in any one of those qualities which make the works of great novelists great, they undoubtedly possess certain of the lower qualities without which no great novels would be popular, combined with qualities which, although they are in reality of minor importance, are mistaken for the highest and greatest by a vast and half-educated public. We are, therefore, brought after all to the reassuring conclusion that the literary instincts of the public are still, in themselves, normal; and the greatest novels would still be the

most popular if it were not for this fact, that the majority of novel-readers to-day happen to belong to a new and unexampled class, which has not as yet acquired the taste and knowledge that might enable it to discover what greatness in literature is. Moreover, if the success of such books as 'The Christian' and 'The Master Christian' shows that at present the condition of the majority of the reading public is deplorable, there are other features of the existing literary situation which are more encouraging, and show that there is a large minority amongst which the spread of education, and taste, and intelligent thought has kept pace with its numerical increase. If the popularity of the works of Miss Corelli and Mr Caine are indications of the condition of the majority, the large though less widespread popularity of the works of Mrs Humphry Ward is indicative of the condition of the minority. Mrs Ward deals with much the same subjects as those which are dealt with in 'The Christian' and 'The Master Christian'; but she possesses, in reality, those gifts of thought and knowledge to which Mr Caine and Miss Corelli are merely pretenders. That she is a great novelist, in the sense in which Mr Hardy and Mr Meredith are great novelists, we cannot honestly say. She possesses neither their insight nor their humour, nor the calm and strength of their philosophies. She does not view her men and women in the light of her convictions so much as use them to express her convictions; and her convictions themselves are exhibited in the process of forming themselves, rather than as definitely formed. She is also the victim of her emotions rather than their mistress; and her work, in consequence, often shows signs of weakness. But she is a writer of the highest culture; she is an accomplished scholar; of many subjects with which she deals, her knowledge is wide and accurate; she is an earnest and acute thinker; she has a true gift for description, and adequate skill as a story-teller; and if she fails to attract so many readers as do Mr Caine and Miss Corelli, it is largely because she is so much better qualified than they are to discuss the problems with which she deals.

In one respect, however, the general conditions of the day, to which Mrs Ward, Miss Corelli, and Mr Caine owe their popularity, are the same; and these conditions ex-

plain also the comparative neglect of writers like Mr Meredith and Mr Hardy, who, as novelists, are superior to all of them. Whilst the diffusion of wealth has created an enormous class which has leisure for reading, and whilst social and political changes and the modern growth of knowledge have produced a mental unrest even amongst the less intelligent, which stimulates their curiosity as to life and its possibilities generally, the conditions of the day, though they thus provoke a literary appetite, are eminently unfavourable to the development of true literary taste. Literary taste, for its development, requires not only mental curiosity, but also a certain continuous leisure of the mind; and this modern conditions amongst the middle class tend to render impossible. Instead of mental leisure, they produce a constant excitement of the mind; and the consequence is that the great mass of readers turn to novels for one or for both of the following reasons. In their serious moments they turn to them, not as works of art, but as a species of religious or intellectual newspaper, to be read to-day and thrown away to-morrow in favour of others containing more recent intelligence. In their lighter moments they turn to them, not in order to find merits and beauties which will be an enduring pleasure to them, but merely in order to find some new and passing excitement, which may distract their minds in the intervals of practical business. Thus the most widely popular novels of the present day tend to group themselves in two classes—the literature of intelligence, real or spurious, on the one hand, and the literature of distraction on the other.

Of the former class we have already spoken. It remains for us to consider the latter; and we shall find that, with the exception of classical writers, such as Mr Hardy and Mr Meredith, who deal with what is permanent in life, as opposed to what is temporary and transitional, and writers like Mrs Ward, Miss Corelli, and Mr Caine, who, whether with knowledge or with ignorance, deal with serious subjects under essentially transitional aspects, the most popular novelists of the present day devote themselves to the literature of distraction pure and simple. To this class, with the exception of the five just named, belong all those novelists whom we mentioned as representative of the literary popularity of to-day. In the

case of these latter writers, far more than in the case of the former, the extent of their popularity is, on the whole, a fair measure of their merit, for the public knows quite well when it is being efficiently distracted, though it may be quite unable to tell when it is being accurately instructed. Of this literature of distraction we may also say this, that, though the aim of the writers who contribute to it is so far lower than the aim of the really great masters of fiction that they cannot be tried by the same standard, many of them fulfil their task in a manner relatively admirable, and that their workmanship is often superior to the uses to which they put it. No one, for example, would turn to Mr Anthony Hope, as he might turn to Balzac or Thackeray or Fielding, for any serious insight into life or human nature; but Mr Hope is a writer of perfect taste, admirable in constructing situations half romantic, half humorous; and, in his own region of purely fanciful romance, he is a master. Miss Braddon, again, deserves a tribute of similar admiration. Of all our living novelists who have written only to distract, in one respect she deserves to be placed highest. Her imagination, as a story-teller, is equal to that of Dumas. It appears to be inexhaustible. It is as fresh to-day as it was when she wrote 'Lady Audley's Secret'; and although she works only with the brush of a scene-painter, and does not attempt to depict manners closely, she has a sound good sense which enables her to avoid grave mistakes. Again, the historical novels of Mr Stanley Weyman—and they are types of many others—are admirable for conscientious workmanship, and entirely adequate to their purpose; and though they belong to the lower levels of literature, their merit is, so far as it goes, genuine.

It remains for us to speak of two other typical writers —Miss Thorneycroft Fowler and Miss Cholmondeley. Both these ladies set out with the enormous advantage of knowing the life which they describe from original and close observation. Miss Cholmondeley, at her best, has a gift which recalls Miss Austen's. Miss Fowler has something of the trenchant humour of George Eliot, and has also a vein of wit which George Eliot had not. But with regard to Miss Cholmondeley, the point to which we would call attention is this. Of the various novels she has written, only one, namely, 'Red Pottage,' has achieved

anything that can be called wide popularity; and the reason why this book has succeeded whilst the others have been relative failures, is not that her peculiar excellences are more remarkable in it than in the rest, but that she has associated these excellences with the elements of a common melodrama. A large part of Miss Fowler's remarkable popularity is, we think, attributable to very much the same cause; her wit, her humour, and her genuine knowledge of human nature have gained her fewer readers than the sentimentality of her stories, and also another quality in them which calls for separate notice, and must be taken into account when we are considering the popularity of novels generally.

In the suggestive 'Colloquies' already mentioned, one of the speakers points out that an important element in determining the popularity of a novel is what he calls its 'point of social sympathy.' Nearly every novel, he argues, which deals with contemporary life, must represent life as viewed from the standpoint of some class; and, other things being equal, those novels will be most popular which are written from the standpoint common to the most numerous class of readers. The most numerous class of readers to-day belong obviously to the most numerous sections of the middle class; and consequently, the novels which, other things being equal, are bought and read by the largest number of people are novels written from a point of view with which the lower-middle class will sympathise. The standpoint of this class is partly that of Miss Fowler. It is, by nature or adoption, wholly that of Miss Corelli and Mr Caine. Here, then, we have another element helping to determine the popularity of novels, which is quite independent of their higher merits as literature; and, though its effect may in some cases be to popularise novels that deserve popularity, it tends to limit the popularity of others which may, as literature, be equally or even more deserving of it. The author of 'Colloquies of Criticism' points out with perfect truth that, just as many novels of a very inferior order are widely read because the social sympathies of the writer coincide with those of innumerable fastidious readers, so do other novels, whose merits are incomparably greater, fail to touch more than a limited public, because the social sympathies of the writers are those, not of the

many, but of the few. Such writers see in social life a thousand delicate *nuances* which to the great mass of novel-readers are imperceptible; or, if perceived by these readers at all, the fact that the novelist mentions such *nuances*, fills them, not with amusement, but with a kind of uneasy resentment.

The conclusion of the whole matter is, in our judgment, as follows. The effect which the growth of the reading public in England—the conversion of what was once an aristocracy into a huge heterogeneous democracy—has had thus far on the literary quality of our fiction, has, if we judge that fiction by any serious standard, been, on the whole, injurious to a very high degree. It has, in the first place, enabled writers who never could have written well, to acquire, by pleasing a public imperfectly cultivated, a popularity which tends to perpetuate, as a standard of treatment and style, errors and vulgarities which would otherwise have condemned them to deserved oblivion; and in the second place, it has tempted writers, capable of better things, to lower their standard of excellence in order to achieve popularity by condescension to popular taste. At best, it has tempted them to be impatient of the leisurely and conscientious care necessary to produce really classical literature, since the merits of such literature would repel rather than attract their patrons. The only novelists who can resist these demoralising influences are those whose literary self-respect forbids them to consider the multitude, or those who have been rendered by circumstances independent of its pecuniary patronage. It is, then, these two classes of writers to whom we must, at the present juncture, turn for the preservation of the novel as a serious form of literature; and we must look forward meanwhile to the days—we may hope they are not far distant—when the deepening of education and a growing familiarity with great literary examples will enable the masses to exercise their literary franchise with more taste and insight than they now display.

Art. XII.—TUBERCULOSIS.

1. *Die Ætiologie der Tuberkulose.* By R. Koch. 'Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift,' 1882 (No. 15), and 1883 (No. 10).
2. *La Tuberculose des animaux domestiques.* By Dr Nocard. Dictionnaire Vétérinaire Pratique. Paris: 1892.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the effect of food derived from tuberculous animals on human health.* Three parts. 1895. (C. 7703.)
4. *A System of Medicine.* Edited by Professor Clifford Allbutt. Art. 'Tuberculosis.' By Dr Sidney Martin. London: Macmillan, 1897.
5. *Zeitschrift für Tuberkulose und Heilstättenwesen.* Edited by C. Gerhardt, B. Fränkel, and E. von Leyden. Leipzig: Barth, 1900–01.
6. *Der Stand der Tuberkulose-Bekämpfung im Frühjahr* 1901. By Dr Pannwitz. Geschäftsbericht für die Generalversammlung des Central-Komites zu Berlin: 2 Wilhelmsplatz, Berlin, W. 1901.

IT is often thoughtlessly said, both within the profession of medicine and without it, that, although the present generation has seen a remarkable progress in the art of healing, this progress has been in surgery rather than in medicine. The radical division of medicine into surgery and medicine proper—a division which prevails chiefly in our own country—is as unscientific as it has been mischievous. The position of a certain morbid process in the body, whether it be within reach or out of reach, however important as a matter of convenience in practice, has little to do with its nature. Tubercle is tubercle, whether it arise on the skin, in a joint, or in some internal organ; and to divide and classify its manifestations according to mere site, and thus to concentrate the attention of the student on such an incident, is to blind him not only to wider views of the essential nature of disease, but also to other incidental variations in which nature makes her illuminating experiments. It would be no less absurd to divide anatomy into surface anatomy and internal anatomy, and to set up separate schools for the study of these two departments. Medicine is not like certain reptiles of which, if cut in two, the several parts may walk off in opposite directions.

The gifts of men are no doubt various; in mechanics, for instance, one man may be endowed with power of

invention, while another, with little or no inventive ingenuity, may possess unusual skill as a craftsman. Some men have scientific penetration, some have deftness of hand; but, far from separating these two kinds of talent, it is our duty to combine them as closely as possible. Classification must be founded, not on accidental features, but on the likenesses and unlikenesses which lie deep in the nature of the pathological processes. By means of certain instruments Laennec brought the diseases of the chest under more direct observation, brought them, so to speak, nearer to the surface, and even betrayed many of them into the hands of the surgeon; but he did not by such operations alter the nature of these diseases, or detract from the intellectual quality of his calling. It is the distinction of modern medicine that it is neither a mere handicraft, nor, on the other hand, a mere literary or philosophical study; but that, by the combination of the practical check with liberty of speculation, it promotes a balance of faculties which is often denied to students in other departments of knowledge.

Such a balance of faculties is defeated by the arbitrary separation of 'surgery' from 'medicine,' due in large measure to the contempt of philosophers for manual offices. This separation has unhappily led to a divorce of the practical from the speculative side of the study. Not the least of the evils thence arising is the impression still prevalent among the laity, that the art of medicine consists in the application of the standard maxims of its teachers to particular cases; and that success in the student depends not upon experiment but on the shrewdness, reasonableness, and promptness of resource with which he applies these maxims. Medicine is regarded by the layman as in the main a traditional learning adapted to current needs by men of wisdom, experience, and shrewd observation. It has scarcely yet dawned upon the public mind, that at the beginning of the nineteenth century medicine depended for its advance, not upon the refurbishing of traditional thought and skill, but upon a revolutionary change in its method; and that this clearance of the ground was not even provisionally complete till the first half of that century had elapsed. Many of the founders of modern medicine—such, for example, as Virchow and Lister—are happily still living amongst us. To look upon

Lord Lister's discoveries as but smart dexterities in a fine handicraft is ridiculous; to regard him as a surgeon in such a sense as this is to mis-read the deeper currents of modern medical research. Fortunately, indeed, Lord Lister's attention was directed in the first instance to parts of the body where the conceptions of genius could be incessantly illuminated and directed by experimental verification; but the principles which he formulated pertain to no one department of medicine; they are a gift to medicine as a whole. Such achievements are not due to mere ingenuity, nor even to mere shrewdness and resourcefulness; they are slowly won by the exact methods of the laboratory; methods which, in Lord Lister's case, were partly his own, partly elaborated by Pasteur; that is to say, they were won by means which, as a rule, are not only undervalued by Englishmen, but even contemned by them. We produce great pioneers in science, but unfortunately we leave the development of their ideas to other nations. We appear to be unable to see that the days—if such ever existed—when scientific discoveries were to be surprised by native genius and strong common sense, are gone for ever; and that knowledge has now become so complex that henceforth it can be developed only by laboratory work of corresponding extent, refinement, and costliness.

Among the achievements of the laboratory in the sphere of medicine the discovery of the existence and of the properties of the micro-organism of tubercle stands perhaps first; though happily in the company of other discoveries, such as those of the causes and modes of propagation of malaria, of most of the common infectious distempers, of tetanus, plague, leprosy, and many other such scourges of mankind, now probably including even acute rheumatism. In the laboratory such brilliant therapeutical achievements as the serum cure of diphtheria have been devised and perfected—achievements in an entirely new field of cure, which fully justify the claim of 'medicine' to stand beside 'surgery' as a progressive department of knowledge. In 1882 Dr Koch, working not by chance but with refined and infinitely delicate processes, surprised the secret of tuberculosis, which, in our latitudes, is the most terrible of these scourges. To extirpate tuberculosis, or even to reduce it within narrow limits, would be indeed a precious gift to mankind; but,

whatever be the result, the mere effort to attain this end has great advantages; for, in the campaign against tuberculosis, people of all ranks and callings are learning what scientific methods mean, and what preventive medicine inexorably demands. The minute and complicated precautions now required of the cattle-breeder and the dairyman, and the control of preventive routine by laboratory methods incumbent upon sanitary authorities, are bringing home to us all the power and economy of scientific precision, and the inadequacy of the mere 'practical man.'

For this larger education of our people, and for the advancement of knowledge, as well as for the cure of a terrible plague, a congress on tuberculosis, British in its organisation but international in scope and procedure, will shortly be held in London. The first congress on tuberculosis, having an international character, was organised in Germany and held very successfully in Berlin in 1899. That congress was as widely effective in forming European opinion, and in impressing new conceptions of duty upon nations and individuals, as in increasing substantially the sum of our knowledge of the subject. At the coming congress in London the discoverer of the tubercle bacillus—Dr Robert Koch—will deliver an address on the great subject which he has made his own. It is understood that Professor Koch will review the results of recent experience in the conflict with tuberculosis, and the lessons to be drawn from these results. He will point out that tuberculosis is now recognised as one of the Infections, and that, like other infectious diseases, it has its own causal and other peculiar conditions, which must be taken strictly into account if we are to compass its defeat. It is thus that we are learning to combat small-pox, cholera, plague, rinderpest, anthrax, malaria, leprosy, and many other pests. If we are to attain any measure of success in our conflict with tuberculosis, we must first determine its character and habits. For this purpose Professor Koch will explain what we know of its heredity, of its modes of propagation by air, by food, and by the agency of infected individuals in family life and in various occupations; and he will indicate how far legislation may aid us in the strife.

It may confidently be hoped that Dr Koch and the other learned men who will take part in the Section of State

Medicine will throw much new light on these and many other subjects connected with the disease. Among such subjects may be mentioned a comparison of the measures already taken, or which may be taken, by regulations touching dwelling-houses and workshops, to prevent the spread of tuberculosis; the presence of the disease in cattle, and its diffusion by means of milk; the rate of mortality from pulmonary phthisis, and its geographical distribution; the liability engendered by certain occupations; the provision of sanatoriums, and so forth. The Section of Medicine also, it is needless to say, will have plenty of material to occupy it from the professional and technical point of view.

We hope that the Section of Tuberculosis in Animals will receive the attention that so important and illuminating a subject demands. In respect of tuberculosis, as of other diseases, we are still in the position of astronomers before the heliocentric theory of the solar system was established. Our medicine is at present anthropocentric. If the new studies in tuberculosis do but bring home to us how largely medicine as a whole would profit by a wider view of disease as manifested throughout the animal and the vegetable worlds, we shall soon see steps taken to put such a comprehensive study of disease on a scientific basis. So far as we remember, there is not a professorial chair or laboratory of Comparative Medicine in any British university. Cambridge has, we believe, sought to establish such a chair, but failed for lack of any response to an appeal for the necessary funds.

A mere glance at the programme of the congress shows how far we have already advanced beyond the melancholy fatalism of our predecessors. By them tuberculosis was regarded as an hereditary curse, a blight falling upon the flower of some ill-starred families, as inevitable as irremediable. In individual cases, sanguine patients and sanguine physicians would buoy themselves up by more or less mythical instances of recovery, but of recovery rather by chance than by any methodical system of cure. There is no better way of measuring the progress made by the last two generations in medical science than a perusal of the 'Lectures' of Sir Thomas Watson, a singularly sane and accomplished physician of the nineteenth century, whose book appeared, and went through several

editions, about fifty years ago. In 1857 Watson, in his lecture on phthisis, discussed climate rather in the spirit of one who would dissuade his readers from banishing a sick person from the comforts of home than of one confident of any gain from such a change. He asks if the 'progress of the disorder be ever suspended by a change of climate?' He answers, 'Indeed I believe it may'; but he proceeds to qualify the modest hope of 'suspension' with so many doubts and contingencies that this part of his work seems to be written rather in a spirit of mournful resignation than with any hope of success. As to regimen, the chief observation he makes is on the great discrepancy of opinion thereon among authors and practitioners; and his own contribution is but a cautious eclecticism, little more than a warning not to do harm.

'Often—too often'—he sadly says, 'all that we can attempt to do is to relieve the most urgent or distressing symptoms, and to make easier the patient's decline'; and he closes this mournful chapter with these words: 'These, I think, are the principal means by which we may endeavour to smooth the pillow of the patient dying of consumption.'

Such language stands in strong contrast with the jubilant message from the new sanatoriums that at least 75 per cent. of cases of incipient phthisis are cured. How far such anticipations are justifiable, these congresses will have to decide.

The new note in the therapeutics of pulmonary tuberculosis was struck when, as we have said, the malady was definitely placed among the Infections, a step which at the same time led to its removal from the fatal category of Heredity. If phthisis be an infection it may be prevented; if not mysteriously inherent in the individual, it may be eradicable, at any rate in the earlier phases of the infection; possibly, indeed, a specific or an antidote may yet be found for tubercle, as for some other infections, disappointing as promises in this direction have hitherto been. At any rate the main line of treatment for this as for all infections is so far clear that we know it must consist in stimulating the processes of the body in order to counteract the infection, to eliminate it, and to heal the consequences of it. We are not to huddle the patient up in dark, stuffy, and germ-laden rooms in order to repair

the effects of a supposed 'neglected cold'; not to reduce diet and even to draw blood in order to repress, as a dangerous inflammation, that reaction which, as the study of other infections has shown us, is nature's chief method of self-defence. It is a remarkable fact, and one difficult of explanation, that in England, where the conditions of climate lead more to indoor life and to packing of human beings in small rooms, the infectious nature of consumption was for so long a time hardly admitted; while in Italy, where an open-air life is possible for most part of the year, the true belief was widely if vaguely prevalent.

The effect of use and wont in deadening mankind to alarms is remarkably manifested in the history of tuberculosis. If plague or cholera gain a footing on these shores, and still more if such a pest seem to be spreading among the people, we are terrified; and our terror is mitigated only when we have ascertained that our sanitary authorities are engaged, at enormous expense and by means of severe restrictions on individual freedom, in a vigorous endeavour to repel the invader. Yet the harm done by such an occasional incursion is as nothing in comparison with the ruthless and sleepless malignity of our home-bred tuberculosis. In the invitation to the congress we read that,

'in the United Kingdom alone, some sixty thousand deaths are recorded annually from tuberculosis; and it is stated on good authority that at least thrice this number are constantly suffering from one form or another of the disease.'

In other words, a multitude as large as the whole of our army in South Africa, a population as large as that of Portsmouth, or perhaps as large as that of Newcastle, is suffering continually from tuberculous disease. What are the passing raids of incidental pestilences, virulent as they may be, compared to this? The imagination stands appalled before such a ghastly array of disease and death, falling moreover not, for the greater part, upon the old and weary, but upon the young and hopeful members of the community. In a series of four thousand consecutive necropsies conducted at Leipzig by the late Professor Birch-Hirschfeld upon persons of both sexes, and of all ages from infancy upwards, including many healthy persons killed by accident, special search was made

for the evidences of tubercle, past or present, with the startling result that such evidence was found in no less than 40 per cent. The percentage has been proved to run as high as 50 to 60 per cent. of necropsies made on adults only, as in infirmaries, or in the bodies examined by Mons. Brouardel at the Morgue.* It is obvious that, with such numbers as these, the hope of substantial mitigation by means of sanatoriums is a chimera, and that it is only by far-reaching schemes of prevention that tuberculosis can be substantially diminished amongst us. But if we adopt such measures, and carry them out unitedly and intelligently, we are sanguine enough to think that even the eradication of tuberculosis may be ultimately achieved, and this perhaps at no very remote date.

We are thankful to say that in our own country tuberculosis is already somewhat on the decline. This is unquestionably due to the improved sanitation of the last half century. It was observed, first by the late Sir George Buchanan, that drainage of the sites of large towns has been followed by a well-marked diminution of the phthisis death-rate—an observation which shows plainly enough one of the lines on which progress can be made. Again, investigators of the properties of the bacillus itself have shown that this microbe thrives in damp and darkness, and is readily killed by light; so that sunlight and dryness, as well as cleanliness, are essential agents in the banishment, not of this pest only, but also of most other dangerous fungoid parasites. But no reform of our dwellings in the direction of space, light, and dryness will alone suffice to prevent tuberculosis; we must also take steps to anticipate its insemination in the body by means of articles of food, or by inhalation of the germ-bearing excretions of patients thus afflicted. To this last purpose the discipline of the sanatoriums will materially contribute, not directly only but also indirectly, by impressing upon the patients and the public the virulent infectiousness of phthisical expectorations, and the danger of spitting in public places.

---

* It seems probable that many persons pass through pulmonary phthisis without being aware of it; they are 'overworked,' they fall out of condition, a little cough hangs about them for some weeks, but, if endowed with considerable resisting power, a little rest and care brings about a recovery, and the peril is unsuspected or forgotten.

Before entering into the discussion of preventive measures, some few words should be devoted to a further consideration of the alleged hereditary descent of tuberculosis. If this factor be predominant, no preventive measures are likely to attain the end in view. Happily, however, it is proved that tuberculosis is virtually never handed down from parent to child. We need not stay to discuss the rare cases in which the fact of such a transmission appears to have been established. Such cases are far too few to enter into our present calculations. In this respect, happily, tuberculous infection differs from some others, such as syphilis, which descend materially, so to speak, from parent to child. 'On ne naît pas tuberculeux; on naît tuberculisable.' The subject of relative susceptibility or immunity in respect of infections is one of the new spheres of thought and experiment opened out by modern pathology; it must suffice to say now that, in respect of many infections, perhaps of all, the two main factors are the entrance of the poisonous agent and the susceptibility of the recipient. For example, the members of some families have a tendency to succumb to the bacillus of enteric fever; in other families this bacillus no doubt effects an entrance frequently enough, but does not survive in the tissues, or at any rate fails to produce its peculiar effects. The immunity against recurrence conferred by a first attack of certain infectious diseases is another case of variability in resistance. In some houses infectious diseases, little or great, seem to take up an almost permanent abode; into others, where children are no fewer, the doctor never enters.

This peculiar susceptibility or immunity does not appear to be essentially connected with ordinary health; puny children may run free, robust children may be harried. At the same time it is true that immunity may be diminished by adverse influences in the individual; he who yesterday was insusceptible, to-morrow may have his natural defences impaired by some such conditions as fatigue, privation, mental anxiety, and the like. Our bodies are bombarded as incessantly by bacteria as the sun is said to be bombarded by asteroids; and were it not that man has developed within himself an elaborate system of protection, partly by militant cells in the blood which destroy invading bacteria, partly by the generation of

juices or 'serums' antidotal to their venom, he could not survive. Pathologists tell us that in health the blood is always sterile, not because the blood is out of the reach of infectious particles—very far from it—but because it commonly possesses an effective machinery of self-purification. The germs of infection invade us all alike; and if at any moment some part of our protective machinery fail, the individual may fall a victim to one of these incidental distempers. Fortunately, although we are but too familiar with the sad picture of the miseries produced by the bacillus of tubercle, yet, in comparison with many of the lower animals, man is not highly susceptible to this agent; by ruthless weeding out in the past ages a variety of man has survived, capable, at least to a large extent, of surmounting this peril.

In prevention, then, we have to count, not with transmission of the infective agent from parent to child, but with some degree of susceptibility, varying in each person, and subject to rises and falls under contingent circumstances. These contingent causes are not altogether of outside origin; among them, no doubt, are defects of bodily conformation, such as mechanical inefficiency of the chest or lungs, or feeble digestive power, which, either alone or in co-operation with privations or stresses, tend to give advantage to bacteria that may find access to the system. It is a function of the antidotal or defensive factors in the body to determine which species, if any, in the attacking army of bacteria shall prevail; for, incredible as it appears at first sight, to each poison a corresponding antidote has to be provided by the system; and a newly-introduced infection may find us as unprepared and as vulnerable as measles found the people of Fiji. The children of sickly or of elderly parents, and the youngest children of large families seem to be generally ill-endowed with defensive capacity; but the question to what particular infection they will fall victims, while it may partly depend on the chances of invasion, depends far more upon the special defensive capacities of each individual. Ill-nourished or ill-formed children do not by any means all yield to tuberculosis; on the contrary it happens as often that finely and strongly grown persons fall into phthisis, while puny folk retain a precarious health, or may drop into rheumatic, nervous, and other maladies,

against which they happen, as individuals, to have a weaker defence.

Further, although children are born with feeble or vicious constitutions, and philosophers may lament the survival of the unfit, yet happily it is true that many or most of these defects are not inborn, but acquired. One of the chief reasons for regretting the depopulation of the country in favour of the large towns, is that in towns certain evil influences, which seem inherent in city life, tell against the healthy development of infants and children, even in the wealthier classes of society; while in the more crowded and squalid quarters the physical deterioration of the young is painfully manifest. Again, in both upper and lower classes, other causes hostile to health and development are apt to creep in, more or less imperceptibly; many of these no doubt are in a fair way of detection, such as those arising from improper diet, from chronic sore-throats which afford a hot-bed for infective germs, and so forth. If from birth injurious influences were removed, and tendencies which work for good encouraged, we should see but little of puny and unhealthy children. Without going so far as to deny original sin in the physical nature of children, we are justified in believing that a large proportion of weakly and vicious habits of body is acquired in early life. It is in his nervous, rather than in his more organic structure that man is a variable creature.

Many curious observers, such as that talented physician, Dr Laycock of Edinburgh, have sought to formulate signs on the surface of the body whereby persons liable to this or that morbid process may be distinguished, even before its initiation. It would indeed be a gain of precious time could we thus detect susceptibilities beforehand. Elaborate descriptions of many features and configurations of body, such as the rheumatic, the scrofulous, the tuberculous, and others, have been delineated for us, especially by the French physicians; but, even in the earlier stages of pathological science, these delineations failed to bring conviction to cautious clinical observers. Their inadequacy has been due to an unwillingness to recognise negative instances. While many persons of 'tuberculous' or of 'scrofulous' feature, as classically described, escape such diseases, many persons of other and less peculiar aspect

and bodily frame are attacked. Moreover, as, on the discovery of the bacillus of tubercle, the essential unity of scrofula and tuberculosis was demonstrated, distinctions between the scrofulous and the tuberculous constitution were disregarded, or shown to depend upon incidental conditions.

Now if, on the evidence of family proclivity, we were to prohibit the marriage of persons presumably not immune to the infection of tubercle, and if we were to go as far in other cases, say those of liability to typhoid fever, to scarlet fever, and the rest, we should in our assiduity be in a fair way to condemn half the world to celibacy. Such a policy, however, whether advisable or not, is obviously so impracticable as to be outside the discussion. Our business is rather to see that the infection itself is extinguished. We must endeavour to checkmate each infection by measures calculated to drive it off its own ground. If it be contended that, by interfering with nature's own plan of weeding-out, we run the risk of increasing the number of susceptible persons, we answer that it is a risk which we cannot help running. We cannot now go back to natural selection in disease; our method must be to banish its causes, even if thereby we create a more and more vulnerable community. We do not forbear to accumulate wealth of every kind in the fear of becoming thereby more and more vulnerable to the robber; we increase the wealth, and make it our business to eliminate the robber. To give diseases a free run, in order eventually to kill off all human stocks incapable of resistance, would be inhuman; but, if we suspend the methods of nature, we are bound to penetrate, by elaborate and vigilant experimental methods, to a knowledge of the origins and properties of infectious disease. Again, while by sanitation we promote good health and destroy bacteria, we shall not despair, even if the causes of disease evade our watchfulness, of finding out the means of physiological protection, the protective means wrought out by our own organs. As has been already done in the cases of diphtheria and of snake poison, we may succeed in separating and using at need the various specific 'antidotal bodies' by which in the human system toxins are neutralised.

The tubercle bacillus has an extraordinary capacity for

adapting itself to the various tissues of the body. From the brain to the bones, there is scarcely a part of the body where it cannot get a footing. Poisonous no doubt it is, yet in man, at any rate, it is destructive rather by this ubiquity, this power of corpuscular diffusion by contact, by lymph channels, by blood vessels, than by the intensity of its virulence. Hence a focus of tubercle is dangerous from its aptitude for propagation and colonisation, rather than as a source of general intoxication by its secretions. In this respect it differs, for example, from diphtheria and from tetanus, the bacilli of which distempers may, from a single small focus, brew and deliver into the circulation poison enough to kill the patient swiftly. Consequently in tetanus, diphtheria and similar diseases, the chief arm of the therapeutist must be an antitoxin, but in tuberculosis a bactericide. Experiments with bactericidal agents in tuberculosis are being actively prosecuted; but no agent has been discovered as yet which, if brought into contact with so ubiquitous an enemy, would not prove as injurious to the host as to his parasites. In 'tuberculin' Koch has put us in possession of an agent which, if no antidote to tuberculous poison and no bactericide, proves, nevertheless, to be a valuable test for tuberculosis. As by mallein, a derivative from glanders, we have learned to detect glanders in horses, so by means of tuberculin we have been able to convince ourselves of the alarming prevalence of tubercle in our cattle. Even in choice herds, housed and fed with greatest care, the number of animals 'reacting,' i.e. responding to the test for tubercle, runs as high as 40 per cent.; and among ill cared-for cattle the percentage may be much higher. The Cambridge Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis found in 1898 that nearly three-fifths of the milk sold in the town and the University contained tubercle bacilli—an astounding revelation, which has, however, been repeated in other towns and villages. Fortunate it is that man is not highly susceptible to tubercle!

Each pest that preys upon mankind has its own devices; and those of tubercle seem not to be too subtle for us to set our wits against it successfully. It is not conveyed by inoculation, like tetanus, anthrax, and rabies. It is not largely propagated by meat; and the danger of such propagation is one which, by inspection of the meat-market,

we can easily control. Nor, again, is it a water-borne infection, like cholera or enteric fever. The microbe is doubtless shed into the drains by patients afflicted with tuberculosis of the bowels; but even if it were thus to reach a well or other supply of drinking-water, it would hardly survive long enough to endanger life. Briefly, the microbe of tubercle is generally conveyed by one of two vehicles—the products of the dairy, and the expectorations of phthisical patients. These carriers of evil it is our duty to arrest; and the duty need be no very stupendous undertaking. From these spheres of its activity, tubercle ought to be banished in no great number of years. If our herds are tested—and farmers are beginning to show a teachable spirit in the matter which, considering the new and heavy responsibility thrown upon them, is much to their credit; if tuberculous milch-cows are separated from the sound, and the milk from them sterilised; if cow-houses are purified from accumulated tuberculous dirt, and are well lighted and ventilated; and if all young stock is watchfully secluded from infected animals and persons, we may hope in no long time so to clear our herds that infected milk, cream, and butter will no more be distributed to the public. It is hoped that Professor Bang, to whom Denmark is deeply indebted for the purification of its dairies, will attend the congress to demonstrate his methods.

The other chief source of dissemination of tubercle is found in the lungs of the consumptive. The spittle of these sufferers swarms with bacilli; and it seems that if such spittle lie in damp and dark corners—and how damp and dark the corners of insanitary houses may be we know too well—the contained bacilli may survive even for six months. The bacillus has a fatty constitution, whereby it can stand drying without loss of vitality; and, when dried, it mingles with the dust and rides on the air into the lungs. Thus we are learning that mere house-maids' cleanliness is not sufficient for our dairies, nor even for our chambers; scientific conceptions of cleanliness must get possession of us, and the principles of Lister must be carried into private life. The need of light and air take on a new importance, and dust is seen to be not only unsightly but also a minister of infection. We do not suggest that our sitting-rooms shall be as bare as bath-

rooms; but it is no great demand upon architects to require that they shall construct plinths, cornices, sills, architraves and the like with mouldings of such section that dust and dirt shall not lie on them, or at any rate shall be readily removable by the passage of a damp cloth; that light shall be abundant in corridors and corners as well as in chambers; and that all windows shall open with a touch of the hand. High ceilings and plate-glass windows are the cause of much stuffiness and infection. The fashion of preferring rugs to carpets fortunately makes for the 'higher cleanliness.'

Such precautions are of course of peculiar importance in houses wherein consumptive patients live or have recently lived; for it fortunately happens that the bacillus of tubercle is not widely diffused, but is found only about the quarters of infected persons. The chambers of such patients must be managed with more than ordinary vigilance in these respects, and thorough disinfection carried out, on skilled advice, when such chambers are quitted. In this connexion we must emphasise the warning of the pathologist that spitting in public places be peremptorily forbidden. The railway companies and other public carriers in England are betraying a reprehensible indifference to these orders. Not only should notices be posted to warn the public of their responsibility in this matter, but the law should punish such offenders sharply. The filthy habit of spitting on floors and platforms is by no means confined to third-class passengers; and all men must learn that to void this excretion in public is as dangerous to others as it is offensive to good manners. Persons whose lungs may be the seat of tubercle, that is all persons who cough, should carry about them spittoons which after use can either be burned or thoroughly disinfected, as is the custom in all well managed sanatoriums and sick chambers. Such spittoons (Dettweiler's) are made to be carried easily and privately in the pocket or muff. Moreover, as the spray of the cough is virulent, and as indeed that of speech may be so likewise, some further precautions are needed by the friends and attendants of the sick.

Still, sanguine as we may justifiably be in anticipating the extinction of tubercle, or at any rate its exclusion from the bodies of men and animals, we have at best a long and difficult way before us. For any length of time

to which we can reasonably look forward, the field of therapeutics will demand a far more vigorous provision than we have hitherto made for it. Two or three generations are but a day in the campaign against an endemic pestilence. Fortunately, as we have seen, the care and cure of the individual are essential parts of this campaign; so that, even if in the dim future our needs exceed our provision, the effort we shall make to cure individuals will have paid for itself over and over again. With animals we can deal by methods more or less summary, according to the public decision; we cannot take summary means of improving tuberculous men and women off the face of the earth; yet it is only by the extinction of the tuberculous that we can extinguish tubercle. Some we shall extinguish by curing them; others, in whose cases this is impossible, we may render harmless to their fellowmen.

Compulsory notification of pulmonary and other forms of tuberculosis cannot be pressed forward in Great Britain until public opinion is as ripe for the measure as it now is in New York City and in Boston, where, with the acquiescence of the people, compulsory notification is already in force. In Manchester voluntary notification has been invited by Dr Niven, and the returns are proving to be numerous and important. For instance, some statistics, compiled on this basis, throw a strong light upon the propagation of the disease by personal infection, and point unmistakably not only to particular dwellings and workshops as centres of phthisis, but also to the coincidence in time of such outbreaks with the first admissions of consumptive inmates. In France, again, the Government of M. Waldeck-Rousseau has shown an energy which we should do well to emulate in enquiring into the prevalence of phthisis in the public services. In the postal service of Paris it quickly became apparent that the death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis was low among the letter-carriers but high among the clerks and other indoor servants. Among these latter the rate proved to be about 62 per 10,000, the average Paris death-rate from this disease being about 49 per 10,000. M. Millerand has accordingly sent out a strongly worded circular ordering many alterations in floors, plinths, walls, and furniture, and the provision of certain spittoons. He directs also that cloths damped in a two per cent. solution of carbolic acid shall be used for

cleaning, instead of dry sweeping with brooms. Telephone cabinets and other dark and close recesses are to be abolished. M. Millerand has also established, near Paris, a sanatorium for civil servants suffering from tuberculosis, not simply as a work of charity for the sick, but as an important means of public economy.

The sanatorium treatment of consumption, long popular at Margate and other such resorts for glandular tubercle (scrofula), is the organisation of several modern methods into one system. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cullen convinced himself that the consumptive fared better in the open air; and he recommended life on the sea. Nevertheless, in the second quarter of that century the prejudice in favour of treating consumption as the result of a 'neglected cold,' and therefore of coddling the patient, was rampant. Swaddled in shawls, muzzled with foul 'respirators,' the unfortunate victims were let out, in our capricious climate, for rare minutes of sunshine; or, in a finer air, for a few butterfly hours. To sleep with the windows open was regarded fifty years ago as dangerous even for the healthy. The late Dr Archibald Smith, a physician in Peru, was one of the first to insist upon residence at high altitudes on the Andes, and in open air, as a cure for phthisis. It was natural that this exposure to the air should first make way in fine climates; and the chief pioneer of open-air treatment, Dr Henry Bennet, developed his methods on the Riviera. At Mentone Bennet provided for his own use—for he himself was thus afflicted—not a house, but a garden, wherein he spent most of his time. He preached the doctrine of the open window at night, and found, to his own surprise, and to the amazement of his friends, that an open window at night is tolerable even in London. Physicians in the out-patient departments of city hospitals began to notice that persons, such as gamekeepers, leading outdoor lives, even if lives of some privation, nevertheless do better than town patients and those whose occupations keep them indoors.

The next stage in the development of the curative system took its origin in the adventures of certain bold patients who betook themselves to the high Alps, not in summer only, but also in the winter. About half a century ago, Dr Unger, himself *poitrinaire*, and Herr Richter, a

consumptive patient of his, established themselves at Davos in the Grisons; and rumours were soon heard that Davos, by means of its hardy and open-air life, was triumphing over the Riviera, which latter climate was fitted rather for older or less vigorous patients. Dr Spengler, at that time the health officer of Davos, threw himself into the movement; physicians of other countries visited Davos and satisfied themselves of the virtues of the climate; and the first stage in the modern advance in the treatment of phthisis was achieved, namely, a due comprehension of the virtues of climate and open air.

But climate and air are not all. At Davos, where patients relied too blindly on climate, remarkable cures were made; but grievous failures began to be heard of also. At first, while the ascendency of Unger and his immediate followers was complete, the patient, doubtful of his position, was tractable. But, in a short time, caution gave way to careless and even reckless reliance on the climate alone. The air of Davos was supposed to be all-sufficient; and the monotony of a winter residence in the Alps was diversified by the recreations of the billiard-room, and even of the bar. Thus physicians lost their control of some important conditions of success; and the high Alps cure fell into some discredit. About this time two German physicians, first, Dr Brehmer of Grubersdorf in Silesia, and secondly, Dr Dettweiler of Falkenstein, were carrying the method a considerable stage forward. Brehmer and Dettweiler proved that climate, however important an element in the new method, is not the only one. By remarkable success in the cure of patients submitted to a strict and elaborate discipline in sanatoriums constructed for the purpose, they showed that neither the high Alps nor the Riviera are essential to the cure. It is not the privilege of every man to be able to betake himself to distant quarters; and it began to appear that, if certain mountainous and other climates, with jealous supervision of each individual sufferer, are still the most certain means of recovery, yet the high Alps or Mentone, without a rigid therapeutical system, give even worse results than less good climates with such a system. At Grubersdorf and at Falkenstein the patient was watched and directed in every part and function of his life. He was scarcely allowed even to think without his doctor's

leave. His hours of bed, his meals and exercise, his diet, his clothing, his company, were all submitted, not only to general rules, but also to precise regulations adapted to each individual case. Sanatoriums thus depending on strict regulation were, indeed, remote from the distractions and temptations as well as from the dirt and tainted air of towns, but were not situated in climates of exceptional virtue. Thus it became evident that the cure of phthisis needs far more than climate and open air. The patient cannot be his own physician; there is no royal road to cure through a tourists' office.

It is evident that the physician, to whom the carrying out of such discipline in a sanatorium is entrusted, must be a man of strong and independent character; at any rate in the earlier days of the method, before its exigencies have become familiar to the lay public. Thus it has happened that this or that sanatorium has won a reputation, according as its superintendent showed powers of rule, organisation, and intelligent perseverance. In some institutions the rules are kept only on paper, in others a refractory inmate is threatened with prompt expulsion; but to the doctrines and practice of Brehmer and Dettweiler nothing has been added in principle and but little in the way of improvement and development. Our knowledge is however constantly increasing in the light of growing experience: for instance, of the length of time to be spent in bed according to the hourly fluctuation of the temperature of the body; of discrimination in feeding as the appetite improves in the fresh air, while the feeble, irritable, and often relaxed stomach may easily be overtaxed; of the degrees of isolation from the worries, and even from the affairs and amusements of the world and society, and the gradual permission of the gentler games and amusements; of the management of baths and cold air for those who are less capable of healthy reaction. These and many other watchful adaptations are matters of incessant experiment made anew in each individual case by skilled and resolute advisers. No doubt, as experiments are multiplied and obedience becomes ingrained, the need of remarkably able superintendents will be less imperative; but no perfunctory superintendence can succeed. The sanatorium physician must eat, drink, and spend his time with his patients, watching them by night

as well as by day—a monotonous and a self-sacrificing life, illuminated only by its beneficence. But how needful such vigilance may be, is betrayed by the confessions of many a returned inmate.

The results of this enlarged and perfected method are very gratifying. Patients, even far advanced in phthisis, if of fairly sound habit of body, need not despair. Patients in whom the disease has advanced to softening and excavation of the lung, may need long times of banishment from family and business, but in not a few even of these a cure is attained by time and diligent care. Perhaps from a third to one-half of such cases may be brought to a favourable issue. But, it will be objected, if by means of costly sanatoriums we can cure but a moiety of the diseased, what about the extinction of tubercle? The reports of some sanatoriums—a few of which reports, as those of Dr Turban of Davos, and Dr Trudeau of the Adirondacks, are of scientific value—as well as the less exact verdict of general experience, are enforcing upon us the lesson that the earlier the stage of disease at which the patient is brought fully under this curative system, the quicker and more substantial will be the restoration to health. This is not the place to enter into the niceties of diagnosis in the earliest stage, which every day are attaining to a greater efficiency; but we may say that it appears fairly certain that even in sanatoriums situated in favourable parts of our own country—a climate by no means the best for the purpose—about eighty per cent. of cases brought under treatment in an incipient stage will be cured. Meanwhile another lesson also will be enforced, namely, that the tuberculous must regard themselves as perilous neighbours, although they may become innocuous if they will be unselfish enough to exercise with scrupulous care a few precautions now well known and by no means difficult or onerous.

We trust that one great purpose at least may be achieved by the congress in London, namely, to dispel the ignorance, the indifference, and the niggardliness which obscure our vision of these discoveries, and starve our provision for further research and for efficient prevention.

Art. XIII.—THE CHINESE FIASCO.

1. *The Englishman in China.* By Alex. Michie. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1900.
2. *China; her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce.* By E. H. Parker. London: John Murray, 1901.
3. *These from the Land of Sinim.* By Sir Robert Hart. London: Chapman and Hall, 1901.
4. *A Year in China*, 1899–1900. By Clive Bigham. London: Macmillan, 1901.
5. *Manchuria.* By Alex. Hosie. London: Methuen, 1901.
6. *China and the Allies.* By H. S. Landor. London: Heinemann, 1901.

A YEAR and a half ago * we laid before our readers a succinct account of the changes which had been produced in the Chinese Empire by its political environment since the close of the Japanese War. We pointed out that the primary source of trouble was the military weakness of the nation, and the inability of the governing classes to adapt themselves to changed conditions. The collapse of the Chinese forces before the advancing Japanese revealed the ineptitude of the military organisation, and left the country open to the double danger, first, of internal revolt, and secondly, of external attack; and we pointed out what seemed to us the best steps to ward off the threatened danger. A third possibility—that of a violent attempt on the part of the Chinese Government, in conjunction with a section of the people, to throw off European influence—we did not then foresee; nor is this surprising, for it was not foreseen, even within a month of the outbreak, by the representatives of the European Powers on the spot. Shortly afterwards † we reviewed the state of things produced by that outbreak and its suppression; and we endeavoured to lay down what should be the policy of the Powers in view of the altered conditions of the case. Nine months have now elapsed, and we are no nearer a final solution of the problem than we were last October. The Western armies are in process of being withdrawn; and, to all appearance, the *status quo ante* will shortly be restored. An invaluable opportunity, which may never

---

* Quarterly Review, January 1900. † Id., October 1900.

recur, will, if this turns out to be the case, have been lost. This is our reason for once again returning to the subject. We are, at all events, now in a position to estimate the real importance of the events of last year. Was the Boxer rising, and the consequent attempt to massacre the Legations, merely a local outburst of blind hate and fury which will pass and leave the skies serene as before? or was it, as one eminent authority would have us believe, a national episode marking the commencement of a new era in the international relations of China which will not cease until the last foreigner is driven into the sea?

To answer these questions satisfactorily, we must recapitulate as briefly as possible the events of the last few years. The Japanese War left the nation deeply humiliated and chagrined by its defeat. For a time there was nothing but confusion and chaos in the counsels of Peking; and Russia took advantage of this to force a concession for a railway through the heart of Manchuria. In December 1897 came the seizure of Kiaochow by the Germans. The Court could not pluck up courage to resist, and the affair ended in the negotiation of a lease, apparently on friendly terms, but in reality leaving a deep feeling of mortification behind. This was followed by the Russian occupation of Port Arthur and the negotiation of a similar lease for that stronghold and the neighbouring territory of Talienwan. A month or two later Wei-hai-wei was ceded to Great Britain on similar terms, as a counterpoise to the Russian occupation of Port Arthur. These were serious blows to the 'integrity of China'; but in the course of the same year (1898) several important railway and mining concessions were negotiated by syndicates of various nationalities; and hopes were entertained that at last the Chinese Government had begun to learn wisdom from adversity, and were proceeding to strengthen their country by developing its material resources. These hopes were strengthened by the appearance, during the year 1898, of a series of remarkable reform decrees issued by the Emperor Kwang-su, who appeared to have released himself from the tutelage of the Empress-Dowager. A reform party, composed of younger officials and literary men, had gradually been shaping itself; and it was understood that the Emperor, after much pondering over the decadence of his country, had finally made up his mind that the only

hope of salvation was in reform. What was still more promising was that these decrees were received by the country at large with something like enthusiasm.

In Peking, however, things went differently. The members of the Grand Council, who, contrary to the constitutional usage, had apparently not been consulted in the matter of the reform decrees, took alarm and entreated the Dowager-Empress to resume the reins of government. The result was the *coup d'état* of September, 1898. Six of the leading reformers were seized and summarily executed. The Emperor was made virtually a prisoner, and has remained so ever since. This was the turning-point in the history of China which made possible all the lamentable events that have happened since. Government fell into the hands of the reactionary officials, Manchus for the most part, all of them ignorant, fanatical, and superstitious, and all much more zealous for the Manchu dynasty than for the welfare of the nation. An ill-timed move on the part of one of the foreign Powers enabled them to score a preliminary success. The Italian Government's demand for a lease of the Bay of Sanmun as a coaling station, and the assignment of the province of Chekiang as their particular sphere of influence, was abruptly refused; and, after some diplomatic fencing, the claim was quietly dropped. The result was a victory for the Chinese; and, as it was the first they had gained, it assumed exaggerated importance in their eyes. Soon afterwards all the reforms which the Emperor had attempted were quashed, and a thorough anti-foreign and reactionary *régime* was inaugurated.

It was about this time that the disturbance which afterwards became known as the 'Boxer' rising began to gather headway in Shantung. The province of Shantung has for over thirty years been the scene of missionary activity, and it has on the whole been noted, down to recent times, for the quiet and orderly demeanour of the people. In the great famine which prevailed in this and the neighbouring province of Shansi during the years 1876–8, the missionaries, especially those of the English Baptist mission, devoted themselves unflaggingly to the relief of distress. Large sums of money were subscribed by the resident foreign merchants, and even in England and America; and the missionaries were practically the

only medium through whom distribution could be made. The self-denying efforts that they made, even to the risk of life, earned the gratitude of both officials and people.

Besides the Protestant missions of which we have been speaking, there were in both provinces Catholic missions, French and German. In Shantung the German mission is presided over by Bishop Anzer, a most zealous ecclesiastic. The French Government claims a general protectorate over all Catholic missions; but Bishop Anzer's mission was recently taken under the wing of the German Legation at Peking, where his wishes and aspirations seemingly found energetic backing. It was in connexion with this mission that the trouble began; it culminated in the murder of two German priests in November 1897. In reprisal for that crime the German fleet seized the port of Kiaochow, which lay advantageously near to the scene of the outrage. As further reparation, the governor of the province, Li Ping-heng, a capable official, but intensely anti-foreign, was dismissed. He was succeeded by the still more notorious Yu-hsien, under whose rule the trouble increased rapidly. Bands of peasants, armed with knives, spears, and miscellaneous weapons, began to roam about the country, attacking and plundering Christian villages and mission premises, and not unfrequently the ordinary peaceful inhabitants. Some of these bands declared themselves to belong to 'The Big Knife' society, others to the I-ho-tuan or I-ho-chuan (the latter word signifying 'fist,' whence the name 'Boxers'). Both were revivals of old secret societies, and on that ground had frequently been proscribed by the Government. It soon became evident that, in spite of denunciatory edicts, the movement was being encouraged by the local authorities.

The first foreigner to fall a victim was Mr Brooks, a member of the English Church Mission, who was murdered towards the close of 1899. At the instance of the British Minister at Peking, a trial was held, and two or three of the common sort were punished; but a demand for the degradation and punishment of the real culprit, Yu-hsien, the governor, was refused. He was removed, indeed, from his post of governor; but, far from being degraded, he was invited to the Palace with every mark of respect, had numerous audiences with the Empress-Dowager, and was sent as governor to the adjoining province of Shansi,

where he subsequently worked his savage will in the murder of some hundred and fifty Europeans. The British Government quietly put up with this affront.

It is probable that from the date of Yu-hsien's visit to Peking the central government began actively to encourage the Boxer movement. Yu-hsien had done his best to encourage it locally, and it may be assumed he did not miss the opportunities that his intimacy with the Court gave him to imbue the authorities with the notion that the Boxers would prove valuable allies in the anti-foreign and anti-reform crusade on which they were then embarked. He found a worthy coadjutor in Prince Tuan, who had recently come into prominence and power as the father of the young prince who had been adopted as heir to the late Emperor Tung Chih, and was therefore heir-presumptive to the throne. There is ample evidence to show that there was a plot to compel the abdication of the unfortunate Emperor Kwang-su, and so make an end of him and his reforms together. The intention became known, however, and caused such a storm of protest from the country that the Empress-Dowager was compelled to pause. A telegram, signed by over 1200 officials, gentry, and merchants in the Yangtze provinces, was sent to the Tsung-li Yamen on January 26th, 1900, begging that body to intervene and to stop the proposed abdication. The Empress-Dowager gave way, but revenged herself by a renewed persecution of the reformers.

It thus happened that, while the Empress Dowager and the Manchu clique were burning with indignation at having their plans frustrated by native opposition, and cherishing a general desire to rid themselves of foreign aggression, they found a movement going on which seemed to fall in with their purpose. They could not as yet openly say that the murdering and plundering of converts was in itself a good thing, but they did say that the formation of trainbands among the villages for mutual defence was a laudable and patriotic act, and as such was to be encouraged. In answer to the complaints of the foreign Ministers, edicts continued to be issued denouncing violence in general terms; but Yuan Shih-kai, the new governor of Shantung, was told that, while doubtless there were evil-disposed characters among the Boxers whom he was at liberty to punish, he must take

care not to punish the good Boxers, or he would answer for it with his head. Yuan Shih-kai could probably have put down the movement in a couple of weeks by the aid of the drilled troops whom he took with him; and it is generally supposed that he was willing to do so. But, tied as his hands were by the instructions of the Empress-Dowager, he did practically nothing. The movement, thus encouraged from Peking, rapidly gathered strength. Bands of Boxers armed with knives and spears, and living on plunder, passed from Shantung into Chihli. Then came the murders of two more English missionaries, Mr Robinson and Mr Norman, and the destruction of railway stations near Peking. With a view to throw dust in the eyes of the foreign Ministers, a decree was published on the 29th of May 1900, ordering the authorities to punish murderers and other ruffians, and to protect the Christians. A further decree in similar terms was issued on the 6th of June; but in neither decree was the Boxer organisation, as such, denounced, and, what was more to the point, not a single Boxer was arrested. Still more significant was the fact that General Nich, whose troops had been moved up for the protection of the railway, was censured for firing on a body of Boxers, and his force ordered back to its camp.

It is not easy to define precisely what was the attitude of the Court towards the Boxers at this critical period, but it is evident that it swayed from time to time according as the counsels of Prince Tuan, Kang-yi, and others of the violent group on the one hand, or of the moderate party on the other, were in the ascendant. Generally there was a disposition to let the Boxers go on and see what they could do. The hands of the Court party, however, were forced by the rapid action of the foreign Powers in landing troops for the protection of their subjects. Legation guards had been brought up to Peking on the 31st of May, before the railway was cut. There was precedent for this step; and, though the Court did not like it, it could not formally object. But when it became known that Admiral Seymour, with a mixed force of two thousand men, was on the march to Peking, and prepared to force his way through, a choice had to be made between Boxers and foreigners. Tung Fu-hsiang, the commander of the Mohammedan division, who had long been urging the

extermination of foreigners, was directed to oppose Seymour's advance; Prince Tuan, the now acknowledged chief patron of the Boxers, was appointed to the presidency of the Tsung-li Yamen; and the Boxers themselves were let loose to murder and plunder the crowds of defenceless Christian converts within the walls of Peking.

Whether there was or not a deliberate plot on the part of the Empress-Dowager or the Chinese Government, as a whole, to massacre the foreign Ministers, may be doubtful; but there are two strong pieces of evidence in favour of the former view. The first is supplied by the Peking native correspondent of the 'North China Herald,' who wrote early in May—a full month, be it noted, before the capture of the Taku forts, which has been alleged as the cause of the Chinese Government's hostility:—

'I write in all seriousness and sincerity to inform you that there is a great secret scheme, having for its aim to crush all foreigners in China and to wrest back the territories "leased" to them. The chief leaders are the Empress-Dowager, Prince Ching, Prince Tuan, Kang-yi, Chao Shu-chiao, and Li Ping-heng. The forces to be used to achieve this end are all Manchus.' [Statement of the corps to be employed follows.] 'These seventy-two thousand men are to form the nucleus of the "Army of Avengers," whilst the Boxers are to be counted on as auxiliaries in the great fight that is more imminent than foreigners in Peking or elsewhere dream of. All Chinese of the upper classes know this, and those who count foreigners among their friends have warned them, but, to my own knowledge, have been rather laughed at for their pains.' *

The second piece of evidence is recorded by the 'Times' correspondent in his graphic narrative of the siege of Peking. On June 9th, 1900, a French-speaking secretary of the Yamen came to see Sir Claude Macdonald, who remarked, in the course of conversation, that he had been informed that a general massacre of foreigners had been determined on by the Chinese Government. The secretary, himself a Manchu,

'changed colour and, assuming a look of serious gravity, said nothing. Sir Claude was so convinced from the man's manner that treachery was contemplated, that he reported the inci-

* 'North China Herald,' May 16th, 1900.

dent to his colleagues. Then peremptory messages were sent ordering up the reinforcements.'

The reinforcements in question were the troops under Admiral Seymour, whose advance, as we said, forced the Chinese Government to disclose its hand prematurely. The resistance offered to this column, combined with evident preparations to bar the river at Taku, led to the capture of the Taku forts, which, again, was the signal for the attack on the Legations. It is needless to narrate the details of the siege, the attack on Tientsin, or the massacres of missionaries and native Christians; for the facts are well known, although the fiendish cruelties perpetrated on helpless women and children appear to be but faintly realised in England. Our object in thus briefly relating the leading events is to enable the reader to form a fair estimate of the causes and objects of this rising; how far it can be described as due to permanent causes which may have to be reckoned with hereafter, and how far it was the direct work of the Government acting on a temporary ebullition of feeling.

Sir Robert Hart calls it a 'national uprising; the prelude to a century of change, and the keynote to the future history of the Far East.' The contempt for foreigners and foreign institutions on the part of the Chinese is, he says, deeper than ever; and nothing will satisfy them till the last foreigner is driven into the sea. They have discovered a new way to accomplish this, viz. volunteering, which has caught hold of the popular imagination, and will spread like wildfire. Though it has failed for the moment, a time will come. Twenty millions of armed Boxers will some day make residence in China impossible for foreigners, will recover everything that China has lost, and will carry the Chinese flag to places which the wildest fancy cannot suggest to-day.

We think this an entirely erroneous view of the situation. As regards national sentiment, if, instead of 'Chinese,' Sir Robert had written 'Manchus' or 'official Chinese,' meaning the conservative group of officials, ignorant, proud, and bigoted, with whom he has mainly come into contact during his forty years' residence in Peking, he would probably have been right. The hatred and contempt for foreign institutions among this class has

deepened with years, and been intensified by fear. There is also, probably, among certain sections of the lower class a dislike to foreigners, born of the grossest superstition. They believe that we have supernatural powers which we can wield to their harm, that we kidnap children in order to boil down their eyes and brains for medicine, and that we can throw a spell over a woman or child passing in the street, and make them subservient to our will. No tale is too wild or improbable for belief by the ignorant rustic; and under such impulses the wildest excesses are possible. But the great mass of the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers of the country, men who represent the wealth, and are the true backbone of the nation, are under no such delusion. If they do not exactly love us, they are prepared to eat with us and drink with us, as well as to buy and sell with us, and the last thing they desire is to see us driven away from the country. If Sir Robert Hart, instead of immuring himself at Peking, had spent three months of the year at Shanghai or Hong Kong, or any of the large centres of trade, he would have seen, not only that the state of feeling among this class—by education and talent the flower of the nation—is very different from what he represents it to be; but also that it is extremely dissatisfied with the Manchu government—not so much because that government is Manchu, as because it is retrograde and opposed to reform. Many of these men are far better fitted for rulers than nine-tenths of the officials, yet they are absolutely deprived of political power, and unable to influence the policy of their country. Nay, more, if by speech or writing they indicate this dissatisfaction, they can be arrested as agitators, and their lives and fortunes are at the mercy of the Court.

In regard to Sir Robert's second contention, we venture to think he is equally wrong. In the first place, volunteering is no new thing in China. During the Taiping rebellion the authorities were perpetually calling for *tuan-lien*, i.e. trainband volunteers; and many such corps co-operated with the regular soldiers in defence of their respective districts. Several officials who afterwards rose to high office, Tseng Kuo-fan for one, made their *début* as captains of these volunteer brigades. In the second place, what the Government did, as we read the facts, was to utilise for its own purposes an organisation which was

not even a *tuan-lien*, but an illegal secret society, when it found that the members were attacking Christians and foreigners. The reasoning of the Court party was probably somewhat as follows. All the troubles which China has recently suffered have been in connexion with foreigners, who are becoming every day more and more dictatorial; and if we do not make a stand now we shall lose everything. We should never have let them in at all; but if we make one supreme effort now and drive them all into the sea, they will never venture to come back, and China will be herself again as in the good old days. We have more than one hundred thousand soldiers, for whom we have got the best arms that money can buy; and now there come to our aid the Boxers, who, we are assured, have supernatural powers, and who have sworn death to the foreigner. Let them go on and see what they can do.

As regards the predicted spread of the movement, there is as yet no evidence to this effect. The outrages against foreigners were practically confined to the three contiguous provinces of Shantung, Chihli, and Shansi. There was only one prominent exception, namely, the murders at Chüchow in the province of Chekiang; and the complicity of the governor in that crime appears to have been clearly shown. In all the other provinces, even after the Empress's cruel decree of extermination had been issued, the missionaries escaped with their lives; and in not a few instances the officials went out of their way to warn them and provide means of flight. In no case were the mercantile communities attacked, except at Tientsin; and, as we know, the Yangtze Viceroys and others combined to disregard the Imperial orders, engaging with the British Consuls to afford efficient protection to both missionaries and merchants. The 'volunteer' movement began and ended with the three northerly provinces, in which the causes at work can be traced with great accuracy.

The origin of all the trouble was the killing of the two Catholic priests belonging to Bishop Anzer's Mission in southern Shantung. How far this may or may not have been provoked by indiscretions on the part of the missionaries, we are not in a position to say. The Chinese maintain that the hostile feeling was caused by the overbearing manner of the bishop and his coadjutors in their relations with the local officials; but it may be assumed

from what we know elsewhere that the blame was equally shared by the officials. The killing of the priests was, as we know, the pretext for the seizure of Kiaochow by the Germans. This act gave a shock to the whole of Shantung; and the resulting irritation was intensified by the frequent acts of hostility which took place round the fringe of the new territory. Li Ping-heng, the dismissed governor, was already bitterly anti-foreign, and his private grievance doubtless added fuel to his hate. He seems to have taken up his residence in the province, and stimulated the Boxer movement by every means in his power. Under his patronage, and that of his successor, Yu-hsien, it grew and prospered. It was first anti-German, then anti-Christian, and finally anti-foreign. Christian converts and mission premises, as being nearest at hand, were first attacked and looted; and the taste for plunder thus acquired prompted the rioters to further excesses. The country was suffering from drought, and the blame for this was adroitly thrown on the foreigners. Crowds of the peasantry were out of employment and in a starving condition, and thus were naturally ready to join a movement in which patriotism, religion, and self-interest so obviously combined.

A word or two with regard to the appearance which China has made from a military point of view may not be inopportune. At the time of the bombardment of Tientsin there appeared certain reports of the accuracy of the Chinese fire; and it was supposed the Chinese had made great progress in the art of war since the time of the conflict with Japan. We are assured that in point of fact the very opposite is the case. The forces which the Court had at its immediate disposal in and around Peking, without counting the various provincial armies, were as follows. First, in Peking there were the Manchu Bannermen—the hereditary Home Guards, who, since the beginning of the dynasty, have been the bulwark of the throne. These have recently been reorganised, and two divisions, the Peking Field Force and the Hu-sheng (Glorified Tigers) corps, were well drilled and armed. The former was under the nominal command of Prince Ching, and the latter of Prince Tuan, and together they amounted to about 72,000 men. Secondly, in the neighbourhood of Tientsin, there was quartered in various camps the so-called Grand Army of the North, composed of Chinese

under the command of Jung Lu as generalissimo. Great pains had been spent in getting this force into proper form, and no money was spared in purchasing for it the best modern weapons. It was composed in the first place of the remains of Li Hung-chang's army which fought in the Japanese War; secondly, of drafts from provincial depôts, especially Hunan and Anhwei; and thirdly, of Tung Fu-hsiang's Mohammedan troops recently brought from Kansuh. All told, the Grand Army of the North mustered about 70,000. Eight or ten thousand of the best of them, under the command of Yuan Shih-kai, had, however, been withdrawn to Shantung before the outbreak of hostilities.

Allowing for all deficiencies, the Imperial Government had under its direct command at least 100,000 troops, about half being Manchus and half Chinese. Add to these an indefinite number of Boxers, who, by this time, were being supplied with modern arms drawn from the Government stores, and we make up a gross fighting force of between 100,000 and 150,000, which tried, and tried in vain, to exterminate a handful of Europeans. In Peking the Legations were defended for two months by guards who at the outset only numbered some 400, aided by half as many civilians. At Tientsin the first attack was repelled by a mixed force of something slightly over 2000 men; and, when the Allies were in sufficient strength to take the offensive, the Chinese fighting-power collapsed. The capture of the native city of Tientsin and the forts above it was stiff work, but that was the turning-point. The relieving column of about 14,000 men practically walked through; except at Petsang, just outside Tientsin, there was no resistance worth the name. The whole of the so-called Grand Army of the North, which had been got together, armed, and drilled at so much expense, disappeared, and has not since been heard of.

Thus the whole Boxer or volunteer movement, of which Sir Robert Hart makes so much, has collapsed. Of its leaders, Li Ping-heng died of his wounds, Kang-yi and Hsu-tung committed suicide, Yu-hsien has been degraded and banished, Prince Tuan has fled to his father-in-law, a Mongol Prince, and Tung Fu-hsiang has found it expedient to withdraw to Kansuh. The movement never had the slightest encouragement from the great Yangtze Viceroys;

and it is an experiment that is not likely to be repeated, at all events in this generation.

The question before the Powers is now one of reconstruction. The important point is so to reconstruct as to provide guarantees for the future, while securing a strong and stable government, and such as will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Chinese people. Of the three alternatives suggested by Sir Robert Hart, namely, partition, change of dynasty, and patching up, we agree that the two first are to be avoided. A change of dynasty may come later, but at present the dynasty must be maintained for want of an alternative; and it is the general wish of the people that it should be maintained. But if by 'patching up' Sir Robert means bringing back the Empress-Dowager and her old Manchu clique, we venture to think ninety-nine out of every hundred educated Chinese would deplore such a result. A native official of high rank told the writer that if that was to be the end of it we should (using a familiar metaphor) have simply exchanged the 'wolf' for the 'tiger.' What everyone wishes is to see the Empress-Dowager excluded, and the legitimate Emperor reinstalled with a purely Chinese council. The Empress has so mismanaged affairs that her further continuance in power is incompatible with the public safety. Her whole object for the last ten years has been the preservation of the dynasty; and, under the delusion that she was promoting that object, she has resisted change and innovation of every sort, persecuting reformers as ruthlessly as she would foreigners if she had them in her power. The Emperor, on the other hand, has identified himself with the welfare of the nation; and the hope of the nation unquestionably is that the Allies will reinstate him in his rights. What use he would make of his power, if restored, is of course uncertain; but, so long as he is alive, he is the only possible occupant of the throne.

It may seem that we are laying too much stress on the point of restoration, and that it is a matter for the Chinese themselves to settle. In most countries it would be so; but there is no constitutional means, short of insurrection, by which the Chinese can give effect to their wishes. We have a unique opportunity, therefore, of benefiting ourselves and helping them. The Empress-Dowager

has outraged the civilised world, and we have been compelled to take up arms to avenge our wrongs. It is surely not beyond our competence to say that she shall resign into the hands of the legitimate sovereign the authority which she usurped and has so grossly abused. The question of personality counts for a great deal in the occupant of the throne. The power which the Constitution places in his hands is so absolute that, of necessity, all officials take their colouring from the views favoured by him. If the Emperor is liberal and progressive, so are they. If he is retrograde and hostile to foreigners, so are they. And as the Emperor is to the officials, so are they to the people. Even now the Yangtze Viceroys, powerful and quasi-independent as they are, are watching with the keenest interest the drama that is being played out in the North, and are preparing to trim their sails accordingly. If the Empress comes back into power, they will be Empress's men, one and all; and reformers will have a bad time. If the Emperor comes back, reform will once more be in everyone's mouth. During the short time that he exercised real authority he sought his councillors among Chinese, and endeavoured by measures which were generally accepted to promote the welfare of the nation at large. The expectation is that if he has a free hand again, real reforms may be expected.

But in order to prevent a reaction and a revival of Manchu ascendency under either this or a future sovereign, the opportunity ought now to be taken to abolish all class distinctions between Manchus and Chinese. By law all Manchus are entitled as of right to a maintenance from the state, either as soldiers or civilians, and are debarred from earning a living in any other way. They are supposed to devote themselves wholly to the service of the Emperor; and all important posts in the household are reserved for them. In the boards at Peking, one of the two presidents and vice-presidents must be a Manchu; in many other departments Manchus alone are eligible. This distinction alone throws an enormously disproportionate share of political power into their hands, and keeps up a jealousy and rivalry between the two races which would otherwise long since have disappeared. If all appointments were open on equal terms to either race, the Chinese would soon elbow out the Manchus; and the

latter, forming only a fraction—probably not more than one or two per cent.—of the whole population, would sink into insignificance. This again is a matter of internal government, which it may be said does not concern the foreign Powers; but the answer is that it is a reform which the Chinese can hardly effect except by a revolution, and that it is in our power to do it now quietly and as part of the penalty which the offending party must pay.

There is, moreover, a special reason why Great Britain should insist on this reform, and, as a preliminary, on the retirement of the Empress. This is the quasi-obligation that rests on us to hold the Yangtze Viceroys harmless in respect to their action during the crisis. After the attack on Tientsin and the Legations had begun, and when decrees were being issued ordering the extermination of converts and the expulsion of foreigners, there was much anxiety at Shanghai and along the Yellow River lest those regions might become the scene of similar outbreaks. At this critical moment the Viceroys of Nanking and Hankow entered into an engagement with Mr Warren, our Consul-general at Shanghai, to disregard the Imperial orders and afford protection to all foreigners without distinction of creed or class—a promise that was faithfully kept. A moral obligation therefore rests on this country to protect these men against the vindictiveness of the Empress-Dowager and her clique. The best and indeed the only way of securing this object is to exclude her once and for all from power. If she is allowed to return, no promises or assurances of amnesty will avail, because it will always be possible for her to punish these officers on charges not connected with foreign matters, the truth or falsity of which we shall have no means of ascertaining.

Our policy in dealing with the Yangtze Viceroys during the crisis has partaken of the indecision and hesitation which has so long characterised our dealings with the Far East. The Viceroys, from the outset, disapproved the Boxer agitation, and, when it was seen that the Court was bent on the mad project of plunging the whole country into war, they not only declined to follow, but readily accepted our overtures to secure the peace of Central China by joint measures. We have it on the best authority that the Viceroy Liu was prepared to go

farther and give us the most practical pledge in his power of his sincerity and good faith, by placing the command of the Yangtze forts in our hands. The offer, however, was declined; and in the same spirit the British Government declined to give other than vague assurances of support, though urged from various quarters to do so. The result is that the Viceroys do not know whether they can rely on British promises or not, and they are undecided on which side their best chance of safety lies. We have got them into a scrape by making ourselves parties to an agreement to resist the decrees of the Court, and we have not given them any assurance of indemnity. It would have been not only just but safe to give such a pledge. We were ourselves at war with the Court; and, when the Imperial troops were defeated and scattered, the only military strength left in China consisted in the provincial forces under the control of the Viceroys and their friends. Frank and free co-operation with the Viceroys would therefore have put such pressure on the Court, whether at Hsianfu or elsewhere, as would almost certainly have long before this starved the Empress and her following into submission. But, as it is, we have left the Viceroys in uncertainty as to whether we mean to replace the Empress in power or not. If she is to come back, further opposition on their part would be rebellion for which they are not prepared; and moreover, they must endeavour as far as may be to undo the past and so purchase her forgiveness. Even then they would not feel safe. It would be quite within her constitutional rights to degrade and deprive them of office one day and to order them to instant execution the next. And such is their respect for constitutional authority that they would probably meekly submit. It would be an indelible disgrace to England and a disastrous blow to our influence if that should happen.

To recapitulate. The main points of this settlement are —(1) restoration of the Emperor: (2) selection of a liberal advisory council of the best men obtainable: (3) perpetual exclusion of the Empress-Dowager: (4) abolition of all class privileges of Manchus: (5) abolition of the Manchu Banner force. Such a settlement would establish a government of China by and for the Chinese, and might well be permanent. We should have enlisted on our side all the moderate, progressive, and enlightened part of

China, and paved the way for such reforms as will enable the people to work out their own destiny. It is not with this part of China that we have any quarrel. The acts of the Manchu Government were not the acts of the whole nation. On the contrary, they were repudiated by the better part of the people, as represented by the Viceroys Liu Kun-yi, Chang Chih-tung, and Kwei Chun; and our efforts should be directed to strengthen their hands and secure their permanent co-operation.

One of the consequences will, however, have to be borne by the whole nation, whether innocent or guilty; and that is the payment of an indemnity. The heavy claims are, of course, for damage to railways and for national war expenses. The principal railway claims are three: (1) on behalf of the Lu-Han (i.e. Peking to Hankow) Railway; (2) the Imperial Northern Railway (i.e. Peking to Shanhai-kwan); and (3) the Russian Manchurian Railway. Of these the second is the only one which concerns this country. The Imperial Northern Railway is a Chinese national line, but it is mortgaged to bondholders in England for a loan of £2,300,000. The line is practically their only security; and, to get it into working order again, a very large sum will have to be spent. The Lu-Han line is also, in theory, Chinese Government property, but the money is being provided by bondholders in France and Belgium, to whom it is similarly mortgaged. The Russian Manchurian Railway was in origin ostensibly a private concern, the capital for which was to be provided by Chinese and Russian subscribers; but in reality it is a Russian Government line built with Government capital. As both the Lu-Han and the Manchurian lines were still under construction, the amount of damage must have been relatively less than on the Tientsin line, but it may be taken for granted that the claims run into very large figures. The total sum which China will be required to pay on all counts seems likely, at the time of writing, to be fixed at Tls. 450,000,000 (say £65,000,000); and it will tax the ingenuity of the negotiators to devise ways and means whereby she can provide such a sum. Her existing debt is about £50,000,000, and that, although specially secured on the revenue of the Customs, and bearing 5 per cent. interest, is at a discount. The best solution is unquestionably to be found in fiscal reform. The leakage which goes on in every branch of

the revenue in China, except in the maritime Customs, is notorious; and the compulsory placing of one or two further sources of revenue under foreign control, as security for the service of the new loan, would not, even from the Chinese point of view, be an unmixed evil. If the revenues of the country were properly administered, they would be sufficient even for this serious addition to the public debt without involving extra taxation on trade, which of course is to be deprecated.

The indemnity question involves two great dangers: the danger of exciting rebellion if the taxes are heavily increased to meet it, and the danger of precipitating partition if it is not met. The gradual tightening of the Russian hold on Manchuria has been so often predicted that its realisation creates no surprise. Before the occupation of Port Arthur, Russia had no foothold anywhere south of the Amur River and the old boundary line of 1860. Now she has troops, not merely at Port Arthur, but at Kirin, Moukden, Newchwang and Shanhaikwan. Even that does not satisfy her: she claims a strip of land on the Peiho opposite Tientsin 'by right of conquest.'

It must be admitted that fortune has favoured Russian aspirations in Manchuria in an extraordinary way. Barely had she had time to realise that Port Arthur and Talienwan were actually in her possession when the occurrences at Blagovestchensk and on the Siberian Railway gave her the unlooked-for opportunity of sending soldiers across the frontier. The result could not be doubtful. The rising in Manchuria, such as it was, was put down; point after point was occupied; and the whole of the three provinces became Russian by right of conquest, if she chose to call it so. The convention which proposed to create a Russian protectorate pure and simple has been apparently frustrated by the intervention of other Powers, but we cannot doubt that the annexation of Manchuria will take place whenever a suitable opportunity occurs.

It is unfortunate that the South African war has continued to occupy public attention in this country while matters of such extreme moment were passing in China. The country was indeed held spell-bound while the fate of the Legations was in doubt, but turned away with a sigh of relief when they had been succoured. National preoccupation in other quarters accounts, to a large extent,

for the second-rate part we have played in the whole affair, and has led to our acquiescence in encroachments, such as the retention of the Tientsin-Taku Railway by the Russians, long after military exigencies required it. An even more serious cause of complaint is the continued retention by Russia of the railway section between Shanhaikwan and Newchwang. This was built by English money; and the earnings, though not the line itself, are hypothecated to the bondholders as extra security.

It would be some consolation for these rebuffs in the North if one could think we were doing something to consolidate our position in the Yangtze Valley; but that is not the case. On the contrary, the foothold which other Powers are acquiring in that region is every day increasing, while we, at best, remain stationary. If the British public think that we have acquired any special rights in the Yangtze Valley, the sooner they are undeceived the better. Ten years ago the British concession at Hankow was the only concession, and all foreigners resident therein conformed to its regulations. Now there is a French concession, a Russian concession, a German concession, and a Japanese concession. Three years ago, with the exception of the China Merchants' vessels, the whole of the carrying trade was in the hands of the British. Now there are German and Japanese lines plying regularly between Shanghai and Hankow, subsidised, it is said, by their respective Governments. Hankow is the headquarters of the Franco-Belgian syndicate, now pushing on the Lu-Han Railway which will connect that city with Peking; and it has recently been announced that the same financial group have acquired a controlling share in the American syndicate which obtained a concession for building the continuation of the line from Hankow to Canton. This means, if true, that our continental competitors, backed by Russia and France, have acquired the control of the whole line of future communication from Canton to Peking, or rather, we may say, from Tongking to Manchuria. Russia and France, in short, will have joined hands right across our supposed sphere of influence, and we shall find it will next be claimed that we are thereby excluded from all the hinterland which lies west of that line. In other words, France will claim Szechuen,

Kweichow, and Yunnan; and Russia will set up exclusive rights in Shansi, Shensi, and Kansuh, besides Central Asia; while Great Britain, confined to the sea-board, will be deemed, even there, to have only equal rights with others. A paper partition of this sort may seem fantastical; but, when one looks at what has happened in Manchuria within the last few years, it is folly to dismiss it as an idle fancy. If the disintegration of China continues, something of the kind is bound to happen. Railway construction, in that case, is but a prelude to military occupation. If Chinese troops cannot protect the line, foreign troops will be moved in. Then comes a protectorate, and finally annexation.

Three years ago no one would have questioned our right to the Yangtze Valley; but we are allowing rights to take root which will grow stronger year by year, and soon can only be got rid of by force. *Principiis obsta* is a maxim of even greater force in politics than in morals. Is it likely that, in the converse case, either Russia, Germany, or France would have permitted the intrusion of England? and, if not, what national advantage do we gain by conceding to them what they would never have conceded to us? Of course, if it is a matter of indifference to us what becomes of China, then the more we give way the better; but we trust that the country is not of that opinion.

As things now stand in the Yangtze Valley, the only way of repairing or counteracting the mischief is by reserving all lines running east and west and crossing the Franco-Belgian lines, for British capital. One such line would be a railway running by Hankow into Szechuen, and another would connect Nanking with Hsian-fu. British capital would probably be forthcoming for both of these —which would be paying concerns—if subscribers could be confident that the British Government is resolved to back them up. The lines on the lower Yangtze, for which concessions have been obtained, ought to be pushed on without delay. If the difficulty arises, as we believe, from the fact that the terms of the contracts with the Chinese Government are not such as will meet the money market, the British Government ought to see that the terms are altered. If France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia can find money for railway development in China, this country ought to be able to do so on the same terms.

The problem which confronts us to-day is in no material respect different from what it was two or three years ago; and it differs from that of fifty years ago only in that all the great Powers are now in the field. The remedy is a closer union among those Powers whose interests are similar, with the twofold object of warding off dismemberment and urging the Chinese to such internal reforms as will tend to the strength and stability of the empire. In one direction we think the situation is more promising than it has been before—namely, in the growth of an educated middle class which seems able to shake itself free from the dust of ages. There is undoubtedly a leaven at work among the people, the result of contact with foreigners and Western literature. It may as yet hardly have taken form or substance, but it is there, and sooner or later will make itself felt.

Meantime, the policy of England should be to give the Anglo-German agreement a wider significance by including Japan and, if possible, the United States; and to declare its object to be to maintain, by force of arms if necessary, the integrity of China, including the Manchurian provinces. Russia has explicitly declared, in answer to the Anglo-German note, that 'from the commencement of the present complications she was the first to lay down the maintenance of the integrity of the Chinese Empire as a fundamental principle of her policy in China.' Let her then act up to it and withdraw her forces from Chinese territory simultaneously with the departure of other Powers. The scheme of settlement which we have sketched would then give China a breathing space of some years and leave her yet a chance of recuperation, if so be that the elements of recuperation still exist. If they do, well and good. Under firm but judicious guidance China would, we believe, in a few years become strong enough to hold her own. If not, then partition, sooner or later, is inevitable.

While we think the preservation of the integrity of China desirable in the interests of the world generally, and of the trade of Great Britain in particular, we do not think this country is in any way called upon to undertake the task single-handed. But we hold that a clear understanding should be come to with those Powers who have been so far working with us. Will they or will they

not join an out and out league to resist partition from whatever quarter? If they will, China may recover. If they will not, then let partition come, and let us look out for ourselves. The worst policy of all is that of drift.

The exciting character of recent events in China has been responsible for the appearance of a large number of books, from which we have selected a few as representative of different aspects or phases of the interminable question. We welcome the publication of a new work by Mr Michie, to which he has given the title, 'The Englishman in China, during the Victorian Period, as illustrated by the Life of Sir Rutherford Alcock.' Mr Michie is so well known, as one of our best authorities on Chinese matters, that any production of his pen is bound to command attention, especially in present circumstances. Anyone who wishes to grasp the full significance of the recent upheaval must make himself familiar with what has gone before; and for this purpose the succinct and yet comprehensive sketch of the rise and progress of British intercourse in China, which Mr Michie has given, will be found of the utmost value. Himself an actor in many of the stirring events he describes, and a close student at first hand of the various phases which the Chinese problem has presented from time to time, he is singularly well fitted to be a guide to his countrymen in the tangle of Far-Eastern politics.

Mr Parker, the author of 'China, her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce,' has every right to come forward as an authority on this subject. He was for many years a consul in China; he has travelled through the length and breadth of the empire; he has visited the neighbouring countries, and studied the international politics of the Far East; and he is a good Chinese scholar to boot. His work is a valuable book of reference on the history, diplomacy, and commerce of China. His chapter on the government of the empire throws light on the recent crisis. He shows that though nominally a despotism, the government is largely imbued with democratic principles; and he brings out with great clearness the fact that the real administration of the country rests, under normal conditions, rather with the provincial authorities than with the hierarchy in Peking. The part played by the Yangtze Viceroys during the recent turmoil, is a practical illustration of this system.

Mr Bigham's 'A Year in China, 1899–1900,' is a work of quite another character. It is a brightly-written, amusing, and instructive book of travel. The author journeyed overland from Canton to Peking, where he resided for a time as a member of the Legation; he travelled in the Yangtsze Valley and Manchuria; and he was fortunate enough to serve with Admiral Seymour's force on the occasion of that officer's unsuccessful effort to relieve the Legations. His experiences therefore were wide and varied, and he recounts them with the skill of a practised writer.

For a comprehensive view of Manchuria, its people, its resources, and its recent history, the commercial man, as well as the student, may well be referred to Mr Hosie's book. The author was for nearly four years consul at Newchwang, and had opportunities, such as few Englishmen have enjoyed, for acquainting himself with the internal economy of this little known province. He has made excellent use of these opportunities, relates his experiences in a pleasant style, marshals his facts in a clear and orderly manner, and brings his account of recent events, illustrated by important documentary evidence, down to October, 1900.

As the title of Mr Savage Landor's work indicates, its pages are mainly devoted to the advance of the Allies on Peking, and the capture of that city. So far as these events are concerned, it is a full and accurate record, and contains much that is new and interesting. But his work labours under the disadvantage of being too long; and the gratuitous insertion in the middle of the narrative of the account of a journey made in the interior of the country in the year 1891 is both confusing and unnecessary. The two volumes are profusely illustrated, and afford a curious instance of the inability of an author to pursue the line of policy which he may lay down for himself. In his preface Mr Savage Landor tells us that 'the aim of this book has been . . . to avoid national or personal prejudice.' Readers will find out for themselves how far short of this pious aspiration Mr Savage Landor has fallen.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 388.—OCTOBER, 1901.

PAGE

ART. I.—THE EMPRESS FREDERICK - - - - - 317

ART. II.—THE REVOLT AGAINST ORTHODOX ECONOMICS - 345

1. Introductory Lectures on Political Economy. (Delivered in 1831.) By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Third edition. London: Fellowes, 1847.
2. The History of Economics. By Henry Dunning MacLeod, M.A. London: Bliss, 1896.

And other works.

ART. III.—THE NATIONAL CONFLICT IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY 372

1. Der Nationalitäten- und Sprachenstreit in Oesterreich. Von Rudolf, Graf Czernin. Vienna: Gerold, 1900.
2. Nationalitäten- und Sprachenstreit in Oesterreich. (Reply to No. 1.) Von Heinrich Hradec. Prague: Rivnac, 1901.

And other works.

ART. IV.—A WELSH POET OF CHAUCER'S DAY - - 396

1. Barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym. [The poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym.] Edited by Owen Jones and William Owen (William Owen Pughe). London, 1789.
2. Wild Wales. By George Borrow. New edition. London: John Murray, 1901.

ART. V.—ANTIQUE GEMS - - - - - - - - 416

1. Die Antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Klassischen Alterthum. Von Adolf Furtwaengler. Three vols. Leipzig and Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1900.
2. Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Par M. Ernest Babelon. Two vols. Paris: Leroux, 1897.

PAGE

ART. VI.—DUELLING IN THE TIME OF BRANTÔME - - 435

Mémoires de Mesire Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de Brantôme, contenans les Anecdotes de la cour de France, sous les rois Henri II, François II, Henri III et IV, touchant les duels. Leyden, 1722.

ART. VII.—THE SOUTH POLE - - - - - - 451

1. The Scientific Advantages of an Antarctic Expedition. By Dr John Murray, the Duke of Argyll, Sir J. D. Hooker, Dr G. Neumayer and others. 'Proceedings of the Royal Society,' vol. lxii, 1898.
2. First on the Antarctic Continent. By C. E. Borchgrevink. London: Newnes, 1901.

And other works.

ART. VIII.—THE MODERN TROUBADOURS - - - - 474

1. Mirèio; Calendau; Lis Isclo d'or; Lou Pouemo dou Rose; Lou Tresor dou Felibrige, &c. By Frédéric Mistral (1830–).
2. The Troubadours at Home. Two vols. By Justin H. Smith. New York and London: Putnam, 1899.

And other works.

ART. IX.—A RELIGION OF MURDER - - - - - 506

The Thugs or Phansigars of India. Compiled from original documents published by Captain W. H. Sleeman. Two vols. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1839.
And other works.

ART. X.—CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE - - - - - 520

The Novels and Tales of Charlotte M. Yonge. London: Macmillan.

ART. XI.—THE PLAGUE - - - - - - - 539

1. The Plague in India, 1896, 1897. Compiled by R. Nathan. Four vols. Simla: Government Printing Office, 1898.
2. Minutes of Evidence taken by the Indian Plague Commission. Three volumes. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1900.

And other works.

ART. XII.—THE ORIGINS OF MODERN SCOTLAND - - 581

A Century of Scottish History. By Sir Henry Craik. Two vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1901.
And other works.

ART. XIII.—THE PARALYSIS OF PARLIAMENT - - - 601

The Parliamentary Debates. Authorised Edition. Fourth Series. Volumes 89 *seq.* 1901.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 388.—OCTOBER, 1901.

Art. I.—THE EMPRESS FREDERICK.

'ALL things,' says Emerson, 'preach the indifferency of circumstances. The man is all.' The man may be all, but circumstances are not wholly indifferent. They are the environment in which human character is developed; they are the framework in which capacity and disposition are displayed. As the rules of a game are limitations which enable the player to show his skill, so are circumstances opportunities for the manifestation of personal ability. We should be inclined, without undervaluing the personal factor, to venture another aphorism. As the circumstances without the man are nothing, so the man without the circumstances is nothing, for how can virtue, or courage, or patience, or kindness display themselves without the circumstances of temptation and danger, of suffering and distress? When a life is lived under circumstances of peculiar and varied severity, the lights and shadows of character are more clearly seen, and the triumph of spiritual forces more decisively displayed. 'Why am I called to suffer as I do?' once asked the late Empress Frederick. 'To show, madam, the victory of the spiritual over the material,' was the reply. The world has naturally dwelt much on the tragic circumstances of the late Empress Frederick's life: they were well known, they appealed forcibly to the imagination and sympathy of mankind; but they did much more than this. They served to unfold the dignity, serenity, and simplicity of one to whom fell trials more bitter and more various than usually fall to the lot of man. It is not our purpose to dilate on these; we shall only touch on them so far as

they indicate character and illustrate the victory of spiritual forces.

One or two preliminary remarks will be useful. The Empress Frederick was born in 1840 and died in 1901. Her life was thus ten years short of the threescore years and ten allotted to man. It covered a period which was marked by startling changes in Europe, the most conspicuous and startling of which affected the land of her birth and the land of her adoption. She was eleven when the Great Exhibition in London was thought to be a sign of new and nobler rivalry among nations. She was thirty when the revival of the German Empire gave effect to the dreams of German unity; and she lived to see the rise of Imperialism among the British people. Her life coincided, that is to say, with movements which gave birth to great political revolutions and indicated important changes of thought. The drift of these changes showed itself in the tendency to substitute large units for small, to obliterate old geographical boundaries, and to combine together men who could claim common blood. Dukedoms, principalities, even kingdoms disappeared, absorbed in empires and monarchies whose strength was that of race. The Kingdom of Italy replaced the assemblage of minor states whose administration had been narrowly tyrannical. The Empire of Germany was established by the lowering of some local prestige. Austria lost her chance of leadership, and Hanover was discrowned. In the British Empire alone have imperialistic ideas coincided, not with a lowering, but a raising, of the dignity of dependencies. But whatever loss or gain of provincial or colonial dignity has accompanied the movement, it has been one which has shown the influence of race and language; the spirit of the movement has everywhere been the same; it has been the movement of peoples. The Kingdom of Italy would never have been revived without the antecedent popular movements. The German Empire would never have been an accomplished fact unless it had coincided with the aspirations of a great and resolute race; and British Imperialism is strong because it is the expression of the law of kinship and of the conviction that ties of blood are stronger than geographical obstacles. The spirit of the peoples has pronounced for union and against separation; it has done so in Europe, as we have

seen; it has done so across the Atlantic in the great war of secession. This spirit was strongly at work in Germany when the Princess Royal of England went there as a bride in 1858.

It is not our province to deal with the political aspects of the late Empress' life. The time to estimate rightly her attitude, or the value of the policy she was supposed to favour, has not yet come. But it is impossible to overlook altogether her relation to the great events which culminated not only in German unity but in the vast increase of German influence over the destinies of the world. Rightly or wrongly, Bismarck regarded her as an opponent. The bitterness of Bismarck has even suggested a question whether any personal offence aggravated a difficult position. So far as we know, no trace or record of such can be found. The Empress Frederick herself desired, as we know, to be, like her mother, 'loved for her own sake.' It was one of her disappointments that she did not win the free and unstinted affection of the German people. We are ourselves inclined to think that there was some exaggeration of facts in her own feeling of disappointment; however this may be, it was not likely that one who so keenly wished to be loved would gratuitously give cause for personal resentment; but we can well understand that her truthfulness and her uncompromising dislike of insincerity may have led her into errors of judgment. An injudicious frankness may be as deeply resented as a studied unkindness. It is not right to compromise truth, but it may be wise to conceal our preferences. It is gracious to do so among those who are sensitive; and, before the wars of 1866 and 1870, Prussia was fuller of sensitive people than it is to-day.

The German race was then feeling its way towards unity, and it had a growing consciousness of high destiny. The man who is conscious of the possession of powers upon which opportunity and achievement have not yet set their hall-mark is frequently the victim of at least moods of sensitiveness. Nations are not unlike individuals in this respect; and the German people at the time of which we speak were quick to suspect, perhaps even in innocent phrases, the suggestion of their inferiority. This may account for the umbrage which was taken at utterances which seem to us void of offence.

The habitual sensitiveness of the German people was at this time increased by the apprehension of danger. They had a difficult task before them; and none knew better than Bismarck how difficult it was, for none knew better than he how to interpret the vague dreams of his countrymen. Knowing this, the anxiety of lofty ambition was his portion; he feared the results of divided counsels; he dreaded a freedom which might hamper the executive; he deemed that the free institutions of England were inappropriate, or at least inopportune, in Germany, as they might delay, if not destroy, the chances of German unity. In the Crown Princess, enamoured as she was of those free institutions, he thought he saw one who believed in Quixotic dreams, who reckoned with a visionary human nature, not with men and women as they really are; and Bismarck, who was never betrayed into idealism in politics, did not believe in rose-water methods. His fear of the miscarriage of the schemes he cherished made him remorseless in his opposition. His fears, we believe, exaggerated the danger. It is possible that the Crown Prince and Princess, whose minds were full of schemes for the social and industrial well-being of Germany, did not at first realise so clearly as Bismarck the force of the imperialistic aspirations of the people. They certainly believed more strongly than he did in the efficacy of the methods of peace and in reliance upon moral and social forces; but neither the Crown Prince nor Crown Princess would have proved weakly credulous or dreamily unpractical, or would have done anything to jeopardise German unity; and we believe that the Emperor Frederick, had his life been spared, would have ruled with a strength and energy which would have surprised those who had only half read his character. Such at least was Bismarck's own opinion: 'Had he lived longer as German Emperor he would have astonished the world by his energy and personal action in the Government.'

We cannot speak with certitude upon contingencies, but we feel sure that the Emperor and the Empress were alive to the meaning of the extraordinary changes of which we have spoken. The conception of what we may call race-imperialism has given rise to new aspirations. The aims which sufficed when men measured the world from the standpoint of the treaty of Vienna and the

balance of power in Europe, are felt to be inadequate to the present condition of the world. The outlook is wider than it was in the days of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The questions are no longer those of merely European politics; they are questions which touch the civilisation and happiness of the world. It is impossible to suppose that this wider outlook would have had no influence upon the mind of a great and wise prince; and it is certain that Bismarck's relations with the Prince and Princess were, after 1886, as Bismarck himself said, 'Quite satisfactory, with him and also with *her*.' When in 1888 the Crown Prince ascended the throne, he addressed Bismarck as the loyal and courageous adviser of his father. 'Bismarck,' we are told, 'was the first to greet his new master, who embraced him with warmth, and kissed him on the cheek.' During the short period of the Emperor's reign, the intercourse between them was cordial and easy; and it is pleasant to read the old statesman's eulogy:

> 'The Emperor Frederick was indeed a very remarkable and estimable man, extremely amiable and friendly, yet none the less far-sighted, intelligent, and decided. He knew himself thoroughly, and a resolve once taken remained unalterable. . . . He was a genuine Hohenzollern of the best kind and most brilliant capacity.' (Poschinger's Life, p. 452.)

In our judgment the cordial relations thus disclosed are in themselves an evidence that in all questions of high policy affecting the unity of the Empire there was no important divergence of opinion between the Emperor Frederick and Prince Bismarck; and that the Empress was loyal to her husband is beyond all doubt. Men will always differ as to methods; and it is allowable to doubt whether Prince Bismarck's were always the best. He had an unscrupulousness which shocked more fastidious minds, and to have differed from him need not always have been wrong. But in loyal devotion and in sincere desire for the welfare of the German Empire and people, the Emperor and Empress were not one whit behind the great statesman himself. That they wished to cultivate friendly relations with England ought not to be counted as a fault, either in England or Germany, by those who read their own times aright.

It cannot be for the interests of mankind that Ger-

many and England should quarrel; their amity is a safeguard of peace and civilisation. The common sorrows which have been theirs during the last few years may be instrumental in clearing away misunderstandings. When England was mourning her Queen, and the King of England his mother, it was the Emperor of Germany who, by his tact, his thoughtfulness, and his self-effacement, soothed and softened the first hours of grief. When the Empress Frederick died, the King of England, grieving for his sister, stood in sympathy by the side of the Emperor who was mourning for his mother. Other trials may await the two great European nations which, more than any others, are the shrines of thought, liberty, and reasonable faith; but however these trials may arise, whether from commercial jealousy or, as we are inclined to believe, from some quick and unexpected common peril, the German and English peoples will never forget that they struggled side by side in the cause of faith in the sixteenth century; that they fought side by side in the nineteenth century against the tyranny which threatened to extinguish the liberties of European nations; and that in the dawn of the twentieth century they mingled their tears over the grave of a bright, able, and philanthropic woman who was a German Empress and an English Princess.

But whatever suspicion and hostility the Empress encountered in the sphere of politics, there was one course of activity which she could pursue without let or hindrance. She could move unchallenged, though not uncriticised, along the pathway of philanthropy; and none will grudge admiration to the devotion with which she pursued it. When the great struggle with France began, the Crown Princess, after showing her interest in the hospital agencies at Berlin, took up her residence at Homburg as being nearer the field of operations. Here she arranged for the reception of the sick and wounded; the barracks were turned into a hospital; a friend and pupil of Florence Nightingale was brought over to organise the nursing; and when the sad convoys of the suffering arrived, the Crown Princess moved about among the lines of beds, with words of encouragement and with little acts of thoughtful kindliness for friend or foe. 'The ladies,' said a French prisoner, 'are all very kind, but none of

them like Madame la Princesse. She never passes without some kind word to the unhappy ones who lie here, and if she sees any that are more wretched than the others she talks the most to them.' But she was not content with any one sphere of helpfulness. Her quick mind and sympathetic heart anticipated the various needs which the war would occasion: she remembered the little comforts which the men at the front would welcome, and she thought no less of the distresses of the bereaved at home.

Her benevolence, moreover, was not spasmodic. There are thousands whose hearts are stirred to sympathy in times of crisis and emotion, but who remain unmoved by the monotonous and commonplace needs of ordinary daily life. There are few who make beneficence a principle of life. To this smaller circle the Empress Frederick belonged. The evidence of this is seen in the variety of her philanthropic interests. The cause of the English governess in a foreign town; the importance of giving women training and education to fit them to support themselves; the need that the system of education should be the best possible, intelligible and systematic, above all framed to develope the intelligence of the pupil; the study of Domestic Hygiene; the proper direction of charity; the discouragement of mendicancy, the assistance of real distress; the encouragement of schools of cookery; homes for student and working girls; the Lette society with its training-school for girls as printing apprentices; the Victoria Lyceum for women students—these and similar institutions and movements attest the width of her sympathies.

Neither sorrow nor sickness stayed her kindly activities; and the genuineness and persistency of her philanthropy are perhaps most clearly marked in the spot which was her home of recent years. The little village of Kronberg will always be associated with the name of the Empress Frederick. Here she fixed her home, and the Schloss Friedrichshof bore in every nook and corner, in design, arrangement, and furniture, the impress of her active mind, the evidence of her forethought and of her taste. Before the building was commenced, the architect was sent upon a pilgrimage of investigation to gather hints and ideas from the best and most famous homes in England and on the Continent. Then the Schloss was built after

much anxious thought, and it grew to its completion under the vigilant eye and increasing interest of the Empress herself. To her it had sacred associations. The thought of her husband was with her in the building. It occupied a site which he had loved; and, when it was completed, the castle was, as it were, dedicated to his memory. Over the main entrance the inscription, 'Frederici Memoriâ,' reminds the visitor of the love which does not forget. The site is pleasing. The Taunus Mountains rise behind the Schloss, and their tree-covered slopes give shelter from the cold winds of the North. At intervals the sloping sides of the hills draw back and leave a little bay in which the sunshine seems to linger. In one of these stands Friedrichshof. Before the house there stretches the wide and corn-laden plain which creeps downwards till it reaches the banks of the Main, and the manufactories on the outskirts of Frankfort. Good roads lead under the shadow of pleasant trees towards Homburg, or, rising upwards, climb the mountain slopes to Altkönig or Falkenstein. These were the hills which to young Goethe were full of grave and alluring mystery. They were to his longing eyes far off and full of earnestness. With his friend Müller at length, in his sixteenth year, he visited Kronberg and climbed the hills which had beckoned to his fancy so long. He has told us how full of glad content his soul was when he mounted the Feldberg and found a quiet shady spot, a calm harbour of refuge, sheltered by the lordly shadows of oak and beech. 'Hier fand ich mich wohl,' he cried; and many another has echoed the cry, as he has looked at the wide expanse of plain, the varied trees, and felt the sweet influence of those silent hills. But as the eye travels over the varied scenery it rests upon symbols of the passion and pathos of human life. To right and left, upon proud spurs of the mountain range, are to be seen castles, some in ruins, the eloquent witnesses of the struggles of the past and the neglect of the present—of the rise and fall of once famous families.

Close at hand, within a mile of Friedrichshof, is the village of Kronberg, dominated by the picturesque castle and keep. The story of the Lords of Kronberg* gives a

---

* 'Die von Kronberg und ihr Herrensitz.' By L. F. von Ompteda. Frankfort, 1899.

touch of historic interest to the beauty of the place, and accentuates the happy accident or the appropriate choice which led the Empress Frederick to select this neighbourhood as her home. In the fifteenth century, Anna von Kronberg (Hartmut) was the representative of a family which had exercised seignorial rights in Kronberg, and in after generations she was looked back upon as the venerable Stammmutter of the house. Her portrait is still to be seen in the Castle Chapel. In the days of the Reformation the Kronbergs identified themselves with the new movement; and the Lord of Kronberg was a valued and esteemed friend of Martin Luther, one, as Luther said of him, 'whose words spring from the depth and fire of the heart and prove that not, as in the case of many, does the word of Christ merely hover on the tongue and ears but dwells earnestly and thoroughly grounded in the heart.' Von Hartmut gave practical evidence of his devotion, for, when the edict was issued which condemned Luther, he resigned the office which he held under the Emperor and the two hundred gulden of income attached to it, unwilling to serve him any longer. The Kronberg family and their whole neighbourhood suffered much in those troublous times, and later in the Thirty Years' War. The population was decimated; the fortunes of the ruling house were wasted by war and persecution; the castle was neglected and fell into decay; the little chapel became a ruin; and we know that from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards the village and neighbourhood sank into insignificance. It was a spot only visited by the casual tourist, who, like Goethe, looked with wonder on the picturesque ruins and with pleasure upon the changeless hills.

At length, under the inspiring auspices of the Empress Frederick, the time of renovation came. The building of Friedrichshof and the keen interest which the Empress took in the surrounding country combined to revive the life and prosperity of the place. Everything which could contribute to its well-being awakened her sympathy. She saw and regretted the sad ruin of the ancient castle, the memorial of glorious days. She greatly wished to obtain possession of it that she might save it from further decay. Difficulties stood in the way. There were legal impediments owing to contradictory claims of proprietor-

ship. The present Emperor William knew and approved his mother's wish. His quick eye appreciated the picturesque and historic interest of the castle. His vigorous intervention swept away the unexpected and incomprehensible official difficulties, and at the end of the year 1891 he presented the property as a Christmas gift to his mother. In thus coming into the Empress Frederick's possession the old castle was restored, in a sense, to its lawful owner; it became the property of one who, through her own and her husband's family, belonged to Von Kronberg lineage. For both the Emperor Frederick and his wife could trace their descent, he through the Von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, the Von Braunschweig-Blankenburg and the Von Oettingen, and she through the Mecklenburg-Strelitz and Von Erbachs, back to Georg III Von Erbach, who was the fifth in direct descent from the old Stammmutter, Anna von Kronberg (Hartmut), the ancestress of eight reigning families.

The affectionate interest which the Empress took in this home of her ancestors was displayed in many ways. She manifested the same spirit of thoughtful kindliness in her quiet life at Kronberg as in the world's eye at Berlin. In the little village which she made her home she identified herself by sympathy and practical benevolence with all who were in need, sickness or suffering; she cared for the health, comfort and welfare of those who were at her door; she provided useful institutions, and when possible she made them beautiful. Her little hospital there was a model in its way: skilled nurses cared for the sick; not only was medical aid at hand, but the healing influence of sun and air was provided, and patients could refresh their tired eyes with the prospect of the bright and broadening plain within the tender shelter of the encircling hills. She took care that the children should have the best and fullest opportunities of education: she renovated the old Protestant church at Kronberg: she helped in the erection of the Roman Catholic church at Homburg: she restored the old castle with generous hand and with a careful reverence for ancient precedent and historic memories; and her care would, if her life had been spared, have been extended to the little chapel of the castle. This wide, practical and sympathetic interest in things and people brought her its own reward.

Englishmen and Germans are alike in their passionate attachment to home. The domestic instinct in both peoples is strong, and is, we believe, a source of national strength. It is therefore a matter not merely for sentimental regret but for serious misgiving when we perceive the decay of domesticity amongst us. There are grave reasons for believing that the love of novel pleasures has superseded the capacity for real home joy which was once both a steadying and inspiring influence in English life. What was once a delight and a pride has become a burden which, if borne at all, is borne with ill-concealed regret and intermittent irritability. Far otherwise was it with the Empress, in whom the domestic spirit was strong. Home was to her an enchanting word. It conjured up visions of that glad, pure home in which she had been reared—the home of the blameless Queen and the self-repressing Prince, who seemed to Tennyson scarce 'other than his own ideal knight.' She never forgot the wise counsels of her venerated father. For her mother she cherished a tender affection, mingled with a most winsome reverence. It was a real agony to her that she could not travel to England in those sad days of last January. 'To think that I could not be with her,' was her cry. To her brothers and sisters she was attached with a constant and unfailing affection. In her early days she was 'the kindest of sisters'; later, she was 'the wisest friend,' besides 'the most tender, loving sister.' The memories of her home were an inalienable inheritance.

The traditions in which the Empress Frederick and her husband had been brought up were of a purer and better sort than is fashionable to-day. As a consequence they reaped the harvest of home joy, of mutual love, and unfailing confidence. It is true that even in this sacred shelter the Crown Prince and Princess did not escape misrepresentation. There was a time when evil tongues dared to say of such a home as theirs that it was marred by domestic discord. These rumours, carelessly or maliciously repeated, caused them deep personal pain.

'I had good reason to know this,' writes one who knew them well, 'as once, after spending an evening with the Princess in Paris in 1867, the Prince took me on one side and . . . said, "Go back and tell them in England how you have

seen us this evening," alluding to the easy, affectionate terms on which they were and which I had witnessed in her boudoir, where their chief conversation had been about the dispositions and characters of their children.'

It is needless to do more than refer to these rumours. No reasonable being believed them then; no one at all believes them now. We know well that from the day the white heather was gathered on Craig-na-ban till the day on which the Emperor breathed his last, still holding close to his breast the hand of his wife, the strong and deepening attachment knew no break, no distrust. From the time when she began to reflect, she realised how large a place simple and genuine love played in human happiness. 'She would like best to be loved for her own sake, as dear Mamma is,' 'She would never marry except for love.' In her marriage she had her wish. 'It is not politics, it is not ambition,' said the young Prince; 'it is love.' The observant eye of that wise and affectionate Prince her father endorsed this. 'The Prince,' so wrote the Prince Consort—'the Prince is really in love, and the little lady does her best to please him.' When the home had been formed, the settling down into domestic quietness did not, with the loss of novelty, weaken their affection. After more than a decade of married life, the Crown Prince, during his visit to the East, collects flowers from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to take home to his wife. To spare her the pain of parting, he rides away like a knight of old to the battlefields of Weissenburg and Wörth without bidding his wife farewell. So strong is her love that she wishes in all things to have his confidence; she only resents Freemasonry because it possesses secrets which a man may not tell his wife. So free were they from domestic discord, that the very strength of their attachment was an annoyance to political opponents. He was the ever chivalrous and magnanimous man, whose heart was in his home, and who yet, in the midst of free and affectionate intercourse, never lost sight of those ideals of courtesy which were natural to him. Danger and anxiety, difficulty and the strife of tongues, the perils of war and bereavements at home, drew these loyal hearts closer to one another, till that day when the broken-hearted wife cried to the cold form of her husband

—'Fritz, Fritz, this is the first time you have ever given me pain.'

Their home-life throughout was one of increasingly affectionate intercourse; and in that home the Empress Frederick exerted an influence which was due alike to her intellectual capacity and to her simpleness of heart. 'She had the brain of a philosopher and the heart of a child,' was the exclamation of one who knew and loved her well. The words were well chosen. The Empress Frederick was not a philosopher; she had not, we imagine, thought out any clear or well-defined scheme of the Universe, or adopted and elaborated the conclusions of any school. We doubt whether in the strict sense of the word she had followed out carefully the evolution of philosophical thought, say, from Kant or Hegel to T. H. Green; but nevertheless there is a sense in which it is true to say that she had the brain of a philosopher. She had read, and, what is more rare, she had thought. She had intelligently co-ordinated her reading, and she possessed a mind which quickly and clearly apprehended the core of a question. Hers was not a mind of that feminine order which is allured by side-issues or diverted by preferences. She could discuss, and keep to the point. In other words, she exchanged ideas. She never wearied you with the irrelevant discursiveness which shallow ostentation loves, and which helpless unintelligence unwittingly inflicts. Her wide reading made her quick to follow the track of an allusion, and to anticipate the suggested quotation. Elaborate explanations were not needful to her. She went unerringly to the central thought. It is well to remember this, as it bears upon a matter we shall allude to later, viz., her religious position. It is enough here to note that her quality of mind was that which regarded the thought as more than the form in which it was presented—not that she did not appreciate beautiful and fitting forms of expression, but that she could recognise truth and rejoice in worthy thoughts, whether meanly or magnificently apparelled.

But if she had the brain of a philosopher, she had the heart of a child. She had not been schooled in a home where it was needful that natural feelings should be carefully concealed: no jealous eyes watched her, eager for opportunities of misinterpretation: she needed not to set

a vigilant non-committal expression upon her tell-tale eyes. Under the affectionate care of a father and mother to whom what was simple and natural was best, and in that English atmosphere which abhors suspicion and views concealment with distrust, she grew up, accustomed to speak frankly, to admire without pretence, to disdain artificiality, and to trust to natural feeling. Was it to be wondered at that a heart which had developed in such surroundings should carry its childlike simplicity with it to the last? This temperament brought to her both strength and weakness. It brought her weakness; for, in the difficult days when she came into conflict with those who had learned in bitter experience the need of watching against any self-betrayal in feature or in speech, her eloquent face and her habit of frank expression put her at a disadvantage. But what was weakness to her at such times was strength to her in the general intercourse of life. People might differ from her, they might disapprove of her liberalism in politics or in theology, but they could not deny the charm of a woman who, though royal in blood and station, preferred the interchange of intelligent conversation to dignified dulness, and whose brightness, vivacity, and naturalness thawed the official ice and liberated the warm currents of human interests. Thus there were drawn to her side men of culture and of thought; the artist, the philosopher, the theologian, the poet felt that they were appreciated for their own sake. Her absolute sincerity and ready sympathy enlisted the affection alike of bourgeois and peasant. The man who, more than all others, was opposed to her on political grounds admitted her ability and her attractiveness. 'She is one of the cleverest women I have met,' said Bismarck; but we think that it was not merely her cleverness which won the admiration of the stern old statesman. Empire-maker though Bismarck was, and, as such, driven to expedients which success alone could justify, he had a large fund of simple, natural affection, and he could admire the straightforward simplicity of heart and character which could confer brightness on the home, though they might be inconvenient in politics.

The Empress Frederick possessed exceptional intellectual gifts. In any walk of life she would have shown herself a remarkable woman. In her young days she

impressed people as a 'charming and unusually gifted child.' The promise of her childhood did not forsake her. She startled Professor Schellbach when he was presented to her in 1858 by the first words she addressed to him. 'I love mathematics, physics, and chemistry.' Herr Von Saucken-Tarputschen wrote of her in 1863, when she visited East Prussia: 'Every one was pleased with the Crown Princess. She possesses a mind of her own' (Poschinger, p. 162). Gustav zu Putlitz, the dramatic writer, said in 1864: 'The Crown Princess is marvellously well read; she has literally read everything and knows everything, more or less, by heart. This young Princess has more than average gifts, and, besides, is more cultured than any woman I know of her age' (ib. p. 201). Renan, in 1869, after discussing with her questions of philosophy, metaphysics, and literature, pronounced her to be 'a very remarkable woman.'

One marked characteristic of her ability was its versatility. Nothing came amiss to her. She loved ethics, and talked with lively interest upon economic and philosophical questions. She delighted in art, and would ransack the shops of places which she visited—in Germany, Italy and England—for things rare and beautiful. She understood, moreover, the value of the things which she admired. She was no haphazard and wasteful collector. She was a true connoisseur. The tradesman who presumed upon her rank to ask an exorbitant price soon found that she knew the business she had in hand. She had a happy gift in painting. She was not deficient in imagination. She showed the author whose opinion of her powers we have just quoted a drawing (or a print of it) which she executed as a memorial of the victories at Düppel. It represented four soldiers, each setting forth a different stage of the battle: one before the attack at dawn; the second, when the standard was raised aloft at noon; the third, the wounded soldier, in the afternoon, listening to the anthem of praise, 'Now thank we all our God'; the fourth showed the evening scene, the victor, laurel-crowned, standing sorrowful by an open grave. In execution she possessed the true artist touch. Her hastily worked water-colour drawings were never careless, still less were they stiff and awkward; they showed that happy freedom and that unerringly correct

instinct which gives the telling strokes—and no more—that are needed to produce a picture.

The intellectual ability which could thus appreciate and aim at producing broad general effects was allied with a careful mastery of details. This showed itself in every work that she undertook. When she devoted herself to the welfare of the soldiers in 1870, she exhibited more than a sentimental interest in the sick and wounded; for she had studied and mastered the conditions needful to secure their comfort. She loved to possess exact information. One illustration of this quality of her mind occurs to us. We cite it more readily because it is characteristic of the two illustrious personages involved—the Empress Frederick and Thomas Carlyle. 'There is one matter,' said the Empress to Mr Carlyle, 'which will interest you. You say in your life of Frederick the Great that he was about the middle height. Now we have his gloves, his boots, and his uniform, and from accurate measurement of these it appears that he was a small man—about my own height.' 'He was about middle height,' was Carlyle's impatient answer. The opinionated obstinacy which declined to be set right did not commend itself to the Empress' mind. Her natural energy showed itself in the unflagging cultivation of her powers of memory and thought. Visitors would find her spinning and at the same time recalling passages from her favourite writers.

To recall the noble thoughts which have been expressed in poetical words was a joy she shared with all cultured minds. She knew by heart large portions of Shakespeare, Goethe and Byron, of the Divina Commedia, and the Idylls of the King. All kinds of books appealed to her. She had a ready appreciation of new as well as old. She would discuss a recent novel as readily as an ancient writer. She took a keen interest in the library she had begun to form at Friedrichshof. The beautiful room had been carefully constructed: the cases that were not yet filled were being slowly supplied with well-chosen and judiciously grouped books. The range of her reading was illustrated by the volumes which were to be found there. Works illustrative of the development of art were plentiful; local histories and biographies found a place; the shelves devoted to Italian literature and to the Renaissance period were well filled; books theological and philosophi-

tal were abundant; and the standard literature of England and Germany was well represented. She welcomed with eager joy any worthy addition to the library which she hoped to make worthy of her house and of her tastes. Her delight in literature added to the pleasure she derived from her travels. She writes from Italy, to her always a land of delight, delineating the beautiful scenery near Ala and the magnificent ruins of Castelbarco; and she finds additional interest in visiting a place where Dante had stayed.

She possessed in high degree the capacity for enjoying life in all its aspects, and the fair earth in all hues and forms. She could delight in new scenes, in cities of ancient and historic splendour; her artist eye could find pleasure in majestic mountain scenery, and in the more restful outlines of some simpler landscape: and yet with an ever-increasing joy she could return to the beauties of Kronberg, and write rejoicingly that though the spring (1895) was late, and 'the oaks and Spanish chestnuts were quite bare, and also the limes,' yet 'maple trees, beech, birch, and larch are lovely in their tender green, and the cherry-blossom is out.' We can feel the tragedy that she, to whom this rich power of joy was given, lived a life in which the glad and beautiful things she loved were withdrawn just after her hand had seemed to grasp them. Her love of nature indeed appeared to strengthen as life drew to its close. In those long weary months of painful wasting, she found solace from her pain and a moment's respite from hideous foreboding among the flowers of her garden and on the roads which climbed through pleasant woods to the shoulders of the hills that surrounded her home.

It was indeed a pathetic sight to see her in her bath-chair moving in the grounds and gardens of Friedrichshof, glancing at the trees with looks of love, or halting for a moment and calling attention to some blaze of colour which shone from fruit-tree, bush or flower-bed beneath the cloudless sky; or in some longer excursion, when a good day enabled her to drive farther afield in her little oak-coloured phaeton with its simple grey cushions, to see the wistful look which came over her as the carriage climbed the mountain-road and her eye rested on greensward, on fresh-foliaged trees, on pines with the tender green of spring telling the tale of renewed life,

on oaks stretching their generous arms over road and meadow, or on some modest flowers which made glints of blue amid the green. Then she would challenge the admiration of her guests as she said, 'This is my favourite drive'; and the little carriage bearing its burden of suffering would make its way along a pleasant road, flanked on one side by rock and tree, but commanding on the other a view of the wide undulating plain, stretching away till it reached the spot where the smoke of Frankfort hung as a faint veil over her daughter's home. Who that has seen her on such occasions can forget the mingled gladness and wistfulness of her gaze as of one who had loved God's beautiful world always and must love it to the end! Who can wonder that she should have spoken of Friedrichshof as her Pisgah, whence she could look upon beautiful scenes whose possession was denied her? Who can blame her if she felt regret as her eyes bade adieu to what had become to her inexpressibly dear? There were some in Germany who thought that for her position she was too English: but those who have seen her as she looked her last upon Kronberg and its pleasant scenery will realise how truly she had made this fair spot of German soil her home.

We are reluctant to touch on the religious belief of the Empress Frederick. There is a tendency among us to treat nothing as sacred, and to submit to the inspection of ignorant curiosity the analysis of the deepest and most awful convictions of the soul. We hesitate to violate the sanctity of the inner life of any; but, on the other hand, so many misstatements and misunderstandings have passed current that we can hardly put aside the question of the religious position of the late Empress without a word.

It should not be forgotten that the early years of the Empress Frederick, the years when her intellectual powers were ripening, coincided with a period of marked and vigorous investigation of things sacred. 'Essays and Reviews' appeared in 1860; Colenso's work on the Pentateuch in 1862; Renan's 'Vie de Jésus' in 1863; Strauss' shorter 'Leben Jesu' in 1864; and 'Ecce Homo' in 1866. It is difficult for us who have passed into calmer times to realise the effect of these works upon the thought of their age, but we forget our widened horizon and our greater

knowledge. There were giants in those days, even though, in the eyes of the increased stature, they do not seem gigantic. The attack which Strauss made upon the credibility of the Gospel story is now seen to have failed in its main contention. No scholar of to-day would for a moment adopt his position or imitate his strategy. The most recent, and one of the ablest, of liberal thinkers in Germany has pronounced the verdict of historical experts upon the method of Strauss when he says: 'Sixty years ago David Friedrich Strauss thought he had almost entirely destroyed the historical credibility, not only of the fourth, but also of the first three Gospels as well. The historical criticism of two generations has succeeded in restoring that credibility in its main outlines.' No doubt we have modified our views about the value of verbal accuracy and the significance which we attach to the idea of credibility; but with more scientific methods put into our hands we have clearer ideas what to expect, and we are less uneasy about the attacks that may be made. We know better what to value and what we can afford to part with. We know what we have gained as well as what we have lost, and we are sure that what we have gained cannot well be taken from us. We know where we are secure from attack, and where attack has ended in disaster to the assailant. For instance, the very existence of miraculous events in any narrative was thought by Strauss to damage the credibility of the whole story, and on the strength of this theory the Gospels were discredited; but

'historical science in this last generation has taken a great step in advance by learning to pass a more intelligent and benevolent judgment on those narratives; and accordingly even reports of the marvellous can now be counted among the materials of history and turned to good account.' (Harnack, 'What is Christianity?' translated by Saunders, p. 24.)

We have not space to follow out this question, nor is it our duty to do so; but a due appreciation of the change that has taken place in the last forty years is necessary to anyone who would estimate rightly the intellectual trials of those whose minds were waking up to the thoughts and methods which were influencing the theological and religious world forty years ago.

The Empress Frederick was married in 1858, and she

moved into Germany when the Tübingen school led the advance of thought, and when Strauss was accepted as a prophet. She possessed a singularly candid and active mind. By birth and intellectual constitution she could not stifle her judgment, and she was obliged to confess that the intellectual force and scholarship belonged to the advanced thinkers; the orthodox were poorly equipped for the conflict; and their weapons were too often the weapons of abuse and misrepresentation of their opponents. Wails over the frightful infidelity which had invaded Christendom were more frequent than steady and well-considered arguments. The religious world had lost its presence of mind. There were men of calm judgment who scorned the falsehood of extremes; but in times of extremes the voices of the moderate count for little. Into such a world of wordy strife the newly-married Princess was introduced. All her intellectual instincts were drawn to the side of those who seemed to be seeking truth fearlessly, while her sympathy was alienated by the spirit of flattery which marked too often the ministrations of the orthodox. Moreover, much of the prevalent religion was mere shibboleth; the formula must be spoken, and if spoken, all was well: the need of a life-pervading faith was too often lost sight of. We have a glimpse of the feelings which the condition of current religious thought and conduct evoked in the words uttered by the Prince Regent (afterwards the Emperor William) in 1858.

'We cannot deny that an orthodoxy has arisen in the Evangelical Church which is not consistent with its fundamental views, in consequence of which it has dissemblers amongst its followers. All hypocrisy—in fact, all Church matters which are employed as means to egoistic ends—must be exposed wherever it is possible. True religion is manifested in the whole conduct of a human being; this must ever be kept in view, and distinguished from outward appearances and display.' (Poschinger, p. 115.)

It is needful to bear in mind these conditions of religious ferment. It was a time of intellectual activity. Men began to realise the significance of the application of a more scientific criticism to the facts of history. They saw that in many quarters religious belief had stiffened into a conventional orthodoxy, the ready tool of a blind

conservatism. The Empress Frederick was intellectually courageous and loved truth. She could not ignore what was going on in the world of thought. She refused to accept banishment from the arena of investigation and inquiry. Spirits like hers have to pay the penalty of their intellectual honesty. There were many such between 1860 and 1870 whose position involved anguish of heart, who were sometimes doomed to be silent for sheer honesty's sake, and who at other times endured the suspicion of unbelief because they rebuked teaching which appeared to them to be the caricature or travesty of truth. But darkness does not last for ever; and there is a thick darkness in which God may be felt. Certain it is that the Empress Frederick emerged from this cloudy period with surer convictions of the greatness of Him who rules over all; but the heightened sense of the greatness of the Supreme Power who fulfils Himself in many ways is accompanied by a hesitation to accept conventional definitions. They may even seem to be profane. How can the human mind grasp even the skirts of the Infinite? How small a part of Him, said the Patriarch, how small a part of Him is heard! There is the agnosticism which exalts, as well as the agnosticism which denies, the Divine. In it there is concealed the faith of a robust and vigorous soul.

But our deepest religious convictions are not the product of speculation and discussion; they are born of experience; and truths which cannot survive the strange vicissitudes of life are convicted of emptiness. In the life of the Empress the trials of the intellect were succeeded by the trials of the heart. In 1866 came, hand in hand, bereavement and anxious weeks of suspense. Prince Sigismund, 'a beautiful boy,' the joy and pride of his parents, died; while the Crown Prince had girded on his sword to take part in the war with Austria. The war was short. A campaign of six weeks, marked by the bloody but triumphant field of Sadowa, sufficed to drive out of the Germanic Federation the only power which could challenge the supremacy of Prussia. Four years later began that other and more terrible struggle which placed the Imperial Crown upon the brows of the King of Prussia. The top-stone was then placed upon the edifice which that master-builder Bismarck had so long laboured

to erect. In the throes of these titanic conflicts the minds of Germans were absorbed by the practical demands of a terrible reality. The urgency of the daily duties of sympathy and service was brought home by the vivid realities of the battlefield, and by ceaseless experience of bereavement. Death, too, which respects not the home of princes, drew aside the sheltering curtain of family affection, and claimed first one and then another. In 1878 Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, died on the anniversary of her father's death. Three months later (March 27, 1879), the Crown Prince and Princess lost, by the death of Prince Waldemar, 'a bright boy of much promise.' In 1884, the Duke of Albany, the much-loved brother, died. Sorer trials were to come. The awful disease, inscrutable in origin and terrible in effects, the cruel malady which never fails to kill and which tortures before it slays, began its insidious work; and the shadow of a tragedy began to creep over the happy and hopeful home.

The late Empress Frederick was called upon to meet those mental trials which are the penalty of active and inquisitive intellects; she was called upon to encounter in uncommon degree and in tragic guise those trials of the heart which are common to all, and finally to face in her own person the fiery trial of prolonged physical pain. No drop of bitterness was wanting in the cup placed in her hands; no kind of sorrow or suffering was spared her. The conflict of doubt, the ache of loss, the sudden snatching away of the joys and dignities of life, the bereavements, the isolation, the horror and agony of tormenting disease—all were hers. Through these strange and painful vicissitudes her grasp upon the realities of life widened and strengthened. The principles of the Christian faith, which find such various expression in the creeds of the Churches, became deep and supreme realities to her; and even the ancient symbols of Christendom were to her venerable monuments of the piety of the past, striving to give expression to eternal truths. Let us hear her own words.

'When people are puzzled with Christianity (or their acceptance of it), I am reminded of a discussion between an Englishman and an advanced radical of the Continent (a politician).

The latter said, "England will become a republic as time advances." The Englishman answered, "I do not see why she should. We enjoy all the advantages a republic could give us (and a few more), and none of its disadvantages." Does not this conversation supply us with a fit comparison when one hears—The days of creeds are gone by, etc.? I say "No." You can be a good Christian and a Philosopher and a Sage, etc. The eternal truths on which Christianity rests are true for ever and for all; the forms they take are endless: their modes of expression vary. It is so living a thing that it will grow and expand and unfold its depths to those who know how to seek for them. To the thinking, the hoard of traditions, of legends and doctrines, which have gathered around it in the course of centuries remain precious and sacred, to be loved and venerated as garbs in which the vivifying, underlying truths were clad, and beyond which many an eye has never been able to penetrate. It would be wrong, and cruel, and dangerous to disturb them; but meanwhile the number of men who soar above the earth-born smallness of outward things continues to increase, and the words in which they clothe their souls' conception of Christianity are valuable to mankind; they are in advance of the rest of human beings, and can be teachers and leaders by their goodness and their wisdom. So were the Prophets and the Apostles in their day, and so are all great writers, poets, and thinkers. That the Church of England should now possess so many of these men is a blessing for the nation, and the best proof that the mission of the Church on earth has not come to an end.'

Such were her thoughts in the summer of 1884, and before the darkest shadows had begun to gather over her life. In 1887 the little cloud rose upon the horizon. During the previous autumn the Crown Prince took a drive at Monza with the King and Queen of Italy. The treacherous air of the Brianza brought on a severe cold, and the Crown Prince's throat 'never recovered from the exposure.' In January, 1887, he had a presentiment of the coming evil. His throat obstinately refused to yield to treatment. 'The future?' he said. 'No, that belongs to my son: my time has passed away.' He felt the signs of final change. 'I am an old man: I stand with one foot in the grave' (Poschinger's Life, p. 434). In May it was surmised that the throat was the subject of a malignant growth. In June the Prince took part in the

Jubilee festivities in England. The eyes of the enthusiastic crowds, which gave their first look to the Queen whom they loved, gave their second to the tall and stately figure, conspicuous in white uniform, of the man who bore himself so self-forgetfully, although the hand of death was already upon him. A few months later there was a gleam of hope. On September 28 the Crown Prince reported that 'his convalescence was in full swing.' In November the fatal verdict was given. 'Is it really cancer?' the Crown Prince asked. When he heard that the case was hopeless, he paused for a few moments, and then began a conversation on other matters. The sublime self-repression which had been his habit stood him in good stead now. His calmness did not desert him.

In March, 1888, the Emperor William died, and the Crown Prince succeeded to the duties and responsibilities of Empire. No Prince ever ascended a throne under such strange and tragic circumstances. He took the reins of power, knowing and recognising that death was seated by his side.* With the full knowledge of the tragedy which awaited her, the Empress wrote:—

'There is a silver lining in every cloud; and the kind interest showed from far and near, the earnest sympathy, has touched the Emperor and me very deeply, and we are full of gratitude which I would fain express in better chosen words. Certainly we cannot unriddle the mystery of pain and sorrow, nor of any of the mysteries of which our fate is made up, and which surround us from the cradle to the grave! Still we can catch the gleams of the Heavenly Love, and be grateful for the brightness. We can rejoice that the spring of pity, compassion and of kindly, brotherly feeling between human beings is not dried up in men's hearts, and we can bless Him who implanted these feelings in our frail natures so full of contradiction and imperfection.'

This was written on the last day of March, 1888. The

---

* With reference to a statement often made at the time, to the effect that the Crown Prince, in his existing condition, was not legally entitled to succeed, it may be well to quote the following:—

'The report which emanated from England, that the Crown Prince on returning from Ems had renounced his right of succession to the throne in favour of his son, is characterised as absolutely false by Prince Bismarck in his 'Reminiscences.' The fable that an incurable disease was a bar to succession, he declared, had not the slightest foundation either in the statutes of the House of Hohenzollern or in the Prussian constitution. (Poschinger, p. 435.)

reign which had just begun did not last a hundred days. In these days of trial the Empress was constantly at the Emperor's side. She acted the part, so difficult and so open to misconstruction, of protector to the invalid. She was the breakwater between him and the tide of business and the fretting waves of minor worries. Yet she incurred no blame; she turned aside the edge of all suspicion; she sheltered the Emperor without betraying his duty or belittling his dignity. Her happy tact and capacity facilitated the transaction of affairs of State without undue interference or the lowering her husband's prestige. She was the nursing wife, but she was also the Empress, who recognised the claims of public business, and who sought to make the position easy to the Emperor, as well as to the Emperor's responsible Ministers. Here again we may quote Prince Bismarck:—

'At the time of his (the Emperor Frederick's) government I was always on the best of terms with the Emperor Frederick and his consort, the Empress Victoria. Any differences of opinion between us were discussed with Their Majesties in the most friendly way. The Empress Victoria is, moreover, very clever and decided. When I appeared with some business for her imperial consort, she frequently entered the sick room before me to prepare him and gain him over for my project' (p. 450).

Thus in nursing, in acting as friend of the State and of the home, the weary days—so slow and yet so swift—passed, and the shadow deepened from week to week. The end came in June. The Emperor was conscious to the end, and kept his wife's hand within his clasp to the last.

With his death the dream of large and worthy work on a great stage passed away. It was not a husband only that the Empress lost, it was a throne; and, even more, it was the sphere of noble and responsible activities—the opportunity of playing her part in the great world for which her gifts and her training had fitted her. To imagine that such a tragedy involved no disappointment and brought no regrets would be absurd; but few could have borne the bereavement more unselfishly or the disappointment more bravely. Her telegram to the Empress Augusta shows how her thoughts for another raised her above the egotism of sorrow. 'She who was so proud

and happy to be the wife of your only son mourns with you, poor mother. No mother ever had such a son. Be strong and proud in your grief. Even this morning he sent you a greeting.' Self-forgetful as she was, the blow was a heavy one, and left her dazed, paralysed, and robbed of her wonted energy; but, characteristically, she realised that it was not right to succumb to the paralysing influence of sorrow. 'I am very anxious,' she wrote in February, 1889, 'to do my duty, so I hope the energy will return to enable me to do so.' Her hope was fulfilled. She triumphed over the temptation to abandon herself to sorrow: she escaped the egotism of grief, for in the midst of her grievous trouble the remembrance of the shadows which darkened other lives rose before her at the bidding of the trained sympathy of her heart. 'It is wrong to complain,' she wrote, 'it is wrong to complain of one's own lot when there is so much suffering and sorrow in the world, and so many noble examples of how to bear them.' (February 24th, 1889.) The same spirit makes her say later (January, 1893):—

'Thirty-five years ago, on 25th of January, I left my beloved home to belong to the kindest and best of husbands. On this 25th of January, my last daughter and companion leaves me, and I remain a lonely widow. But,' she adds, 'there is so much to be thankful for, and I rejoice in the joy of others so truly.'

Two daughters of the Queen, both widowed, gave, on one notable occasion, a conspicuous example of this power to joy in the joy of others. The Diamond Jubilee is still in our memories. It was the last great outburst of national and imperial loyalty which greeted the ears of our late much-loved Queen. As we watched the procession which defiled, splendid and various, through the London streets, we felt our hearts suddenly smitten with the impulse of tears, for there, amid the dazzling colours and pompous circumstances of deep and exuberant joy, appeared two lonely women who had laid aside, for that day, the heaviest drapery of their sorrow, and who now, with a high courage worthy of their race, moved in the procession forgetful of their own broken and bereaved lives, proudly rejoicing in their mother's welcome, and nobly sharing in the nation's joy. Among the many brave soldiers and

sailors, generals and veterans, who had fought for the Queen, there were not any braver than the Empress Frederick and the Princess Beatrice, who endured the agony and the joy of that day with self-forgetful and smiling face.

'The weight of lonely, hidden grief often feels heaviest when all surroundings are in such contrast. And yet the heart of man is so made that many feelings find room in it together; so gratitude and thankfulness mingle with memories so sad that they can never lose their bitterness; but it would indeed be a shame to complain when there is so much cause for joy.'

Thus the Empress Frederick wrote in reference to the great ceremonial in which she 'gladly and thankfully' joined 'with proud heart' as a 'daughter of our beloved Queen.'

During her long and painful illness the Empress Frederick suffered much. However we may battle with pain, whatever skill and patience we may summon to mitigate human agony, the mystery of suffering will remain. The key may be put into our hand when we pass out of this world of shadows. Meanwhile we know no better solution than that which Christianity supplies —that life is education and the object of education is character. Understood thus, all classes of trial may work for good; or, to quote words * which brought the Empress Frederick some comfort—

'All are stairs
Of the illimitable House of God.
. . . . And men as men
Can reach no higher than the Son of God,
The perfect Head and Pattern of Mankind.
The time is short, and this sufficeth us
To live and die by; and in Him again
We see the same first starry attribute,
'Perfect through suffering,' our salvation's seal,
Set in the front of His humanity.
For God has other words for other worlds,
But for this world the word of God is Christ.'

Her simplicity and kindly thoughtfulness remained to the last. When in a spasm of agony she uttered a

* From Ugo Bassi's sermon, in 'The Disciples.'

cry and seized convulsively the nurse's hand, she gently apologised, 'I am so sorry; I am afraid I hurt you.' The influence of such a bearing was inspiring. 'I have only been with her for a week,' said the nurse, 'but she has filled me with "higher ideals," and I am going back resolved to be a better nurse than ever.' As the Empress was passing away, a butterfly floated into the room, hovered awhile over the bed, and, when the last breath was breathed, spread its wings and flew forth into the free air again. The incident seemed symbolic.

The tragedy of her life may, by and by, obscure the memory of her abilities, of the vigour of her mind, the width of her reading, and her skill in various branches of art; but, if these should be forgotten, the memorials of her active benevolence will remain in the many philanthropic institutions associated with her name. But most of all will she be remembered as an heroic-hearted woman who, endowed with singular capacity for enjoyment, was called upon to suffer much; who, loving all beautiful things, was early forced to surrender them; who, fitted to shine in active life, was suddenly doomed to comparative inaction; who suffered with unfailing courage; who in manifold disappointments never lost cheerfulness and hope; and who, in a life of singular vicissitudes, never checked her overflowing kindliness, and kept her simplicity of character unspoilt to the last.

Art. II.—THE REVOLT AGAINST ORTHODOX ECONOMICS.

1. *Introductory Lectures on Political Economy.* (Delivered in 1831.) By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Third edition. London: Fellowes, 1847.
2. *The History of Economics.* By Henry Dunning MacLeod, M.A. London: Bliss, 1896.
3. *Principles of Political Economy.* By Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D. London: Kegan Paul, 1891.
4. *The Unseen Foundations of Society.* By the Duke of Argyll, K.G., K.T. Second edition. London: John Murray, 1893.
5. *Free Exchange.* By the late Sir Louis Mallet, C.B. Edited by Bernard Mallet. London: Kegan Paul, 1891.
6. *Comment se résoudra la Question Sociale.* Par G. de Molinari. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1896.

In the discussions of a science professing to deal with phenomena falling within the experience of everyday life, there is an ultimate appeal to the tribunal of an intelligent laity. The man of the world, it is true, cannot always be induced to interest himself in pure theory. As a rule, he is content to allow the contending parties to fight out the battle for themselves. He thinks, probably rightly, that in an intellectual conflict the better opinion will in the end prevail.

What, however, is to be done where the combatants are inclined to ignore each other, and where there seems to be no prospect of bringing the discussion to an issue? This appears to us to be the case in the controversy raised by some of the authors mentioned above, respecting the views held by the dominant school of English economists. The plain man, if he has any knowledge that there is a controversy pending, is disposed, in a case like the present, to side with orthodoxy; and orthodoxy, he assumes, is here represented by the endowed profession of economic teachers. The profession is a close corporation. Many, if not all of its members, stand or have stood in the relationship of teacher and pupil, and each successive generation of students has to take its professors as it finds them. These are the conditions, we take it, under which a so-called national school of opinion is formed. If,

as of course is possible, the reasoning of this school is based on a false foundation, its authority is still so firmly established that it might, almost unchallenged, rear a vast and elaborate edifice of doctrine, quite as learned, but, at the same time, quite as futile as the speculations of the mediæval schoolmen. A body of opinion so created might long run parallel to, and yet independently of the experience and common-sense of mankind. The man of affairs goes his own way; he does not consult the economists, and he has therefore no occasion to test their teaching by the touchstone of experience. The schoolmen, on the other hand, are perfectly happy, discussing, in the official journal of the profession, subtle and academic themes in a terminology passing (as one of them has remarked) 'the extreme limits of popular phraseology and comprehension.' A vigorous attack on the strong position of the established authorities has long been in evidence. For some reason, which is not very easy to discover, little or no notice has been taken of it, even by those who are assailed. In a quarrel of this nature the public only begins to show interest when the person attacked is drawn into reprisals. When no counter-attack is made, the controversy is apt to be ignored, except by a comparatively small number of independent students. Our intervention in a dispute which of necessity is somewhat technical seems to require this apology.

The anticipatory criticisms of Whately, the grave misgivings expressed by Mallet, the strenuous but less technical attack of the Duke of Argyll, the large acceptance obtained by Professor Perry's works in America (where their author has penetrated the charmed circle of the professoriate, and where his 'Elements of Political Economy' has gone through eighteen editions), and the elaborate destructive and constructive work of Mr Henry Dunning MacLeod, seem to us to constitute a body of opinion which cannot be passed over in silence. We shall endeavour to approach the subject in an independent but, we hope, a candid spirit, and from the point of view and in the interest of the average layman. The criticisms above cited, have, we confess, made an impression on us. They are of sufficient weight to give rise to a suspicion that we are, as Mr Jevons formerly remarked, living in a fool's paradise with regard to economics. The dominant

school may have a complete answer and may be able to recover our allegiance. In view of their silence, however, we feel justified in seeking to engage the attention of the laity on behalf of the less authoritative view. If our action has the result of obliging those who are in possession of the public ear to defend their position, and to expose the fallacies of their critics, our object will have been gained.

'The first systematic attempt,' says Professor Marshall, 'to form an economic science on a broad basis was made in France, about the middle of the eighteenth century, by a group of statesmen and philosophers under the leadership of Quesnay. . . . The corner-stone of their policy was obedience to Nature.' They insisted that restriction was artificial and that liberty was natural. The idea of liberty was taking possession of the minds not only of philosophers but of the people. The physiocrats gave a scientific sanction to the system of freedom of industry and enterprise, which, in the era then dawning, was about to replace 'the cruelty of the yoke of custom and rigid ordinance' ('Principles of Economics,' p. 91). Adam Smith 'developed the physiocratic doctrine of free trade with so much practical wisdom, and with so much knowledge of the actual conditions of business, as to make it a great force in real life; and he is most widely known both here and abroad for his argument that Government generally does harm by interfering in trade' (ibid., p. 56).

It would be interesting and, we believe, profitable, at another time, to analyse this apotheosis of the conception of liberty. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out that enterprise, expansion, change, the principal manifestations of liberty, are characteristic of only a very small portion of the human race. To speak generally, the idea has made itself felt in western and modern civilisation only. The evolutionary theory of creation, if applied in explanation of our intellectual growth, suggests the hypothesis that where the mental vitality of the members of a community is active, there is a rapid accumulation of experience in favour of substituting free initiative for 'the yoke of custom and rigid ordinance.' Hence the idea of freedom of opinion, of speech, of migration, and of trade, has become in a measure sacrosanct. This assumption has at times led the vulgar into wild excess, because they have

not realised the correlative truth which experience confirms quite as surely, if not as emphatically, namely, that liberty consists in self-imposed restraint necessitated by the mutuality of our social environment.

The old so-called classical economists were deeply impressed by the advantages resulting from an observance of the maxim *laisser faire, laisser passer*. It is alleged that they enunciated the doctrine of free exchange as if it had the force of a categoric imperative for all human conduct. This system, they thought, gave the largest amount of satisfaction to human motive, and therefore led to the greatest production of wealth. It is alleged, however (and undoubtedly the habitual language of the school justifies the allegation), that their conception of human motive and of wealth was narrow, their interpretation of human nature too commercial. From their doctrine there has been a reaction, but, as it appears to us, the uncertainty as to what is meant by 'motive' (or, what is practically the same thing, 'human nature') and 'wealth' still continues.

Professor Marshall, for instance, conceives that economics is largely concerned with the measurement of motives; and in this connexion he speaks of motives as high and low, as self-regarding and not self-regarding—forms of expression which seem to imply the right to use the moral imperative. In using a calculus of human motive, he cannot avoid characterising motives in terms of moral praise and blame. The object of economics is not to study the phenomena of exchange, as a subject from which all consideration of motive can be rigorously excluded. On the contrary, 'the *raison d'être* of economics as a separate science is that it deals chiefly with that part of man's action which is most under the control of measurable motives' (ibid., p. 93). At the same time he admits that 'the highest motives are for the most part non-measurable and evade the economic calculus,' not, perhaps, permanently, for 'the range of economic measurement may gradually extend to much philanthropic action' (ibid., pp. 81, 83). By the procedure adopted, he is able to make his economic man a more human figure than that presented by the older economists; but *ex hypothesi* the picture is not complete, by reason of the impossibility of including the 'higher motives.'

Whately and the school to which this article is designed to draw attention, evade this difficulty and declare that, as economists, they have nothing to do with the motives which determine exchange. They assume that there are motives, but the consideration and analysis of these are for the sciences of psychology and ethics. A method which proposes to deal with some motives only is not satisfactory. All motive, it is represented, is the subject of moral science, just as all exchange is the subject of economic science.

A justification of the view, attributed, though not without protest on their part, to the older economists, that an economic law has the force of an imperative, might be found in a frank adoption of an experimental and evolutionary theory of ethics. If economists wish to claim for the generalisations of their science an authority concurrent with that of ethics and religion, they can only establish that pretension by proving morality to be purely derivative from that human experience of which exchange is no inconsiderable portion. This suggestion opens out a large field of speculation which it is impossible to survey here in any detail. It is the less necessary because no English economist, as far as we are aware, has ventured to put forward this argument. A certain approach towards it has, it is true, been made by an ingenious French economist, M. de Molinari. Starting from the assumption that man acts under an impulse to satisfy his wants with the least possible effort, he points out, if we may illustrate his theory by citing an important instance, how, in certain states of society, this law of the economy of effort impels men to satisfy their wants at the expense of others, in other words by warfare. At this period of man's history even the most aggressive forms of private and public warfare are regarded with moral approbation. When, however, industry becomes necessary to feed the demands of a military system, and when war ceases to be profitable, industry and the subdivision of industrial effort by means of exchange become a competing alternative to warfare. The same law of least effort is tending now to make warfare give place to the more economical arts of peace.

M. de Molinari applies the same reasoning to all human action, and—to take an instance relative to our

present theme—he suggests that the same principle of competition is making self-government or liberty appear more efficacious in furthering the aspiration of a civilised people, and therefore more in accordance with the law of least effort than the cumbersome and expensive system of governmental regulation. Out of this experience, by the aid of the laws of competition and of the economy of effort, the conceptions of right and of duty or morals have been evolved. The solution of social difficulties, he argues, is to be found in bringing the wholesome force of competition to bear on all our social arrangements, more particularly on those governmental regulations which, resting on force and not on the free choice of the governed, are liable to become stereotyped and oppressive. Such an argument attempts to solve, in one way, the controversy as to the ethical aspects of economics. It practically identifies economic and moral science.

Returning now to the history of economic speculation in this country, we may say without disrespect that even the powerful and acute intellect of Adam Smith was to a certain extent a creature of circumstances. The 'Wealth of Nations' is an attempt to justify, on philosophical grounds, one aspect of an instinctive conviction, which, as a general proposition, was already making itself felt in the minds of all men. Full justice has been done to the great revolution of opinion to which Adam Smith's work so materially contributed. It was not possible, however, for one man to surmount all the intellectual difficulties of the situation. It is characteristic of the incomplete nature of his system, that, although his great work is called the 'Wealth of Nations,' he has nowhere formulated a precise definition of wealth. In the course of his discussion he sets forth more than one contradictory conception on this point. He says (Book I, cap. xi) that wealth is 'the annual produce of land and labour.' In his enumeration of wealth, however, he includes many objects which are not the produce of land and labour, e.g. promissory notes and labour itself.

Mr MacLeod, arguing that wealth, or rather value (the aspect of wealth with which in his view economics deals), consists in exchangeability, finds it easy to discover a sanction for this view in Smith's somewhat vacillating and merely descriptive treatment of the subject, as when

he remarks that 'a guinea may be considered as a bill. . . If it could be exchanged for nothing, it would, like a bill upon a bankrupt, be of no more value than the most useless piece of paper.' 'Thus, after all,' says Mr MacLeod, 'Smith comes back to Exchangeability as the real essence of value. These two fundamental conceptions of wealth, as "the annual produce of land and labour," and "exchangeability," do not coincide'; and he goes on to explain the origin of the controversy, which we are now endeavouring to describe, in the following terms:—

'The utter incongruity of ideas in the beginning of Smith's work with those in the latter half has often been observed. Ricardo has adopted the former half of the work, and Whately the latter. Ricardo adopts Labour as the essence of wealth and value, and Whately adopts Exchangeability. Mill's work is the development of Ricardo's views, whilst this work [MacLeod's "Elements of Economics"] is the development of Whately's In accordance with the unanimous doctrine of antiquity, Exchangeability is adopted as the sole essence and principle of wealth; and it is shown that there are three orders of Exchangeable Quantities, exactly as the ancients said, and as Smith has admitted.' ('Elements of Economics,' Vol I, p. 80.)

Let us now endeavour to present a few of the leading issues raised by the school of Whately. Some of them, we are disposed to think, have been too lightly dismissed by the authorities in possession.

Lecturing in 1831 as Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, Archbishop Whately declared (Preface, pp. viii, ix):—

'It has been my first object to combat the prevailing prejudices against the study; and especially those which represent it as unfavourable to Religion. . . . By accepting the endowment of a Professorship of Political Economy, the University may be regarded as having borne her public testimony against that prejudice: and . . . has implied the full conviction of a Body which is above all suspicion of indifference to Christianity that there is at least no discordancy between that and the pursuits of the political economist.'

After a passing allusion to the formal condemnation (then only very lately rescinded) of the theory of the earth's motion, as at variance with Scripture, he proceeds:

'Throughout Christendom this point has now, it appears, been

conceded; but that the erroneous principle—that of appealing to Revelation on questions of physical science—has not yet been entirely cleared away, is evident from the objections, which most of you probably may have heard, to the researches of Geology.'

These sentiments, uttered more than sixty years ago, may seem now out of date, but *mutatis mutandis* they are still capable of a present-day application. The objection to treating economics as the separate and independent science of exchange is not now made on the ground that it is contrary to revelation, but rather on the ground that it is contrary to certain *a priori* conceptions of man's moral and artistic nature. The religious prejudice perhaps is dead, as witness the following expression of opinion by a distinguished contemporary churchman, Canon Scott Holland :—

'We have learnt by sharp experience,' he says, 'how totally unfit the Church is to anticipate or to control the movements of knowledge. Her unfitness has proved that any such attempt was in excess of the intention which created her. And it would be no less stupid than it would be fatal to re-enact this blunder in the department of Economic Science, just at the very moment when she has discovered her mistake in all other regions of knowledge.' ('Econ. Review,' Jan. 1895, p. 3.)

But we have still to combat the prejudice that economics is in some way a usurpation on ethics, a prejudice which permeates the views of Ruskin, and to which it appears that Mr Marshall, as above quoted, has to some extent yielded.

In this sense Whately has also remarked :—

'I could wish, therefore, that the complaint against Political Economists, of confining themselves to the consideration of wealth, were better founded than it is; for there is nothing that tends more to perplexity and error than the practice of treating of several different subjects at the same time, and confusedly, so as to be perpetually sliding from one inquiry to another, of different kinds' (p. 19).

'In fact,' he says elsewhere, 'the whole question respecting the desirableness and ultimate advantages or disadvantages of wealth, is, as I formerly remarked, only obliquely and incidentally connected with Political Economy; whose strict object it is to enquire only into the nature, production, and distribu-

tion of wealth; not its connexion with virtue or with happiness' (p. 45).

So far the Archbishop aims at freeing the study of economics from the control of theological and moral considerations. The science, he has already explained, has a definite subject-matter of its own. It is, in fact, the science of exchanges. The distinguished prelate whose words we are quoting would have been the last man to disparage the authority of theology or morality. He would certainly have admitted the legitimate title of these sciences to reign supreme over human conduct. Man's desire to 'exchange' is largely prompted, coloured, and controlled by theological and moral considerations. With that, the science of economics has, in the Archbishop's view, no concern. It has nothing to do with motives, but only with the exchanges to which motives give rise. The exchangeability of things is a phenomenon warranting the creation of a separate science, just as the phenomenon of heat or of motion demands in each case a separate scientific treatment.

Having vindicated for economics its independence of the rule of the theologian and the moralist, he proceeds to attain 'his first object' by combating the prejudices of the man of the world. Looking at the present position of the science, a disciple of Whately might be justified in adopting the argument which he then used. The comparative indifference of the man of the world, he would say, and the comparative discredit into which the study of economics has fallen, are the result of the neglect by economists of the rules laid down by the Archbishop. In the hands of its present professors, economics is not a science; it is a controversy. Its teachings are strained hither and thither by religious, moral, and political considerations. This may be due to a variety of causes. It may be due to the fact that economists do not clearly define the subject-matter with which their science is to deal, that they have attempted to dogmatise in regions which properly belong to other branches of study, or that by hesitation and compromise they have not attained truth, but have merely abandoned sound theory when it seemed for the moment irreconcilable with the prejudices and practice of ordinary men.

Such a critic would insist that while, on the one hand,

economics has been too ambitious, in seeking to promulgate an applied science before the pure science has been defined and developed, it has also been too humble, for, when detected in making erroneous applications of formulæ only imperfectly thought out, instead of returning again to examine definitions and first principles, it has sought to evade difficulties by the admission of exceptions, a fatal device when we are attempting to formulate general laws. The result has been that the man of the world is contemptuous of a so-called science which is tentative, apologetic, ready to compromise and to riddle with exceptions the general laws which it propounds. The almost insuperable tendency of its professors to claim for it a practical as well as a scientific authority has brought it into conflict, while still in a confused and immature condition, with religion and morality and with the demands of political expediency. When the plain man of the world finds his own special province invaded by theorists, armed with a body of maxims which do not claim the universal validity of exact science, he not unnaturally remarks that his own weapon of common-sense is quite as useful for the conduct of affairs as the more pretentious doctrines of a science that is unable to frame any absolute general laws.

If this is all that economics can do, it is merely a superior sort of common-sense; and every man of ordinary intelligence who looks a few yards in front of his nose is entitled to call himself a political economist. In this sense, Archbishop Whately remarks, 'Political Economists are far more numerous than is commonly supposed' (p. 73). A physician who treats a malady in an unscientific fashion is still said to be practising medicine. Buonaparte, who detested the name, was still a political economist when he endeavoured to destroy the trade of Europe with a view to gain advantage for his own country. He had failed, the Archbishop suggests, to realise the truth of the maxim that in an exchange both sides secure a profit. His political economy was in fact 'erroneous.' Singularly enough, the attempt and failure of Napoleon to make war profitable have been selected by M. de Molinari as an illustration of his theory that to seek profit by war is an economical action in process of being displaced by the less onerous methods of industry and exchange. At the risk

of appearing hypercritical, we venture to suggest that, in describing Napoleon's practical economics as 'erroneous,' the Archbishop is in danger of transgressing his own maxim. The formula used by M. de Molinari enables him to say that war is uneconomical, is in fact condemned by the dictates of the 'Law of Least Effort'; but the epithet 'erroneous' seems to import considerations with which economics has nothing to do.

In the following quotation will be found a certain reconciliation between the views of the evolutionary economist as represented by M. de Molinari and the Christian Archbishop.

'Anatomy and physiology,' the Archbishop remarks (p. 80), 'are found, the more they are studied, to throw more and more light on the stupendous wisdom of contrivance which the structure of organised bodies displays—in short, to furnish a most important portion of Natural Theology. And it might have been anticipated that an attentive study of the constitution of Society would bring to light a no less admirable apparatus of divinely-wise contrivances, directed no less to beneficial ends; that, as the structure of a single bee is admirable, and still more so that of a hive of bees, instinctively directing their efforts towards a common object, so the Divine Maker of the human bodily frame has evinced no less benevolent wisdom in his provisions for the progress of Society; and that, though in both cases the designs of Divine Wisdom are often counteracted by human folly—by intemperance or neglect as far as relates to the body, and by mistake or fraud in respect of the community—still, in each case, attentive study may enable us to trace more and more the designs of a wise Providence, and to devise means for removing the impediments to their completion.'

Later, Dr Whately dwells (pp. 93, 94) on the 'provisions made by Divine Wisdom,' whereby 'what may be called the instincts of Man lead to the advancement of Society.'

'And here,' he continues, 'I must take occasion to remark, that I do not profess to explain why things were so ordered that any advancement at all should be needful—why mankind were not placed at once in a state of society as highly civilised as it was destined ever to be. The reasons for this are probably unfathomable by us in this world.'

The difference between the French economist and the English Archbishop is not really wide. Where Whately

sees Providence, the modern economist sees the working of the evolutionary principle. To the religious mind, evolution, like every other law of nature, will appear to be an emanation of Providence, to be conceived only by an act of faith; but, if we may rely on the quotation already given from Canon Scott Holland, the theologian must be content to follow the secular history of the origins of life, morals, and societies according to the method of the physical sciences. The 'unfathomable' mystery of why the world exists at all remains an undisputed field of speculation for the professor of theology. The manifestations of life and of consciousness, which constitute the history of creation and society, form the equally undisputed territory of the physical sciences.

While the speculations advanced by M. de Molinari may appear to rest too much on unverified hypothesis, the teleological argument of the Archbishop, which after all is only put forward by him incidentally and hypothetically, will not in the present day obtain any general acceptance. It results, therefore, that, if economics is to attain to the rank of an independent science, we must discover some property of wealth which permits us to treat it, like the phenomenon of gravitation, entirely apart from the uses to which it is put in human society.

This property Whately and his school think they have discovered in the attribute of exchangeability. 'Adam Smith,' says the Archbishop, 'has designated his work a treatise on the "Wealth of Nations," but this supplies a name only for the *subject-matter*, not for the *science* itself.' He then states that his view, as already indicated by our quotation from Mr MacLeod, 'does not essentially differ from that of Adam Smith; since in this science the term wealth is limited to *exchangeable* commodities; and it treats of them so far forth only as they are or are designed to be the subjects of exchange' (p. 6).

'This limitation of the term Wealth to things contemplated as exchangeable has been objected to on the ground that it makes the same thing to be wealth to one person and not to another. This very circumstance has always appeared to me the chief recommendation of such a use of the term; since the same thing *is* different to different persons' (p. 7).

This last consideration, as we understand it, is fundamental to the whole conception of value as presented by

this school. Value is not a property residing absolutely in the commodity, resting on utility or cost of production or any similar intrinsic quality. Value is a quality imputed to objects by persons who regard them with a view to exchange; and it is precisely because such estimates differ that exchange becomes possible and is able to confer a profit on both parties concerned. The orthodox school, instead of analysing exchange, treat utility as the fundamental element in value, and go on to refine upon it with great ingenuity and industry. For ourselves, however, we must confess to being unable to appreciate the importance of the theory of marginal utility which has been developed with such infinite pains by Professor Marshall. It appears to us to be a rather cumbersome way of introducing a number of obvious and, for the purpose of a complete definition, irrelevant truisms. It attaches an exaggerated importance, as it seems to us, to the fact that demand slackens as satiety is approached. If, as is alleged, utility, conceived of as an intrinsic property of valuable things, is too narrow a foundation on which to rest a theory of value, it will follow that 'marginal utility' must partake of the same defect. In every appreciation of values by the two parties to an exchange there is a mental summation of profit and loss; and the doctrine of marginal utility formulates merely one narrow and incomplete aspect of this fact. All that it is important to notice is that a man's appreciations of value will vary hour by hour, and that *ex hypothesi* they will differ from the appreciations of the person with whom an exchange is effected.

Our appreciation of value therefore is like the views in a kaleidoscope. It is never constant. If we attempt to make it constant by saying it depends on the intrinsic utility of the commodity, we are met by the difficulty that between men with well-balanced minds no exchange could ever take place, for each would see the same value in the same objects. There could then be no expectation of profit from exchange, and the whole subject-matter of economics would cease to exist. If, in our endeavour to escape from this dilemma, we say that economics 'is on the one side a study of wealth, and on the other, and more important side, a part of the study of man' (Marshall, p. 1), we fall at once under the ban of the Archbishop's objection to 'treating of several different subjects at the same

time, and confusedly, so as to be perpetually sliding from one inquiry to another.' The ambiguity of the term wealth, covering moral well-being as well as exchangeable commodities, has induced Professor Perry to eliminate the word from his economic vocabulary; and accordingly in his 'Principles' he speaks only of Value. The element in human nature, relative to value, is the fact that man *appreciates* and, under the influence of the law of economy of effort, *exchanges*. In Professor Marshall's eyes, wealth connotes not only value but 'virtue and happiness,' and the portion of human nature relative to this conception is the whole range of human motives. These he proposes to study and as far as possible to measure. This study of man, combined with the study of value and virtue and happiness, constitutes the science of Economics. The result, we confess, seems to us to justify Archbishop Whately's prediction that this sliding from one enquiry to another will result in error and confusion.

Let us next glance at the development of Adam Smith's definition of wealth as the 'annual produce of land and labour,' in the hands of Ricardo and his successors. Mr MacLeod points out that Ricardo gives no definition of the science of economics, but plunges at once into a discussion of value. The value of a commodity, he says, depends on the relative quantity of labour necessary for its production. When we reflect on the worthlessness of the products of labour in many instances within our own observation, we are disposed to wonder how so acute a man could have deceived himself with a generalisation so obviously opposed to the facts of the case. As Mr MacLeod, quoting Bacon, justly remarks, 'the little David' of one inconsistent instance suffices to overthrow the general law.

The consequences of this erroneous assumption have been numerous and important. The value of labour, Ricardo held, itself depended on the cost of production of labour. This gravitated constantly to the lowest form of maintenance on which it was possible for the labourer to exist. Ricardo, it is true, qualified this melancholy doctrine in a variety of ways; but the qualifications, the very necessity of which bears witness to the unsoundness of the premises on which his theory is based, have been overlooked by those who had their own point to prove. This

imperfect analysis of the conception of value has given rise to some of the most dangerous misconceptions with which mankind has been vexed. Anti-social revolutionists have seized on this definition, and have terrified the ignorant by displaying the so-called Iron Law of Wages, which condemned the labourer to live on the very barest provision sufficient to keep body and soul together. From this fallacious conception also is derived Marx's doctrine of surplus value, and its corollary that, as labour is the cause of value, so the ownership of value, or at least of all profit arising from exchange, should vest in the labourer to the exclusion of all other interests, however fully they might be recognised by the laws of jurisprudence and the very necessity of things. Ricardo's theory of rent, in like manner, has furnished a cloak of plausibility for Mr George's crusade in favour of the nationalisation of land. This aspect of the question is very familiar.

In these pages, however, we are concerned rather with the legitimate academic followers of Ricardo—those whose work it has been to patch up Ricardo's inconsistencies with the view of making his theory square with the testimony of common-sense. In the rapid survey which follows, we must confine ourselves to a notice of the most conspicuous names.

John Stuart Mill, whose work has exercised a most important influence on English economic speculation, was a disciple of Ricardo. He saw, however, that Ricardo's law of value was founded too exclusively on the quantity of labour which it costs to produce and bring a commodity to market. Accordingly he enlarged the definition, and included other familiar elements in the cost of production. He then asserts that value is determined by cost of production. This law, however, he admits, is only occasionally applicable. It does not hold good with regard to goods produced at a distance. It is inapplicable, therefore, in markets into which some goods have been introduced from foreign lands. Mill expressly admits this, and points out that goods brought into a market from a foreign or distant place of manufacture will have a value quite irrespective of their cost of production. Mr MacLeod, we are bound to say, seems to us perfectly justified in arguing that this admission breaks down the whole of Mill's theory. It is inadmissible, in a body of doctrine purporting to be a

science, to formulate contradictory laws for an explanation of one and the same phenomenon.

Whately's definition (that value is exchangeability) is expressly rejected by Mill. His reasons are curious and instructive. 'If these denominations' (viz. Whately's), he says,' had appeared to me logically correct, I must have placed the discussion of the elementary laws of value at the commencement of our enquiry, instead of postponing it to the Third Part' (we do not reach Book III; 'Exchange': chapter i; 'Value,' till we are nearly half-way through Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy'), 'and the possibility of so long deferring it is alone a sufficient proof that this view of the nature of Political Economy is too confined.'

As a matter of fact, in the preceding books, Mill has discussed production, labour, capital, wages, profits, rent —subjects which, with the addition of credit, comprise all the phenomena of value. It is impossible not to suggest that Mill had been discussing value, as M. Jourdain talked prose, unconsciously. Mill further urges that in states where custom and usage are supreme, exchange is not the distributing agency. This is true, but where there is no exchange, there is no economics. We question, however, if there is any form of human society where exchange is not practised. We have already quoted the ingenious argument of M. de Molinari by which he has represented warfare and the arts of peace as alternative habits pressed on the acceptance of mankind by the law of the economy of effort, and in this way made subject to man's appreciation of their relative value. In like manner 'custom and usage' are also forces which the competition of contract and exchange is ever tending to banish from human society. Thus Professor Marshall, speaking of the era of the earlier economists, remarks on 'the cruelty of the yoke of custom and rigid ordinance which it [free enterprise] displaced.' Mill next employs an argument which, if economics is to be held as a science chiefly concerned with modern industrial conditions, seems to us to condemn entirely his own treatment of the subject.

'In a state of society, however, in which the industrial system is entirely founded on purchase and sale . . . the question of Value is fundamental. Almost every speculation respecting the economical interests of a society thus constituted

implies some theory of Value; the smallest error on that subject infects with corresponding error all our other conclusions; and anything vague or misty in our conception of it creates confusion and uncertainty in everything else. Happily there is nothing in the laws of Value which remains for the present or any future writer to clear up; the theory of the subject is complete. . . .'

Unfortunately this latter view is far too sanguine, but the truth of the earlier portion of the quotation will be admitted only too readily by the puzzled and bewildered student of a work which runs well-nigh half its course before this fundamental question is consciously introduced.

In the very able economical fragment which forms the second part of Sir Louis Mallet's posthumously published volume, the law of value and the theory of the unearned increment are discussed with great acuteness. The 'corresponding error' introduced by Mill into all his economical reasoning, through his defective conception of value, is clearly pointed out.

'Ricardo and his followers,' Sir L. Mallet says (p. 239), 'divided commodities into two classes—the one in which competition was assumed to operate freely, and the value of which was supposed to be regulated by cost; the other consisting of monopolies, whether natural or artificial, the value of which was determined by supply and demand, irrespective of cost. From this point of view it was inevitable that whenever in the latter category the exchange value exceeded the cost, the notion should arise that the surplus value was "unearned." . . . But while regarding the so-called surplus value derived from monopolies as a privilege, the Ricardian school nevertheless held this privilege to be necessary in the interests of society, and therefore to be sanctioned by science. They therefore accepted the principles of private property and free exchange as applicable to both classes of commodities without distinction. Mill and his contemporaries have formally dissented from this conclusion. They split up commodities into three classes: (1) absolute monopolies; (2) those on which competition freely operates; (3) land. The first they set aside as of no practical importance, and thus get rid of an inconvenient objection to their theory. The second they assume to include everything of practical importance except land. The third, land. Here they observe that the cost of production varies according to quality of soil, situation, etc., and conclude that the difference between the cost on the worse soil and the

better is "unearned increment." This surplus value they attribute not to nature, but to the labour and efforts of the community at large. They therefore condemn private property and free exchange in the case of land, and decide in favour of collective appropriation in the name of science and on the plea of social expediency.'

The whole of this fallacious reasoning rests on the erroneous assumption that value is determined by cost of production. If this assumption is erroneous, and if the same cause is to be assigned for all forms of value, the distinction between value in land and value in other commodities falls to the ground. There will, therefore, be no economical reason for assailing private property in land as distinguished from other things. The modified socialism of Mill then becomes illogical. The socialists, indeed, have fully realised the fact, and seek to apply Mill's 'unearned increment' argument to all forms of property. This, however, would probably have been too large a proposition for Mill and his followers; and if the point had been pressed against them they would have retrieved the result of an erroneous theory by an illogical lapse into commonsense. There is obviously a close connexion between value and cost of production, but the question is, which is cause and which is effect. Sir Louis Mallet quotes Condillac, 'Une chose n'a pas une valeur parce qu'elle coûte, mais elle coûte parce qu'elle a une valeur.' No change in the cost of production will cause a change in value unless it is accompanied by a change in the relation of supply and demand.

'Formerly philosophers'—we here quote Mr MacLeod—'thought that the motion of projected bodies had a natural tendency to decay. They saw that the motion of a projected body always gradually diminished and finally ceased. It was quite easy to calculate results upon this principle. Given a certain velocity of projection, it was quite easy to calculate when the motion would cease upon the supposition that it naturally decayed. And the results would have agreed with the calculations. What could be more satisfactory?' ('Elements of Economics,' ii, 27.)

This, says Mr MacLeod, is an exact analogy of Ricardo's law of value.

Our object, however, is rather to indicate the point of

the issue than to set out the argument in detail, and we must here content ourselves with a summary of the contention of Whately and his school as set out by Mr MacLeod. '. . . Buyers do not give high prices because sellers have spent much money in producing; but sellers spend much in producing because they hope to find buyers who will give more.' There is, as Mill has remarked, a correspondence between value and cost of production in certain cases (e.g. in goods made in contiguous competitive manufactories); but, as we have pointed out, he has to invent a different law for goods made in distant unconnected manufactories. The proposition that value is determined by supply and demand, adopted by Mill in some cases, will be found, say his critics, to apply to all cases. Goods produced more cheaply in a distant manufactory, unless an increased quantity is put on the market, will still sell at the current market rate, and the extra profit will go entirely to the producers, among whom of course the carriers are included. Causes must not be multiplied beyond necessity, and we must be content to accept the formula which covers every case.

The question of a public as against a private tenure of property, the real issue raised in the 'unearned increment' controversy, may be discussed with the aid of ethical and juridical science, but economics has nothing to say to it, and certainly cannot distinguish between one class of property and another. The controversy might, after a fashion, be brought within the cognisance of economics, if the two systems were represented to us as rival interchangeable methods. M. de Molinari and indeed many other economists have pointed out that, in this rivalry, the law of least effort, styled by Professor Marshall the law of substitution, has given a preference to the system of private tenure. A classical exposition of one instance of this process is to be found in Arthur Young's advocacy of enclosures as against the wasteful common-field cultivation. The law of least effort has, during every observed period of history, induced men to convert public tenure into private tenure. The community or wide extension of enjoyment, which is the desire of all civilised society, is more economically and more efficiently procured by a private tenure aided by freedom of exchange. Such, at least, seems to be the verdict of history.

A reconstruction of the Ricardian economics was demanded by the late Mr Stanley Jevons, who says in the preface to his 'Theory of Political Economy' (second edition, p. xlix): 'The conclusion to which I am ever more clearly coming is that the only hope of attaining a true system of Economics is to fling aside once and for ever the mazy and preposterous assumptions of the Ricardian School. Our English Economists have been living in a fool's paradise.' Then, after a reference to those 'able but wrong-headed' men, Ricardo and his admirer J. S. Mill, he says: 'It will be a work of labour to pick up the fragments of a shattered science and to start anew, but it is a work from which they must not shrink.'

Jevons, for some reason which we are not altogether able to understand, obtained a hearing for his views which has been denied, in this country at all events, to Whately, MacLeod, and Sir Louis Mallet, and to the very considerable number of French economists who have approached more or less to agreement with the above-named writers. Jevons, not content with his successful destructive criticism of the Ricardians, ventured on construction of his own. Here we fear he was less successful. 'Repeated reflection and inquiry,' he says (p. 1), 'have led me to the somewhat novel opinion that value depends entirely on utility.' He therefore endeavours to institute a 'calculus of pleasure and pain.' 'Pleasure and pain' (p. 40) 'are undoubtedly the ultimate objects of the calculus of economics. To satisfy our wants to the utmost, with the least effort—to procure the greatest amount of what is desirable at the expense of the least that is undesirable —in other words to maximise pleasure, is the problem of economics.'

Now if we employ again the services of the 'little David'—the particular case—we can readily see the unsatisfactory nature of the term utility, used in this connexion. An original edition of Shakespeare would be very valuable, but only by an abuse of language could it be called useful. The respective utilities of a ton of coal and a diamond weighing a fraction of an ounce have no relation to their value. Conversely, 'the air and the sunlight,' says Bagehot, with, we conceive, the unanimous consent of economists, 'the riches of nature, are nothing in political economy' ('Economic Studies,' p. 100). Air, sunlight, and rain are

eminently useful things, but they cannot be valued in the economic sense of the term.

Jevons begins, as we have seen, by declaring for a mathematical treatment of the subject; but it appears to us that when, as above, he defines the main problem of economics to be the maximising of pleasure, he is assuming for economics a practical and applied authority which his earlier definition has already excluded. Now it may be true, and it probably is true, that man does use a calculus of pleasure and pain; in other words, he is under the influence of the 'law of least effort,' or the 'law of substitution.' If it were not so, there would be no economics, and, for that matter, no human action of any kind whatever. Under the influence of this law, by whatever name we choose to call it, he is irresistibly led to a comparison of values and to subsequent acts of exchange. The facts, not the reasons, of these assessments of value, and the subsequent exchange are possibly the subject of an exact science. When we attempt, however, to pass beyond this and speculate about pleasure and pain and human motives generally, we are slipping into a wider enquiry. Even if we allow ourselves to pursue it a certain way, we shall find that utility is far too narrow a description to give to the subject-matter of human desire. It is because imputations of value are essentially inconstant, and entirely kaleidoscopic in their variety, that profitable exchange, giving advantage to both parties, has become so important and so equitable a factor in human society. Attempts to get behind the fact and to name 'utility' as the determining object of desire are surely inadequate. It is only by explaining away all the stable and definite meaning which belongs to the term—in fact by assimilating the term 'utility' to the perfectly colourless phrase, 'that for which there is demand'—that the theory obtains the slightest appearance of plausibility. This, of course, is the point so strenuously contended for by Whately and MacLeod.

The fate of Jevons's utility theory at the hands of his successors is not a little curious and instructive. Professor Marshall has adopted with modifications Jevons's theory of value, but he seeks to engraft it on the Ricardian system which Jevons's criticism had shattered. He has bestowed great ingenuity and labour on a development of Jevons's theory of marginal utility, but his

eclectic adoption of Ricardo's principles has induced a not unfriendly critic to describe his 'Principles of Economics' as a rehabilitation of Ricardo. He blames Ricardo (p. 61) for having 'regarded man, so to speak, as a constant quantity,' and complains of his narrowness and want of sympathy. Ricardo, it is objected by Professor Marshall, assumed that the determining motive in man's action is what is called an economic motive ('economic' in this connexion being synonymous with 'commercial'). The suggestion, of course, is that the economic motive is a sordid motive—that, as a matter of fact, it is not and ought not to be a determining motive. Now it is, of course, necessary for the economist to assume that there is some determining motive for every human action. Ricardo's error, according to Professor Marshall, is that he has taken a narrow view of human motive. According to Whately and MacLeod, he errs in attempting to characterise these motives at all; nor would such writers admit that Professor Marshall's attempt to enlarge Ricardo's conception has been more successful. The true course for the economist to pursue is to leave motives to the appropriate sciences of ethics and psychology. In economics a general determining motive for exchange must be assumed, but the determining motive for specific acts of exchange cannot profitably be considered by that science.

Professor Nicholson of Edinburgh adheres to the methods of the older economists, and has advanced some very searching and, as it appears to us, successful criticism against the constructive portion of Jevons's work, more particularly against the doctrine of 'marginal utility.' His general conclusion may be thus summed up: 'The method of the so-called orthodox English economist has only been modified and supplemented, not revolutionised and supplanted, by the [historical and] mathematical methods of recent writers.' This criticism, with the qualification to be noted below, appears to us entirely just. Jevons, indeed, went into open revolt, and talked of the shattered science; but his adoption of utility as the intrinsic quality which constitutes value brought him again into line with the Ricardian school. Jevons, moreover, it must be noted, was not the originator of the revolt: he was anticipated by Whately and by MacLeod. Other interests claimed the time and attention of the Archbishop of

Dublin, and his contribution to the science of economics remains only a fragment. Mr MacLeod, on the other hand, whose 'Elements of Political Economy' was published in 1857, and whose first work on banking appeared two years earlier, has remained a strenuous and industrious Ishmael among his brother economists for nearly half a century.

Here we must admit that Mr MacLeod's methods of controversy are not always persuasive. Persons who have been brought up in the school of Mill, and who, whether they accept his economic opinions or not, must always entertain a warm admiration for his elevated and disinterested character, are repelled by language like the following: 'Every page of his [Mill's] work is full of the most glaring ignorance and blunders; and there is scarcely a single point in which he does not contradict himself. Now, in sober seriousness, we must ask how is this more consistent with scientific morality than cheating at cards, or forgery, or issuing base coin.' The natural conclusion of the cursory reader is that a writer employing such language has a weak case; and we are disposed to think that Mr MacLeod's occasionally violent style of controversy has prevented a larger acceptance of his views. It is impossible not to admire Mr MacLeod's courage and pertinacity in maintaining almost single-handed what he regards as the true theory of economic science. As disinterested spectators we venture, however, to remind him of the humane notice posted up in a western American church: 'Do not shoot the organist: he is doing his best!' Mr MacLeod's best friends must regret these ebullitions, and hope that they will not deprive him of that share of public attention to which he is justly entitled in virtue of his learning, pertinacity, and closely reasoned though occasionally diffuse style of argument.

We have dealt in cursory manner with the destructive criticism which Mr MacLeod has directed against the current system of economics. We must now endeavour, very shortly, to indicate his constructive method. After pointing out the objection to every other definition that has been advanced, he shows that his own definition (viz., 'Economics is the science which treats of the laws which govern the relation of exchangeable quantities') is the only one which satisfies the scientific requirements of the case; and that there are three classes of exchangeable

quantities: (1) Material commodities; (2) Services; (3) Incorporeal wealth or Rights, e.g. credit.

Apart from the general theory of the science of economics, it is now generally admitted that Mr MacLeod's analysis of the third class of exchangeable quantities is extremely suggestive and valuable. By giving prominence to the phenomenon of credit and to the exchanges in which it plays a part, he has made the science of economics co-extensive with the whole range of modern commerce. Antecedent to this exhaustive threefold classification we must, he argues, assume the principle of property, with its corollary, the right of exchange.

'Property,' he says, adopting the language of Mercier de la Rivière, one of the physiocrats, 'is a right in a person, but which changes its name according to the nature of the object to which it is applied.' Jurisprudence is the science of rights. 'Natural philosophy,' says Lord Mackenzie, 'considers things according to their physical properties; law regards them as the objects of rights.' Economics, adds Mr Macleod, is the science which treats of the exchanges of rights, and the most complete and satisfactory enumeration and analysis of rights are those formulated by the Roman jurists.

With this solution of the difficult point of definition we may compare the part assigned to 'security' in the late Duke of Argyll's 'Unseen Foundations of Society.' The complaint made by the Duke, if we rightly understand his argument, is that writers on economics have not realised sufficiently the advantage of security, and have been disposed to depreciate the services rendered to the community by the principle of ownership. On this point Mr Macleod is content to say that he is dealing with the properties recognised by the Roman law. Incidentally he may betray his opinion that this recognition of property is necessary and equitable, but in his view this has nothing to do with economics.

There remains, of course, the very important question whether any good purpose is served by considering such abstract conceptions as number and exchangeability apart from the things which are numbered and exchanged.

The convenience of arithmetic needs no vindication, and for ourselves we can only express a belief (founded, to

some extent, on experience) that a consideration of the phenomenon of exchange, and the part it plays in human affairs, will throw a flood of light on the problems which perplex the politician and the social reformer. It is hardly necessary to point out how deeply our social existence is influenced by the exchange of services, credits, and goods. The assumption, erroneously put forward by the older economists, that free exchange in such matters is an advantage so well proven as to amount in effect to a categoric imperative, may be near the truth; but in any case it is a truth which makes no claim to an *a priori* validity, but requires the verification of history and experiment at every point.

We have referred more than once to the larger speculation of M. de Molinari, who argues that mankind's preference for one course of action rather than another may be explained as the operation of exchange, i.e. the abandonment of the worse and the choice of the better. The thought opens out a great vista of speculation. From a consideration of the exchangeability of things, we pass to a consideration of exchange as a means of satisfying human wants, and from this to a consideration of the relation of human wants to morality.

In an interesting passage on 'ethical limitation,' the Duke of Argyll, making what he calls a translation into the terms of the 'Utilitarian Theory of Morals,' remarks: 'The doctrines of an Independent Morality are coincident in result with the higher forms of the Utilitarian system' (p. 63). He quotes, however, with approval, and in qualification of the above statement, Mill's dictum, that 'the most criminal actions are, to a being like man, not more unnatural than most of the virtues.' In the study of economics as proposed for us by M. de Molinari, we follow the natural exchange actions of man, without any attempt to characterise them as virtuous or criminal. Our object is simply to note and to classify them. When our exposition of the facts is complete, our conscience, aided by the light thrown on the subject by the other relevant sciences, will tell us how far the system of natural experience in such matters (that is the evolutionary utilitarian system) has led to conduct in agreement with the requirements of 'independent morality.'

Our English economists of the school of Whately have

not ventured to push the limits of their subject so far afield. Mr MacLeod, it is true, at one time announced his intention of writing a treatise on 'Mixed Economics,' but we regret to learn that he has abandoned his purpose. His treatment of the application of economics to those interests of life where exchange, pure and simple, is not the dominant factor, would have given him many opportunities of showing the practical usefulness of his methods.

The very important question of taxation would have been one of the subjects to be discussed. Whately, in a curious note, remarks:—

'I had not thought it necessary to observe that, in speaking of exchanges, I did not mean to limit myself to voluntary exchanges. . . . Most exchanges, indeed, are of this character; but the case of taxation . . . constitutes a remarkable exception. . . . And it is worth remarking, that it is just so far forth as it is an exchange—so far forth as protection, whether adequate or not, is afforded in exchange for this payment—that the payment itself comes under the cognisance of this science. There is nothing else that distinguishes *taxation* from *avowed robbery*.'

Since the days of Whately, both the practice and theory of taxation have strayed widely from this ideal. Taxation is now levied on persons who appear to have the ability to pay, quite irrespective of the benefits which they derive from the expenditure of the tax, and for this very reason treatises on the so-called 'science' of public finance seem to us to have an air of unreality. Taxation, in this view, can only be brought within the cognisance of economics when it is contrasted with other methods of attaining the same object, and when some choice or power of exchange is given to the public in respect of the alternatives so presented.

Similar difficulties are raised with regard to the Public Debt. Mr MacLeod, following his practice of accepting from jurisprudence the enumeration of different classes of legally constituted property, finds that state and municipal loans are exchangeable values, and, as such, within the scope of economics. Economics, however, offers no opinion on the equity and policy of such loans. So, too —and this, it appears to us, is a very common confusion of thought—the due performance of contract (more es-

pecially in the repayment of debts) is obviously a very essential element in determining the usefulness of exchange as a means of satisfying human desire; but economics has no opinion as to the propriety of enforcing contract by process of law. Taxation, public loans, the legal enforcement of contract, are measures of government which, if possible, according to M. de Molinari, should be subjected to the competition of alternatives, if such there be; and free choice between such alternatives should be left to the community. Such a process might bring the institutions above named within the scope of economics, but for the rest they are matters of political expediency, and have nothing to do with economics.

Of course, the student of economics, like the artist in leather, is apt to say 'there is nothing like exchange.' It is equitable, ubiquitous, and irresistible in its work of improving the organisation of human progress. It works smoothly, automatically, and cheaply. Its main object is the economy of effort; and for this purpose it mobilises labour, and conducts it to its most remunerative market, while, at the same time, it leads to efficiency and cheapness of production. All this benefit it confers without having recourse, except in rare instances, to the coercive authority of the law. The economist, therefore, looks to exchange as an expedient capable of solving many problems.

For ourselves, we believe that he has warrant for his enthusiasm; but if he would avoid reaction and regain the confidence of the public, which, to some extent, has been alienated, he must proceed warily, and with more logical precision than has hitherto characterised his utterances. The mere fact that we are able to point to so many ambiguities of definitions and objects shows, we venture to think, that economists have not been altogether successful in their presentation of this fascinating science.

Art. III.—THE NATIONAL CONFLICT IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.*

1. *Die Sprachenverordnungen des Grafen Badeni, und ihre Folgen.* Von einem Alt-Oesterreicher. Leipzig: Lückhardt, 1898.
2. *Der Nationalitäten- und Sprachenstreit in Oesterreich.* Von Rudolf, Graf Czernin. Vienna: Gerold, 1900.
3. *Nationalitäten- und Sprachenstreit in Oesterreich.* (Reply to No. 2.) Von Heinrich Hradec. Prague: Rivnac, 1901.

THE celebrated Bohemian historian, Palatzky, once said, 'If there were no Austria, one would have to be created. By this he plainly meant that a conglomeration of races like that which has been gradually drawn together in the central valley of the Danube and the neighbouring regions necessarily requires unity of government. Too weak and scattered for any one of them to form a powerful kingdom by itself, these nations might yet become a standing danger to the peace of Europe, not only because they would always be fighting among themselves, but also because they would provoke the cupidity of the great states, their neighbours, and by tempting them to interference would give rise to frequent and ruinous disturbances and even to great wars. The justice of this view is sufficiently proved by the constant disturbances in the Balkan states. Left to themselves, the various nations of Austria-Hungary would have turned that country into a storm-centre even worse than that of the Balkan peninsula. Only by being brought under one protection, moved by one spirit, ruled, and at the same time defended, by one arm, can they cease to be a menace to the peace of Europe. Only by being welded into one whole can they hope to play any important part in the European concert, and to count as one of the great Powers. This is the idea that underlies that historic utterance as to the necessity for an Austria.

Oddly enough, its profound wisdom does not seem to have struck the people of that country; at any rate we may infer as much from their behaviour, which betrays

---

* The author of this article is an Austrian.

an inclination, more or less openly avowed, to break the bond of union and annihilate the Austro-Hungarian state. This destructive tendency is shared, consciously or unconsciously, by all the races under the monarchy; and the result is a howling chaos of conflicting demands, a furious and persistent clattering and clashing of opinions, an incessant tumult of hostilities that shake the state to its foundations, hamper its progress, and seriously threaten its existence. To be sure, outside the black and yellow frontier-barriers nothing is known of these things, until the rumblings break out in some violent eruption which attracts the attention of the rest of Europe to Austria-Hungary; but inside the monarchy they can always be heard, even when peace apparently reigns supreme. One need only pay close attention to be aware of a dull underground heaving, as if one were sitting on the crust of a volcano.

In order to understand this state of things, it is first of all necessary to get some idea of the extraordinary medley of nationalities which composes the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The division (according to the census of 1890 *) is as follows :—

—	In Austria.	In Hungary.	Total.
Germans	8,461,580	2,107,577	10,569,157
Magyars	8,139	7,426,730	7,434,869
Czechs and Slovaks [1]	5,472,871	1,910,279	7,383,150
Poles	3,719,232	..	3,719,232
Ruthenians	3,105,221	383,392	3,488,613
Croats and Serbs	644,926	2,604,240	3,249,166
Slovenians [2]	1,176,672	94,679	1,271,351
Roumanians	209,110	2,591,905	2,801,015
Italians and Ladins [3]	675,305	21,861	637,166
Gipsies	..	96,497	96,497
Various races and foreigners [4]	422,357	226,631	648,988
	23,895,413	17,463,791	41,359,204 [5]

[1] The Czechs (Tschechen) compose the Slav population of Bohemia and Moravia. The Slovaks are the Slav inhabitants of north-west Hungary, but are also to be found scattered in small groups throughout Hungary.

[2] The Slovens are a Slav race of the southerly Alpine districts of Austria (Carniola, parts of Istria and Carinthia, Southern Styria).

[3] The Ladins are a Romance race found in certain valleys of the Tyrol.

[4] In the case of Hungary the fighting military population stationed there is not included in this category.

[5] Not counting Bosnia, at present under an Austrian protectorate.

* No trustworthy figures of later date are available.

By classifying these nations according to race, we get the following figures :—

——	Austria.	Hungary.	Total.
Germans .	8,461,580=35·5%	2,107,577=12·0%	10,569,157=25·6%
Slavs . .	14,118,922=59·0%	4,992,590=28·7%	19,111,512=46·2%
Magyars .	8,139	7,426,730=42·5%	7,434,869=18·0%
Romance races	884,415= 3·7%	2,613,766=15·0%	3,498,181= 8·4%
Others .	422,357= 1·8%	323,128= 1·8%	745,485= 1·8%
Total. .	23,895,413	17,463,791	41,359,204

The geographical distribution of these races, most important for an understanding of their struggle, is as follows. The Germans in the Austrian half of the Empire are found in the centre, especially in the hilly Alpine districts. The population of the crown-lands of Salzburg and Upper Austria is wholly German; also that of Lower Austria (except Vienna) and the Czech districts in the north. The same may be said of northern Styria and Tyrol, and of the greater part of Carinthia. Apart from these main groups, there are more than two million Germans living on the northern borders and in the south-west of Bohemia, and forming thirty-seven per cent. of the population of that country. More than half a million (twenty-nine per cent.) are also to be found in Moravia, namely, in the towns and the northern districts; and in Silesia they amount to nearly half of the population (forty-seven per cent.). In all the crown-lands they may be met with, scattered or in smaller colonies, more or less numerous. In Hungary they dwell chiefly in the west, on the borders of Lower Austria and Styria; in the south-east (formerly called the Banat), and in numerous isolated centres, especially in Transylvania. In many of the Hungarian towns they form a considerable part of the population.

The Slavs in Austria are represented by the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia (where they indeed preponderate); the Poles in eastern Silesia and western Galicia; the Ruthenians in eastern Galicia and Bukovina, where they form nearly half the population; the Slovenians in the southern Alpine districts; and the Croats and Serbs in Dalmatia. In Hungary the Slavs consist of the Slovaks in the north-west, the Ruthenians in the north-east, the

Serbs and Croats in the south; and these peoples form the greater part of the population of the Hungarian monarchy.

The Magyars are to be found throughout the whole of Hungary, but mixed for the most part with Slavs or Germans. The pure Magyar race is only to be found in the central parts, in the great plain of Hungary. In Austria their number is so small that it need not be taken into consideration.

The Romance races in Austria are represented by the Italians of southern and south-eastern Tyrol (where, in some of the valleys, they are known as Ladins); also on the Istrian seaboard and in the coast-towns of Dalmatia. In the Hungarian crown-lands they are represented by the Italians of the coast-towns of Croatia and Fiume, and in large numbers by the Roumanians of south-eastern Hungary, notably Transylvania, where they form the majority of the population.

This sketch of national distribution in the Habsburg monarchy shows that, in the Austrian half of the Empire, the nationalities are, as a rule, split up into groups, each group being fairly homogeneous, or containing only a small minority, of varying size, belonging to other nationalities. But in the Hungarian half they are all mixed up together with such intricate variety that there is hardly a province which does not contain two nationalities at the least, while in many we find as many as five or more. For instance, in the county of Torontal, in the south-east, there are 186,000 Serbs, 184,000 Germans, 98,000 Magyars, 87,000 Roumanians, 14,000 Slovaks, 5000 Croats, and 13,000 of various other nationalities. Given, then, so many and such widely varying races, a certain amount of friction and antagonism is hardly to be wondered at. It would have been strange indeed if it had not arisen; it was in the circumstances inevitable. But it would never have developed into such formidable proportions if the unhappy year 1848 had not opened up the question of nationality; and if Chauvinist fanatics and unscrupulous agitators had not inflamed national feeling to a savage passion. It is due to these causes that the question of nationality has become a matter of life and death to the Habsburg monarchy.

Now, in a discussion of the national conflict such as is

proposed in this article, each half of the Empire must be considered by itself, not merely because we are dealing with two independent political entities having very little in common, but also because that conflict has assumed different characters in the two halves of the Empire.

Austria.

The struggle in the Austrian half of the Empire is far the more interesting, for here the national question has become acute, and has appeared in so startling a form as to attract the attention of all Europe. Here were fought those bitter parliamentary battles, the noise of which was heard far beyond the bounds of the Empire, while the shame of them burns like an inextinguishable brand in the history of Austria. And here the national question is at bottom a very simple one. It is merely whether the German language is to remain for the future what it has been for centuries—the official language of the country. The non-German nations of Austria will not hear of this, and they appeal to the fundamental law of the land, by which full and equal rights are granted to all languages spoken in the country. The Czechs go farther, and take their stand upon their *Staatsrecht*, the national law which regards Bohemia, not as an Austrian province, but as an autonomous kingdom. They also claim Moravia and Silesia as belonging to the Bohemian crown.

This bitter struggle about language began in 1848, and now, after lasting more than half a century, it still goes on, and that more persistently than ever. The much-discussed language-ordinances of Count Badeni (April 5th, 1897), which were meant to put an end to the conflict in Bohemia and Moravia, had just the opposite effect. They acted like a match laid to the combustible material stored up for decades. The explosion which ensued was, for violence and duration, unparalleled, not only in the Austrian Parliament, but in any parliament of the world. This mad outburst on the part of the Germans was hardly justifiable, seeing that a similar ordinance of the Minister, Dr von Stremayr, was issued in 1880 without any of these disastrous consequences. But whether the excitability of the public temper had increased, or whether circumstances had changed in the subsequent seventeen years,

the Germans regarded the concessions made to the Czechs in these ordinances as an infringement of their national right, and they attacked them along the whole line, and with every means in their power.

Now, of any 'oppression' of Germanism (*Deutschthum*) —of which they so pathetically complain on every possible occasion—there could be no question; for the recent ordinances only touched the prerogatives of the German language, not its rights. The Czech language was not to have precedence, but merely an equal footing. Even this equal footing the Germans regarded as an insult to their nation. But though this purely subjective opinion of theirs may be dismissed as a national aberration, the fact remains that the ordinances really did threaten the unity of the official language, and that, so far, the German protest was justified in principle. The position of German as the official language of Austria is no doubt a 'prerogative'; but it is a prerogative well founded in logic and history. In such a polyglot country as Austria only one official language can be recognised; for if all the languages there spoken were to rank as official, the inevitable result would be such a Babel as would bring the whole machinery of the State to a standstill, and the State itself would not long continue to exist.

Obviously, things would be simple enough if there were but an 'Austrian' language; for then none of these nations could take precedence, and none, therefore, could consider itself slighted and 'oppressed.' As, unfortunately, no such international safety-valve exists, there is nothing for it but to take one of the languages spoken in the country; and, clearly, the most suitable is that spoken by the largest number, which is German, German being spoken by something like eight and a half millions.

From the Slav standpoint, of course, it may be urged that, as against these eight and a half million Germans, there are some fourteen million Slavs, and that they can hardly be expected to acquiesce in being thus swamped by the language of a minority. But the fallacy of this view is obvious. True, these fourteen millions are Slavonic-speaking peoples; but this only means that their languages are so many distinct varieties of the Slavonic—Czech, Polish, Ruthenian, Slovenian, Croat; and the Czech language, which is that spoken by the largest number, only

reckons five and a half millions—about three millions less than the German.

But supposing all the Slavs in Austria spoke one common language, it would still have to give place to German, for the majority argument is not the only one to be considered. There are other and still more important points in favour of German. German is for Austria what French is for international diplomatic intercourse all the world over. French is not the most widespread language in the world; it is less so than German, much less so than English. But no nation ever dreams of regarding the choice of French for diplomatic purposes as any depreciation of or insult to its own language, or raises any objection to it on these grounds. If the German Empire does not think it beneath its dignity to use the language of its hereditary enemy; if Great Britain has no objection to doing the same, though that language is not nearly so widespread as her own; why, it may be asked, should the Slavs regard it as an insult that German is the official language of Austria? None of the many Slav tongues spoken in Austria is a universal language; but German is; therefore it rightly takes precedence of them.

It is not so very long ago since German was used by all the educated Slavs in Austria, not only in official, but in private intercourse. A Czech or a Slovenian with any pretensions to culture spoke German as a matter of course. Even at the present day there are hardly any educated Czechs who cannot read German more or less fluently, while no German can speak Czech, unless he happens to be a soldier or an official in Czech service, or otherwise compelled by his calling. This clearly shows that the Czechs attach greater importance to the German language than to their own, knowing perfectly well that German covers a wide field and Czech a narrow one. It is even more significant that the largest Czech paper, 'Die Politik,' is published in German. The Czechs therefore recognise the fact that this detestable language, against which they preach a sort of Hussite crusade, is their only means of making themselves intelligible to the rest of the world; but they do not perceive the irony of this *reductio ad absurdum* of their theories.

Logic apart, there are also good historical grounds for the superior rank of German. It is the language of that

people which laid the foundation stone of the Austrian state. It is the language of those provinces which are the kernel of the Empire, and which have its court and capital for their centre. It is, finally, the mother-tongue of the ancestral dynasty. These are fairly good credentials for a fine and scholarly language.

From all these weighty reasons but one conclusion can be drawn: that in Austria German must take the first place; that it must be recognised as the official language of the country, as no other language can be; and that it is an indispensable condition of the stability of the Austrian state. On these grounds, and not because of any supposed affront to German feeling, the language ordinance issued by Count Badeni in 1897 was a blunder and a disaster.

As this is scarcely the place for a detailed history of this strife of tongues, we will only give such facts as are necessary for an understanding of the situation in Austria. First of all, some idea of the composition of the Austrian Parliament is indispensable. Before the outbreak of the conflict in 1897, it was composed as follows:—

Right	German Conservative Party	43	210
	Southern Slavs (Slovenians, Serbs, Croats)	29	
	Czechs and Feudal Conservatives	79	
	Poles	59	
Left	German Progressists and Feudal Liberals	77	124
	German Popular Party (Volkspartei)	42	
	German Radicals (Pan-Germans)	5	
Independent Parties	Social Democrats	16	91
	Christian Socialists	30	
	Ruthenians	11	
	Roumanians	6	
	Italians	19	
	Various Polish Democrats	9	
	Total	425	

Thus the Right, which voted for the ordinances, were in a decided majority; but in the course of the conflict this majority was reduced by the coalition of most of the members of the Independent parties with the Left. The majority of the Right were Slavs, of the Left, Germans. The conflict opened in the liveliest manner from the first. As the Left, owing to the smallness of their numbers, saw no possibility of winning by normal methods, they had recourse to obstruction, doing their best to hinder the

business of Parliament, or at any rate to spin out the time. In this they displayed considerable ingenuity. Their favourite device was the call for a 'division by names' (*namentliche Abstimmung*), which necessarily occupied much time; another was the ten minutes interval. Not content with such petty tricks, the Opposition found a better way of obstructing the business of Parliament by unparliamentary behaviour, beginning with ruffianly shouting and abuse, and ending in scenes of unprecedented uproar, in which the lids of desks went hurtling through the air. The chief rôle was taken by a handful of German Radicals, with Wolf the Nationalist leader at their head.

The President was helpless in the face of these amazing performances. The obstructionists had not the smallest respect for him. They maintained that their proceedings were quite in order—a fallacy that could only be seriously supported by persons of confused intellect or shameless impudence. To be sure, these methods were not absolutely forbidden by the standing orders, for the sufficient reason that nobody ever contemplated the possibility of their happening. The orders were drawn up on the pardonable but erroneous assumption that Parliament consists of civilised persons only, and that its members behave as such. Blackguardism had not been provided for. This oversight was paid for dearly now, for the obstructionists supplied the hiatus in the standing orders by arguing with ingenious sophistry that whatever is not forbidden is allowed.

The contest grew more and more embittered, every sitting furnishing some fresh scandal. The obstructionists employed every subtlety of invention to make parliamentary business impossible; and their efforts were crowned with success. For instance, in the sitting of October 27th, they compelled the House to fritter away seven hours with divisions, of which no less than thirteen were taken, entailing the reading of 5225 names. Thus hampered, the Government and the Right had to adopt forcible measures. They therefore had recourse to night sittings. In this proceeding the Opposition affected to see a breach of order, and, their protests availing nothing, raised a scene. When, during the sitting of November 24th, Dr Dyk, a Czech member, moved that the fifty-six

obstructionist petitions, all having the same wording and contents, should be despatched *en bloc* at one reading (this indeed being obviously the right procedure), there was a terrific storm in the Opposition ranks. Wolf and Schönerer stormed the President's tribune, and tore his bell from his hand. A wild scuffle ensued. Its nature may be gathered from one extraordinary incident, when a university professor, Dr Pfersche, drew out his pocket-knife and offered to cut open the first gentleman who laid hands on him; while Schönerer did his best to use a heavy ministerial chair as a missile, and Wolf threatened to bring a revolver with him next time.

For the protection of the tribune and a defence against the obstructionists, Count Falkenhayn moved a modification of the inadequate standing orders. By this proposal every refractory or violent member was to be excluded from a certain number of sittings, varying from three to thirty, and in the event of his resistance was to be ejected from the Chamber by executive officials.

This well-founded and very necessary measure, to which the Government was impelled by circumstances, provoked a perfect hurricane among the Opposition members, who foresaw the speedy end of their unparliamentary proceedings. The next sitting was conducted in a still more scandalous fashion than before; but, in accordance with Count Falkenhayn's proposal, the police appeared in the Chamber and forcibly removed the rioters, amid a scene of hideous uproar.

As these commotions grew greater with every sitting, the Government was at last compelled to dissolve Parliament. Not that this brought peace; the scene of the scandal was simply shifted from Parliament to the streets, where it was now the university students who distinguished themselves. As in 1848, the university halls, properly the abode of learning, became the centres of uproar. Behind those walls the students were safe as in a sanctuary,* and they assailed the police with a storm of stones, bottles, spittoons, and so on. They joined the artisans in huge mass-meetings, which necessitated the interference of the military, the police being unable to cope with such

---

* According to an ancient custom, the university buildings could not be entered by the police.

numbers. Things were even worse at Grätz, where the military (a Bosnian regiment) were bombarded with brick-bats, and, being compelled to fire, shot one of the crowd.

The direct result of these excesses was Count Badeni's resignation, his place as Premier being taken by Baron Gautsch, previously Minister of Public Instruction. A further consequence was a frightful riot in Prague. Originally planned by the Czechs as a counter-demonstration, it assumed dangerous proportions, owing to the lively participation of the mob, and ended in plunder and reckless destruction of property. There was a radical difference between the rioting in Prague and that in Vienna; in Vienna hostilities were only directed against the Government, and of the seventy or eighty thousand Czechs living there not one had a hair of his head injured, while in Prague any German might consider himself lucky if he got off with a whole skin. It required the proclamation of the *Standrecht* and a large order for troops (the garrison at Prague proving insufficient) to put down the riot. Smaller risings in other Bohemian towns were characterised by similar excesses.

It was somewhat remarkable that in all these disturbances the soldiers, who were equally employed by both sides, were accused by Czechs and Germans alike of partiality and violence. The Czechs were aggrieved because German regiments were ordered out in Prague; the Germans were annoyed because the services of a Bosnian regiment had been required at Grätz. The humorous side of this otherwise melancholy business, was that each party, while resenting the employment of military force against itself as a brutal injustice, not only promptly had recourse to it in its own interest, but even (in the latter case) complained of its moderation. The fact that the military were unable to please both parties, and became a sort of scape-goat for each in turn, was a fairly convincing proof of their impartiality.

But of the two parties the Germans displayed the greater malice and brutality in their methods of baiting the military, especially in Grätz. When the band of the before-mentioned Bosnian regiment gave a concert at Grätz on the evening after the riot, they were most unmercifully pelted with abusive epithets and stones—a sport at which the students again distinguished themselves. As

if this were not enough, the Common Council of Grätz, backed by the press, requested the removal of the 'foreign' regiment to another garrison, while the students demanded nothing less than the boycotting of the officers at all hotels and restaurants. The demonstrator who had been shot in the riot received honours as a martyr of freedom and 'Germanism,' and was carried to his grave with much state, followed by a large concourse of people. This ceremony was attended by almost the entire body of students and artisans of Grätz; there were also present no less than forty-seven officers of the reserve, who paid for this improper proceeding by well-merited degradation. It afterwards appeared that the martyr thus celebrated was a person who had been imprisoned for theft. Such is the irony of fate.

The Opposition crowed loudly over the victory thus won at the price of human dignity and parliamentary decorum; and the result was a terrorism bordering on madness, which infected the whole of the Austrian public. A further protest was supplied by an order of the Government prohibiting to German university students in Prague the use of their black-red-and-gold badges.* The order was perfectly justified by the circumstances, for these provokingly conspicuous colours were always exciting the rage of the Czech population, and furnished a perennial pretext for violent assaults. The Germans, however, refused to see it in this light, and declared the order a fresh instance of 'oppression,' as they did every attempt to withstand their terrorism. The students, not only in Prague but throughout Austria, then hit on the brilliant idea of going the round of the lecture-rooms and making scenes in them; in this they were encouraged by the plaudits of the press. The Government, instead of promptly putting a stop to these astounding proceedings, meekly gave in. Baron Gautsch did not remain long in office after this deplorable defeat, but withdrew from the scene of his incompetence four weeks later, having laboured in vain for as many months. His place was taken by Count Franz Thun-Hohenstein (March 7th, 1898).

---

* Black-red-and-white have been the German national colours since 1870. Black-red-and-gold were chosen as such by the German "Burschenschaften" in 1815, and have ever since borne a semi-revolutionary character. They were the revolutionary colours in 1848.

The new minister was, however, equally helpless against German terrorism, which broke out again at Grätz with its usual brutality. The band of the Bosnian regiment, after an interval of some months, was giving another concert (for a charitable purpose, too), when a shower of stones and vituperation compelled it to stop playing. The German Nationalists, with characteristic confusion of ideas, accused the band of being the offending party, and again demanded in the Town-Council and in Parliament the removal of the regiment. Fortunately, the Government did not carry its pitiable weakness so far as to agree to this demand.

As a suitable pendant to this episode, the Council of Grätz, humbly imitated by that of Linz, resolved that a certain square in the town should be named after Bismarck —a lunatic notion which says more for the monstrous and treasonable folly of German Nationalism than pages of description. To name a square or a street in Austria after Bismarck would be about as sane a proposal as to name a square in London after Napoleon I or Krüger. But the madness of the Nationalists went farther still. At a meeting of delegates three years later (June 11th, 1901), Wolf approached the Emperor with the bold suggestion that a memorial statue should be raised to Bismarck as a mark of national gratitude.

But German terrorism was not content with spreading confusion and destruction in the field of politics. It now turned its attention to religion, agitating against the traditional Catholic faith of the people in the hope of inducing them to secede. This demonstration was known as the '*Los von Rom*' ('Away from Rome!') movement. Needless to say its motive was anything but religious; it was, in fact, wholly political. In the Catholic clergy Wolf and Schönerer recognised their strongest and toughest opponents, to whom they owed their failure to gain any lasting hold over the Alpine districts. Therefore it was against the clergy that they directed the full violence of their attack, insulting, accusing and slandering them on every possible occasion. The heir-apparent, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, correctly described this movement when he said that 'Away from Rome!' meant 'Away from Austria!'

Powerless against the flood, the Thun Ministry tried to

prolong life with the aid of Article XIV of the constitution, by which it was authorised to perform certain unavoidably necessary functions without consent of Parliament. But as this resource could only be provisional, and the restoration of normal parliamentary relations was made impossible by the German Opposition, Government decided on a change of Ministry, and Count Thun handed over the reins to Count Clary (October 2nd, 1899).

The new Ministry began by repealing the language ordinance—the cause of so much trouble. This first act was also its last, for before the close of the year it sent in its resignation. The thing had happened which every clear-sighted person must have known would happen at this juncture—the Czechs took up the weapon of obstruction. The repeal of the ordinance certainly meant capitulation on the part of Government to German obstruction; and it was not to be supposed that the Czechs would sit down quietly and look on without an effort on their own account. The general situation was the same, except that the obstruction was now Czech, not German.

After a short provisional interlude, with Dr Ritter von Wittek as Premier, the control was handed over to Dr Ritter von Körber (January 19th, 1900). But even he did not at first succeed in improving the situation thus reversed. As the Emperor saw no possibility of doing anything with his present Parliament, he dissolved it; and the Ministry governed by Article XIV. That the Emperor might not be suspected of an insidious attempt at absolutism, he issued, towards the end of the year 1900, an order for another general election. There was little chance of mending matters by this means; but the Government was anxious to show that it had done everything in its power to restore ordinary parliamentary relations. This was the last resource. Possibly Government may have secretly hoped that national passion would yield to the softening influence of time, and that the country, tired of three years' dissension, would return more moderate representatives to Parliament.

This fond hope, if actually entertained, was only partially fulfilled. Certainly the majority of the population were tired of fighting; but thanks to the indefatigable energy of the agitators, the Radical party emerged from

the contest of the elections stronger than ever. The Pan-Germans (*Alldeutschen*), as the German Radical party now called itself, had even grown from five to twenty-one members. As might have been expected, the very first sitting of the new Parliament was indecorous in the extreme; and, as usual, the Pan-Germans were the ringleaders. For instance, when the President, having received news of the death of Queen Victoria (which had occurred a few days previously), expressed his sympathy with England on behalf of Parliament, he was interrupted with cries of 'Down with England!' 'Long live the Boers!' The delicacy and tact of these utterances sufficiently showed the level of culture attained by the Pan-German party. Scenes of scandalous violence soon followed; and hardly a sitting passed without vituperation and uproar.

The Emperor's journey to Bohemia, and his visits to Prague and the German town of Leitmeritz, ought to have had some effect in reconciling the national differences, and might indeed have done so; but it was only too likely that the momentary harmony which his action induced would soon be disturbed by the reappearance of ancient enmities. It was conjectured that the agitators on either side would do all they knew to destroy the good effect of the Emperor's visit, and to hinder the establishment of the peace so urgently needed; and it was at Grätz again that an incident occurred which justified these gloomy forebodings. About a thousand students, not only of the university, but of the gymnasiums and technical schools (who would be mere boys), started another demonstration against the band of the Bosnian regiment during a concert, with the difference that this time the students were not supported in their rowdyism by the people.

Anyone who refuses to content himself with the visible appearances of things, and endeavours to investigate the hidden springs that move them, may very well ask concerning this bitter inextinguishable conflict of nationalities, 'Why was all this?' It would be hard to convince him that it was all about the German language, for he would regard the language question as a symptom, not a cause. The cause he would probably look for in some religious or social difference, or in a deep-rooted national antipathy. Such a conjecture would be very natural; but

would it be the right one? Partly right, no doubt it is; for instance, the enmity between Croats and Serbs, who speak the same language, may be explained by their difference of religion, the Croats being Catholics, the Serbs members of the Greek Church. In the case of the Poles and Ruthenians, again, there are undoubtedly social and economic causes of contention, for the Poles are lords of the soil in the parts of Galicia inhabited by the Ruthenians; they are the aristocracy of the country, and monopolise the influential offices in it. But apart from these exceptions (which, properly speaking, do not touch the language question at all) we cannot find any adequate religious, social, or economic reasons for this national hatred among Austrian peoples. By far the greater majority of the population have the same religion. As for the Czechs and Germans, they both, almost without exception, belong to the Catholic Church. Nor can these differences be explained on social or economic grounds, for almost everywhere in Austria, more especially in Bohemia, wealth and poverty are equally distributed among the different nationalities; while, socially speaking, they all enjoy the same rights, not only in theory, but in practice.

The last elections to the *Reichsrath* furnish, perhaps, the clearest proof that the national quarrel is independent of all these questions. Bohemia is the home of the largest labour population in Austria, and there, if anywhere, Social Democracy should have its stronghold; but nearly all the votes went to the two National parties. Fanatical Nationalism carried it over Socialism, though the one party is swayed by its imagination, the other by its material needs.

There remains, then, the hypothesis of a deep-rooted and unconquerable national antipathy. But even this hypothesis is inadequate. The nations of Austria have lived in peace with one another for centuries; in fact, wherever they are not deliberately egged on to fight, they still do so. In Galicia, where over two hundred thousand Germans live in the midst of a Slav population, nobody ever hears of their quarrelling. How little truth there is in this notion of a deep-rooted race-hatred is proved by the fact that in 1866 the population of Southern Tyrol, entirely consisting of Italians, remained loyal to Austria,

and joined the Germans in defending their country against their kindred in race.

In Austria a genuine, deep-rooted and undying racial antipathy exists in the case of one race only—the Jews. All other inhabitants are agreed in regarding the Jews as a foreign body of a peculiarly objectionable kind. If it came to the point, one and all, whether Germans or Slavs, would join hands in attacking them. Such an instinctive hatred as all other nationalities feel against the Jews is not to be found in the relations of these races among themselves, not even between Germans and Czechs. The sort of hatred they at present entertain for each other is not a deep-rooted racial antipathy at all, but a symptom of the Nationalism which has grown into a disease under the artificial stimulus of agitators; a sign of the intolerant, arrogant, modern tendency which has spread over the world since 1848, and is nothing else than an overweening national egoism. At the present day, not only does each nation consider itself the best and foremost, but it insists on every other nation acknowledging it as such; failing which acknowledgment it falls to vituperation or blows. Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism are the most familiar of the many names and many forms of Nationalism. In Austria their struggle is a struggle for power; and, a State language being a symbol of power, the struggle is primarily a struggle for language. Thus the conflict of nationalities in Austria is really nothing less than a question of supremacy.

Certainly no other country offers a better field for the struggle than polyglot Austria. It is equally certain that no other state is worse fitted to bear it. But Austrian statesmen do not seem to have had sufficient insight to perceive the fact. What else can we conclude from their feeble concessions to the principle of nationality—a principle which must infallibly lead to the disintegration of the Empire? It is time that the nations of Austria, and, above all, the Germans, should remember that they are Austrians; that their fatherland is not a mere artificial conglomeration of nationalities, but a living necessity. It is high time that they should realise once for all the truth of that wise utterance, 'If there were no Austria, one would have to be created.'

HUNGARY.

The national conflict has proceeded on quite different lines in the Hungarian half of the Empire. Here the Government has always followed a policy opposite to that of Austria. While the latter confers on the various nationalities the widest possible liberty, officially recognises them as standing on an equal footing, and is ready to meet their wishes in every way that can be reconciled with the idea of the Austrian State, adopting the utmost tolerance for its principle, the Hungarian Government does exactly the opposite. Intolerance is its principle, bitter intolerance of everything that is not Magyar—a policy carried out with such effect that there can be no question, properly speaking, of a national conflict such as goes on in Austria. Nevertheless, it would be a deplorable error to assume, therefore, that peace reigns on the farther side of the Leitha. Peace is as unknown there as it is on the nearer side; only the struggle goes on in silence, till now and then a cry of anguish or of vengeance rings beyond the red-white-and-green barriers, but not loud enough to be audible to foreign ears.

There is no country in the world where the ruling race dares to behave with such tyranny and intolerance as in Hungary, the land of liberalism and freedom. This is sufficiently evident from the almost incredible fact that, of the nearly eight million non-Magyars inhabiting Hungary, none are represented in the Hungarian Parliament except the Saxons of Transylvania, whose delegates are entirely swamped by the overwhelming Magyar majority. Thus these nationalities are deprived of the only possible means of defending their rights and making known their wants and grievances; therefore, as the national conflict is forbidden the field of politics, the world hears nothing of it, and it has to be fought out in the dark, behind the scenes.

Again, while the Austrian Government makes every conceivable concession, and pays the most anxious attention to each one of the many languages spoken in that half of the Empire, the Hungarian Government recognises one language alone—the Hungarian. There is nothing to be said against this, except that Hungarian is not a universal language, but an isolated tongue, possessing no

resemblance to any other tongue spoken in the country, and that on this account it is extremely difficult to learn. It is doubtless a wise policy on the part of the Hungarian Government to insist on the unity of the official language. In a polyglot country this is absolutely necessary; and it is to be wished that the Austrian Government were equally energetic. But it is quite another thing for the Hungarian authorities to persist in compelling other nationalities to use their language in unofficial intercourse. German is the language that they are most particularly eager to suppress, and that, if they had their will, they would destroy root and branch. They resent its educational superiority, and they hate it as having been their official language in former times, when Hungary was governed from outside by Austria, and as therefore reminding them of their former dependence. Their manner of carrying on this war of extermination against German is as exasperating in its severity as it is puerile and ludicrous in its pettiness.

The most familiar instance of this persecution is the Magyarisation of German geographical names throughout the country. For many decades the Hungarian Government has been most zealous in obliterating every trace that suggests that Germans ever lived there. Thus, without the smallest consideration for the German inhabitants, they have changed all the old town-names, such as Pressburg, Oedenburg, Wieselburg, Fünfkirchen, Güns, into names which, for everybody but Hungarians, are incomprehensible and unpronounceable—Poszony, Soprony, Moson, Pecs, Köszeg. And as with these names, which are for the most part historical, so with all other German nomenclature. The Magyar names having, as a rule, no resemblance whatever to the original German, the ordinary non-Magyar, to whom the Hungarian language is about as familiar as the Chinese, is unable to find his way about in this Magyar geography. For such a one travelling in Hungary it is particularly awkward, the names of the stations being invariably in Magyar. But not only are these German topographical names wiped out of official existence, they are also disappearing from the handbooks of the German schools in Hungary. The protest raised by the Saxons of Transylvania was unavailing; and a deputation of Saxon ladies, who applied in person to the

Emperor, was refused an audience. No better fate befell a deputation of Roumanians who, a few years earlier, attempted a just appeal to the supreme authority against the oppression of the Hungarian Government.

The Government would no doubt very gladly have Magyarised in the same way all family names that are not Magyar already. But, feeling perhaps that violence in this instance would be a mistake, they have for once tried gentle means, leaving it open to everyone to Magyarise his name on payment of the small sum of fifty kreuzers. Now, as a non-Magyar, especially a German, name is not a very strong recommendation for anybody who wants to get on in Hungary, there are plenty of people weak enough to be willing to exchange their ancestral name for a Magyar one. This feebleness of mind, by no means uncommon among the Germans of Hungary, is the rule among the Jews, who can thus get rid of their fatal German cognomens and disport themselves to their great enjoyment as genuine Magyars. In Austria these Magyar-Semites are playfully termed 'Fifty-Kreuzer Magyars.'

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising, however incredible at first sight, that German should be struck out of the curriculum of Hungarian schools. The astounding thing is that Magyar fanaticism has obtruded itself into the private life of the Germans, compelling them to adopt the Magyar language. Efforts are being made to prevent the performance of German plays and to replace them by Hungarian, even in towns where the majority of the population is German. It might be supposed that an attempt of this sort could not succeed; that in a modern state, under a *régime* calling itself Liberal, it would be impossible to dictate to any townspeople the language to be spoken on the stage supported by them. But in Hungary, the land of freedom, all things are possible when it is a question of keeping its non-Magyar subjects in proper subjection. So the Hungarian Government published a 'ukase', in which the theatre-goers of certain towns were warned that the performance of German plays might be forbidden altogether; meanwhile only a limited number were to be acted, and that on condition that a larger number of Hungarian plays should be produced. If the inhabitants of these towns do not want to

forgo altogether the pleasure of having a theatre where they may hear plays acted in their own language, there is nothing left for them but to accept these hard conditions, and to emphasise their own attitude by avoiding the Hungarian performances enforced by Government—which, as it happens, is what they ostentatiously do. But the Hungarian Government does not seem willing to make any concessions whatever, and is now trying to prevent altogether the production of German plays. In these efforts, seeing its reckless obstinacy in all national questions, it will probably succeed, notwithstanding the strong resistance it has encountered in these towns.

In Budapesth, the capital, it has actually succeeded, chance having favoured it in a somewhat remarkable manner. The German theatre was burnt to the ground in 1889. Naturally, Magyar Chauvinism would not permit the building of another theatre, so the Germans (nearly one-fifth of the urban population) have had to do without one ever since. As if this were not enough, they are not even allowed to enjoy in quiet the performances of German companies on tour. When, a few years ago, some Viennese actors were incautious enough to give a performance in Budapesth, their appearance provoked such a disturbance that the piece had to be withdrawn. But the most pitiful achievement of the Magyar patriots was their request to Parliament that Count Nicolas Esterhazy, who was in the habit of producing German plays at the theatre attached to his castle at Tolis, should be forbidden to do so for the future.

The German language is not tolerated even in the *cafés-chantant*. During the Millenary Exhibition, which celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the Hungarian Kingdom, an official order was issued to this effect—not a very wise regulation, seeing that it was hardly calculated to attract many foreigners to the place. In accordance with the same suicidal policy the wares displayed at this exhibition bore, without exception, Hungarian inscriptions, so that no foreigner could read them. It was scarcely to be wondered at if the exhibition was not so well attended as it might have been by Austrians and the travel-loving inhabitants of Germany. Annoyed at this very natural result, the 'Egyetértes' (one of the largest papers in Budapesth) actually had the hardihood to assert that

'this behaviour proves the justice of the Hungarian proverb which makes "scoundrel" (*Hundsfott*) a synonym for "German."'

In the face of this persecution it is not a little remarkable that so many German newspapers are published in the capital without opposition, and that the one which has the largest circulation in Hungary should be the 'Pester Lloyd.' But this apparent inconsistency is to be explained in the same way as the appearance of Czech papers in the German language, which we mentioned in speaking of the disturbances in Austria. These German papers serve the Hungarian interest; and they make use of the German language for the simple reason that they want to reach a public beyond the red-white-and-green barriers, which they could not do if published in Hungarian. Thus does Hungary involuntarily acknowledge the insufficiency of her own language and do unwilling homage to the tongue which she hates.

From these instances (all well-authenticated facts) it is obvious enough that the conflict of nationalities under the Habsburg monarchy is not confined to the Austrian half of the Empire. As Magyar terrorism is mainly directed against the Germans, it might be supposed that the Germans would offer the strongest resistance to it. This is, however, very far from being the case. While the Roumanians and Croats are displaying a bitter resentment against the tyranny of the Magyars, the resistance of the Germans, like that of the northern Slavs, is lukewarm. But the feeling of revolt against the tyrannous Magyar yoke which the Croats and Roumanians have already unmistakably shown, though limited so far to a grinding of teeth and clenching of fists in secret rage, is bound sooner or later to seize on the patient Germans and Slavs of the north, and to declare itself in terrible fashion some day—the day when the oppressed become aware that, with their united forces, they are stronger and more numerous than the oppressors. For the Magyars it will be a day of reckoning, when their crushing despotism will be paid back to them with interest; and the sooner they succeed in attaining the goal of their fanaticism—complete severance from Austria and absolute independence—the sooner will this day of reckoning appear.

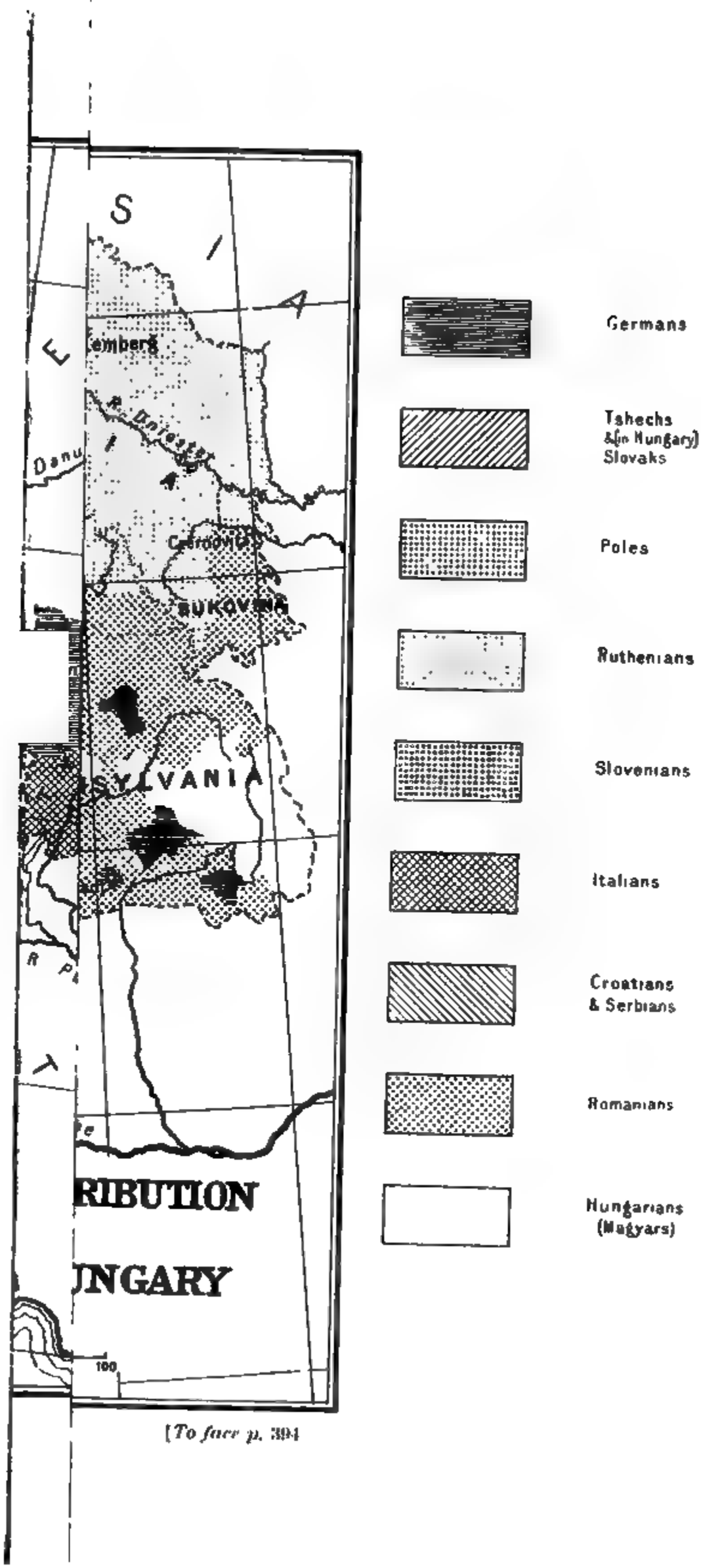
It might be supposed that every reasonable Hungarian

would see this; that it would occur to him that the geographical position of his country is in the highest degree unfavourable, temptingly open as it is to the attack of its many enemies. With his seven and a half millions against ten millions of other nationalities, the Magyar is already in a minority. As a more or less compact mass, the Hungarian nation is confined to the centre of the country, and even there is interpenetrated by other nationalities and surrounded on all sides by its enemies. Not only so, but beyond the frontiers those enemies are directly supported by their racial kinsmen; in the south by the Slavs of Bosnia and Servia; in the south-east by the Roumanians of Roumania; in the north by the Slavs of Moravia and Galicia, behind whom looms Russia; in the west by the Germans of Austria.

But though the serious danger of this position is obvious to the most casual observer, the Magyars themselves either cannot or will not see it. They rely insolently on their strength, and pursue their undeviating way towards the subjugation of the other nations of their land. They are encouraged in this by the painful experience of the Austrian Government in its thorough-going national tolerance; and so they go straight ahead, still striving towards their goal, and tearing with impatient fury at the bands which bind them to Austria and hinder the independence which they so passionately desire.

These bands are already very loose. Austria and Hungary have little in common beyond the dynasty, foreign and diplomatic relations, maintenance of the Empire, customs and the army. As compared with Austria, Hungary has the advantage; for while Austria contributes sixty-eight per cent. to the expenses of the State, Hungary's share is never more than thirty-two per cent.—or less than a third—while the right proportion, according to population, would be fifty-six to forty-four. Not only so, but the common Government pays the most anxious attention to the exacting demands of Hungary, conceding to them a great deal more than is consistent with its own dignity and the interests of Austria. These are so rapidly retreating into the background that the joint monarchy will soon be better described as Hungary-Austria than Austria-Hungary.

In spite, or perhaps because, of these enormous con-


S
I
A
E
emberg
R. Dniester
Danu
Czernovitz
BUKOVINA
SYLVANIA
R P
T
RIBUTION
UNGARY
100
Germans
Tshechs
&(in Hungary)
Slovaks
Poles
Ruthenians
Slovenians
Italians
Croatians
& Serbians
Romanians
Hungarians
(Magyars)

[To face p. 394

cessions and advantages which she has managed to secure for herself, Hungary is never satisfied. Made covetous in consequence, she is now asking for a further reduction in her modest contribution to the common expenses, and also for an independent army. This is the reiterated demand of the Magyar Chauvinists, who regard the 'Royal and Imperial' army as the chief bulwark of the monarchy, and as a German institution—German being the language of the service. The common army is consequently the object of violent attacks and villainous calumnies. Hardly a year passes without at least one 'military affair,' which gives the Radicals a happy pretext for their chauvinist and anti-Austrian patriotism. By some abominable distortion of the facts the most trivial incident is swelled to the proportions of a *cause célèbre* and treated in Parliament as a high political event, which invariably gives rise to scandal more or less serious, and now and then costs a Minister his place. The worst is that, whenever one of these affairs comes to light in Parliament or the press, the cry for a separate army breaks out with redoubled vigour. But at bottom this cry means nothing less than 'Away from Austria!' If Hungary should eventually get her way in this matter—and her reckless national energy may quite possibly enable her to get it—then nothing will stand between her and her goal, absolute independence. For it is easy to foresee that she will not long put up with the personal union under a common ruler, and will tear asunder this last band that binds her to detested Austria.

The Hungarians, then, are making straight for this goal, storming along in their certainty of victory. But that the goal is not the end, but only one station on their road, and that at the end of the road there waits for them destruction, the utter annihilation of Hungary at the hands of the nations which she has oppressed—this, in the blindness of their national egotism, they do not see. The day of Hungary's independence will be the day of revolution for the nations subjugated by her; from that day she will date the beginning of her downfall.

Art. IV.—A WELSH POET OF CHAUCER'S DAY.

1. *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym.* [The poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym.] Edited by Owen Jones and William Owen (William Owen Pughe). London, 1789.
2. *Wild Wales.* By George Borrow. New edition. London: John Murray, 1901.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM, the greatest of the mediæval Welsh bards, is little more than a name even to lettered Englishmen. He is best known, perhaps, as the object of George Borrow's profound admiration—an admiration which finds such strong and repeated expression in 'Wild Wales' and 'Lavengro' that he who would introduce the Welsh poet to the English reader is almost obliged to take one of Borrow's panegyrics as his text. Literary history, indeed, tells of few stranger enthusiasms than this of Borrow's for the 'wild Welshman who, some five hundred years ago, indited immortal odes to the wives of Cambrian chieftains,' and who is pronounced in 'Lavengro' to be 'one of the some half-dozen really great poets whose verses exist, in whatever language they wrote, at the present day and are more or less known.' It is an awkwardly-worded compliment, but it is plain and sufficiently startling. Borrow sought to justify his admiration of Dafydd ap Gwilym and other Welsh bards by inserting in 'Wild Wales' rhymed translations of some of their poems; and it is not surprising to find critical readers questioning, as Professor Saintsbury does in his essay on Borrow, whether these Welsh bards were poets of such quality as their eulogist would make them out to be, 'if the originals are anything like his translations of them.'

Fortunately, there is some difference. Borrow's sympathy in this matter was superior to his scholarship; besides, he was no poet, and it needs a poet of some skill to make tolerable English verse of the songs of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Borrow, however, knew Welsh well enough to discover in Dafydd the fine lyric poet he unquestionably is, and few Englishmen have got thus far. It is not our concern here to defend Borrow's extravagances, or to maintain the proposition that Dafydd ap Gwilym is one of 'the half-dozen great poets of the world.' Welsh

poetry has suffered too much at the hands of over-eager patriots to permit those who know and wisely love it to endorse estimates so absolute and so flattering as this, even when they come from a foreigner. But of Dafydd ap Gwilym it may be said that neglect, even more than intemperate eulogy, has kept him from taking his rightful place in the republic of letters. He is a lyric singer of the fourteenth century whose clear, individual note is no mere echo of another's, and has never since been quite repeated. Among the European poets of his time he stands apart, owning close kinship to none, but within the limits of his art successfully challenging comparison with the best; among Welsh poets, in virtue of his ability to subdue a difficult form of verse to almost every mood of the lyrical impulse, he is without a peer.

Dafydd ap Gwilym is the first, as he is the greatest, of the Welsh bards of the Renaissance. He is the herald of what is generally held to be the golden age of Kymric poetry—a period extending from the fourteenth to the close of the sixteenth century. A glance at the history of Welsh poetry up to and including his time is necessary to a proper understanding of Dafydd ap Gwilym's work, and of the significance of his brilliant efflorescence in the early dawn of the Renaissance. It is popularly supposed that the earliest Welsh poetry dates back to the sixth century of our era, and that we possess poems in the British tongue as it was spoken at that remote period. This, it need scarcely be said, is a delusion cherished only by patriotic Welsh writers who persist in a gallant disdain of all the results of modern scholarship. That there were Welsh bards in the sixth century, and that they sang songs which bore some similarity to the written compositions attributed to them, there is no valid reason to doubt. What is more certain is that these poems, as we have them, are in the language of a much later period; that they were embellished and added to by a succession of reciters and scribes; and that a good many spurious poems came in time to be attributed to bards whose genuine extant work is very scanty.

It is in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that we find the poems of the earliest Welsh bards—Aneurin, Llywarch Hên, Taliesin, and that very indeterminate being, Myrddin or Merlin. Aneurin wrote

the 'Gododin,' a poem commemorative of the warriors who 'marched to Cattraeth with the dawn,' and who fell in the seven days' battle on that fated field. Dim and shadowy names are those of the slaughtered warriors; equally dim and shadowy is the figure of their elegist. Like Llywarch Hên he was a warrior poet, a Tyrtæus of the West, who urged on the chieftains whose fall he laments. Llywarch Hên, or Llywarch the Old, is the singer who, in the few poems that bear his name, seems to display the most genuine poetical gift of all these early bards. He also is an elegist of the slain, a poet of lost causes; but he is, besides, a poet of nature and of old age. The shadows of misfortune, it is true, darkened his view of nature; he sings of winter, of rain, of the sere leaf. There is a certain sombre grandeur in this old man's protest against the obsession of inexorable fate and the ills of mortality.

'The four things I have all my life most hated now fall upon me together—coughing and old age, sickness and grief.' 'The hall of Cynddylan is dark to-night, without fire, without song; cheeks are wet with tears.'

It is not the sentimental and lachrymose melancholy supposed by some to be a peculiar attribute of the Celt that we find in these poems, but the deep and almost fierce lament of one to whom fair weather, youth, health and good fortune were everything. Taliesin has always been a much more imposing traditional figure than either Llywarch Hên or Aneurin, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries his name was attached to a large number of spurious poems, exemplified by the well-known prophecy about the fate of the Britons, ending with the lines—

'The Lord they will praise,
Their speech they will keep,
Their land they will lose
Except wild Wales.'

All that can safely be said about the work of Taliesin is that some of the historical poems, those dealing with Urien and the struggle with the Saxons, are either by him or based upon original songs of his. Merlin is in history even a more elusive personage than Taliesin, and it is

difficult to believe that any poem of his has come down to us: *stat magni nominis umbra.*

There is a great gap in Welsh literary history between the poetry of the sixth century and that of the next epoch of which we have authentic record. The twelfth century witnessed a remarkable revival of Welsh national life, which at once proved a stimulus to literary activity. It was at this time that the 'Mabinogion' began to take definite literary shape, and that King Arthur, arrayed by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the full panoply of a romantic national hero, 'rose like an exhalation' before the imagination of Europe. It was not, however, to romance that the Welsh bards of the twelfth century turned for their subjects, but to the very mundane surroundings of the Welsh princes and their courts. They had, indeed, some excuse, for the Welsh princes were then men of prowess and ability who achieved something worth singing about, notably when the ablest and most intrepid of them all, Llywelyn the Great, for a space held all Wales under his sway. At the courts of these princes ready welcome and liberal cheer were extended to bards who could chant the praises of the noble and the brave. The household bard was often a man of rank whose duty it was to inspire his chieftain's retinue with songs of arms and of men. The bards knew what was expected of them and did it; and the poetry of the period of the princes is almost entirely of the encomiastic order.

It is difficult for us now to read with any real interest these egregious panegyrics and tumid elegies. Of all the Welsh poets those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, strenuous times though they were, are the most remote from us both in subject and style. Yet there were gifted men among them, whose names have been held in high esteem by the Welsh themselves. One of these was Gwalchmai, the panegyrist of Owain Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, the 'Owen swift and Owen strong' of Gray's famous ode. Gwalchmai's 'Delight,' as one of his poems is entitled, is 'the green of the untrodden grass by the limpid brook,' 'the garrulous nightingale practised in odes,' 'the sea-mews, paired in love, sporting on a moving bed of waters.'

Hywel, the son of this prince of Gwynedd, has likewise sung of his 'Delight.' Wild Wales was his joy—'its

meadows, its waters, and its valleys, its white gulls and its beautiful women.' To one of these fair women he addresses a song which remains one of the most graceful love-lyrics in the Welsh language. The death of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, the last of the Welsh princes, in 1282, may be said to close this second period of Welsh poetry.

It can scarcely have been an accident that the most brilliant epoch in the history of Welsh poetry should have immediately succeeded the golden age of Italian poetry. Several of the Welsh poets of the fourteenth century were scholars, and there was doubtless some intellectual commerce between Wales and Italy at that period. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym and his contemporaries owes much to Italian influence and example. Dafydd ap Gwilym himself had probably some acquaintance with the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, but what he has borrowed or imitated from them is of little significance. It is the satires of the Welsh bards upon priests and friars that unite them to the more adventurous spirits of the earlier Renaissance in other European countries. Neither Langland nor Boccaccio is more severe upon the black sheep of the Church than Dafydd ap Gwilym. The Welsh poets of this time must have felt the effects of the intellectual movement which, in Italy and England in particular, anticipated the 'pagan Renaissance' of the fifteenth century. Thomas Stephens, in his 'Literature of the Kymry,' ventures somewhat diffidently on this account of the matter: there is really no other account to give. And, strangely enough, it was the earlier rather than the later Renaissance that told powerfully and for good upon the literature of Wales. The sixteenth century, productive of so magnificent a literary harvest in England, is a dismally barren epoch in Welsh literary history. But during both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a great quantity of poetry was produced in Wales which, judged by the level of excellence to which Welsh bards have since attained in the short ode or *cywydd*, is of surprisingly good performance. There is no denying the excellent craftsmanship, at least, of these bards. Compared with the average English poetry of their time, the work of these Welsh poets is conspicuous for its formal excel-

lence. This is accounted for by the fact that the intellectual movement which broke up the long literary supremacy of Latin struck in Wales a people whose language was, for literary purposes, in a highly developed and 'ascertained' state. Wales, in a word, possessed an authoritative literary dialect, a literary tradition, when the breath of the earlier Renaissance awoke the gift of song in Dafydd ap Gwilym and his successors.

A peculiarly tempting form of indiscretion in a poet's friends is to invoke a great historic name to help people to a conception of his quality. The hardihood that led someone to call Klopstock the German Milton could only provoke such a retort as Coleridge had ready when he heard the comparison. Dafydd ap Gwilym was a contemporary perhaps of Dante, certainly of Chaucer, but he was neither a Welsh Chaucer nor a Welsh Dante. He has, however, been called the Welsh Ovid and 'the Cambrian Petrarch'; and Borrow even speaks of him as a sort of Ovid, a Horace, a Martial and a Tyrtæus, all in one. That, of course, is only Borrow's way. What is more difficult to understand is why the first editor of Dafydd's poems, Dr William Owen Pughe, should have spoken of him as being called by his countrymen 'the Ovid of Wales,' and have himself endorsed the description. Those who would yoke Dafydd ap Gwilym and Ovid together as equally gross exponents of the art of love lack sense to discriminate between studied indelicacy and frank naturalism. The Welsh poet was a free liver because he was a child of Nature; and his ingenuous account of his various amours has none of the deliberate suggestiveness of erotic poetry written after the Ovidian pattern. He was no better in his morals than the rest of the minstrel crew of his time, but even his broadest poems are redeemed by touches of fancy and fine imagination for which we are willing to forgive and condone much. Dafydd never went on an amatory quest out of which he did not succeed in evolving in his poetry something rich and strange. Nature, after all, was his real mistress. It was her moods and caprices that above all things he loved to study, and her voice it was that ever held him in instant and inevitable spell.

Herein, indeed, lies Dafydd's distinction, standing as he does well-nigh without kinsman among all the poets

of the Middle Ages in the freshness, the freedom, the wild and frolicsome delight of his intercourse with nature. Chaucer's poetry, we are accustomed to say, is redolent of spring flowers and vocal with the spring song of birds; but how little, after all, did he see in nature in comparison with what he saw in man! Unsurpassed, again, as are some of Dante's pictures of nature, they are but accessories to heighten the effect of his stupendous panorama of human life. We pause a while in admiration of some magnificent image or splendid simile, but our main and ultimate interest is in the vast and varied array of human characters, the

'moving row
Of magic shadow-shapes that come and go'

with the majestic progress of the Divine Comedy.

Dafydd ap Gwilym had in him neither the vision nor the learning to call up such spirits as these. He moves in quite another world—the careless, improvident, jovial world of the wandering minstrel. But compare him with the average court minstrel of his time, Welsh or other, and what a difference! No mere troubadour, no idle singer of love-ditties is he, but a poet to whom Nature speaks in words of magic import. One feels, in reading him, not only that he knows Nature, but is himself a part of her, instinct with the wild life of wood and field and river. Not a poem of his but attests the quick eye, the sensitive ear, the alert and susceptible temper of one who spent his days and most of his nights under the open sky. In these songs, if anywhere in Celtic poetry, we are in the presence of that 'natural magic,' in which Matthew Arnold finds a distinctive trait of the literature of the Celt. One is inclined indeed to go further, and to say that there is something almost uncanny at times in Dafydd's marvellous intimacy with wild creatures and in his bold familiarity with the impalpable elements. He rails at the thunder, imprecates the mist, jests with the snow, laughs with the sunlight, wails and pleads with the wind, and is on terms of the most blithe and ingenuous fellowship—talking to them in the most intimate way, now coaxing, now chiding, now plaintively begging, now frankly cursing—with birds and beasts and fishes of every kind. Few poets ever knew the birds better than Dafydd ap

Gwilym, or sang of them in lines more cunningly suggestive of their music. The bard himself seems to become one of them, and his song to rise out of the universal impulse which makes all the woodland vocal. Such a singer, appearing at such a time, assuredly deserves to be better known to students of poetry.

Not much is known of the poet's history, but what little we do know is of interest and importance as bearing upon his poetry. The editors of the first printed edition of his poems (1789) think that he was born in 1340, and that he died in 1400; others, on the strength of evidence afforded by some Welsh stanzas of doubtful authorship, give 1300 as the date of his birth and 1367 as that of his death. There are facts which make it difficult to accept either supposition; but that he lived in the fourteenth century and was a contemporary of Chaucer is beyond question. No less difficult is it to ascertain the poet's birthplace. Most people have been led astray by an epigram attributing to the old British bard Taliesin a prophecy that in Bro Ginin, in the county of Cardigan, not far from Aberystwyth, 'should be born a bard whose song would be sweet as wine.' This alleged prediction is but one of those prophecies which the later Welsh bards have never had much scruple about putting into the mouth of some remote member or other of their order. An *englyn* or epigram, attributed on very doubtful grounds to the poet himself, states that he was born 'under a thicket' not far from Llandaff, on a Friday, at a time when his parents, not yet united in lawful wedlock, were on their way to seek asylum in the house of Ivor the Generous at Maesaleg, in Monmouthshire. The poet's father, Gwilym Gam, came of an honourable stock, and his mother, Ardudful, was a sister of Llywelyn ap Gwilym Fychan, or Vaughan, a scholar and a poet, who afterwards became Dafydd's instructor in the bardic craft. Ardudful, worn out by her wanderings, is said to have died on the day after the poet's birth, but not before having had the seal of the Church upon her union with Gwilym Gam.

After his mother's death, Dafydd was received into the household of Ivor Hael, or Ivor 'the Generous,' who was a kinsman of his father's. In Ivor and his wife, Nesta, Dafydd found loyal friends whose door was never closed against his return from his many wanderings.

Indeed, Maesaleg seems to have been the only home where the poet felt thoroughly happy. Gwilym Gam married a second time, and no love seems to have been lost between Dafydd and his step-mother; but the praises of Ivor and Nesta he has sung in verses eloquent of sincere and enduring affection. Ivor appointed him, at an early age, steward of his household and tutor to his daughter. How he acquitted himself in the duties of his stewardship we do not know. His poems pretty clearly indicate how he fared with the lady. He fell in love with her, and at once incurred the father's displeasure. Ivor sought to stop the attachment by sending his daughter to a nunnery at the other end of the Principality. Dafydd then, as he did many a time afterwards, took to the fields and the woods, and after travelling the length of Wales in quest of the exiled maid, discovered her retreat in the Isle of Anglesey. It was then, in all probability, that the bard composed a series of pretty odes, all addressed to a nun, who can scarcely be other than Ivor's daughter. The tradition is that Dafydd, in order to remain near her, became the servant of the abbot of a neighbouring monastery, where he must have begun to acquire that contempt of the Church and of the clergy which finds such strong expression in his poetry. It already breaks out in these early poems.

'Have done,' he appeals to the cloistered fair one,* 'have done, in Mary's name, with the mincing prayers and the rites of the monks of Rome. Be no nun in the spring—for how far poorer now is the nunnery than the grove! Thy religion, best and fairest of maids, is at war with love. Come out under the canopy of the beech-trees, unto the religion of the greenwood and the cuckoo.... Dost thou do worse to win a soul in the woodland than to act as they use at Rome or at St James' (i.e. of Compostella)?'

Ivor's daughter, it would seem, refused to listen to the bard's suit; but Dafydd ere long found in Anglesey another mistress—the peerless Morfudd, in whose praise he boasts of having sung odes to the number of seven score and seven.

In the meantime he returned to Maesaleg, and was

* Ode x. (Edition of 1789.)

allowed to resume his stewardship. He also became the household bard of Ivor. Although the household bards held an official position in the *entourage* of their noble patron and were often men of noble blood themselves, they were not always content to be the mere domiciliary officials their name would seem to imply. Dafydd ap Gwilym, at least, was much too inveterate a rover to take his duties to the household very seriously. The highways and the hedges afforded him much better sport. There were bards and priests to encounter, and to rout in scathing verse. There were magic casements where fair ladies waited to be wooed. Dafydd was equal to either emergency —a bardic bout or an evening serenade. One bard is even said to have died under the withering fire of his sarcasm. His controversial odes—very much after the manner of the *tensons* of the Provençal poets—composed in a prolonged contest with a bardic rival named Gruffydd Gryg, form a considerable part of his published poems. But although he could hold his own in such bardic bickerings with the best of them, love and the wild life of nature were the real joy and solace of Dafydd's wanderings.

Nearly all the extant poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym are in the form of what is known in Welsh as the *cywydd*—a short poem consisting of rhymed couplets of lines of seven syllables in which alliteration and assonance, varied according to a rigid system, play an indispensable part. To a stranger its chief curiosity is the variation of accent in the couplet. In one line—the first or the second, according to the bard's fancy—the accent is on the penultimate syllable, while in the other it falls on the last. The following two lines, taken from an English *englyn*, give a very fair idea of the metrical character of these couplets:

'Why let rough and bluff winds blow
Thy wailings on the willow?'

The couplets do not always conform strictly to this pattern, but these lines will serve sufficiently well to illustrate the main principle of the structure of the *cywydd*. The *cywydd* is, of necessity, a short poem; a long-drawn succession of couplets of the kind just instanced, though varied by every subtle device known to the most accomplished bard, would be fatally monotonous. As a lyric measure it has obvious disadvantages; its

structure is much too artificial and too rigid. Dafydd ap Gwilym is no more able than less gifted bards to move in the shackles of the *cywydd* without making us hear their clank and know that he feels their weight. It is doubtful whether he has a single poem from which one would not wish to see some couplets away. At his best, however, he is so consummate a master of his instrument that the very rigour and intricacy of the metre give us that impression of 'inevitableness,' to use an all too hackneyed term, which the highest poetical art, the perfect marriage of thought and expression, always conveys. Hence the difficulty, or rather, the impossibility, of translating such poetry either in verse or in prose. No actual or conceivable English measure can reproduce the peculiar charm of the Welsh alliterative line; and in the best Welsh poetry the form is so absolutely ancillary to the sense that it is best to decline all attempt at verse translation and to resort to prose. In prose, at any rate, one can be 'true to' the bard's 'sense,' and so be 'truer to his fame' than by seeking to deck him out in adventitious epithets and futile rhymes.

Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, in an essay* that deserves to be better known than it is, suggests that the *chanson* of the Provençal Troubadours was the model of the *cywydd* as used by the Welsh poet. If Dafydd was the actual inventor of the *cywydd*—its form is sufficiently different from that of the *chanson* to justify its being called an invention—Mr Cowell's conjecture is probably right; for, as he points out at some length, there is much resemblance between some of Dafydd's poems and those of the Troubadours.

'A portion of his odes,' says Mr Cowell, 'are so like Provençal chansons in their subject-matter that one might almost believe they were direct imitations. These are the somewhat wearisome semi-metaphysical disquisitions on the nature and lineage of love, the golden hair of Morfudd, etc. These are the staple of Provençal poetry; but in Dafydd ap Gwilym they are only a very small portion.'

It is almost certain that Dafydd was acquainted with the songs of the Troubadours. It is quite certain that he knew

* Printed in 'Y Cymmrodor,' Vol. II (1878)—the journal of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

Latin, and probable that he had some knowledge of Italian; we know from his poems that he had read Ovid, and there are here and there in his songs reminiscences of Petrarch and Boccaccio. Parallels have been drawn between one or two of his poems and those of the Minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide. Of Walther, Dafydd could have known nothing; the German and the Welsh poet were doubtless drawing from the same Provençal sources.

While Dafydd ap Gwilym has thus much in common with the conventional love-poets of the Middle Ages, he has more that places him apart as an original poet giving free play to his native Welsh genius; and it is as a distinctively Welsh poet, and a poet of nature, that we would speak of him here. Curiously enough, Dafydd stands out in almost as marked contrast to his immediate predecessors and his contemporaries in Welsh poetry as he does to the Troubadours and other love-poets. He, like the rest, could turn out encomiastic odes when necessary. Ivor the Generous will live in his verse, he tells us, 'as long as wheat shall be sown, as long as the gracious dew shall moisten the earth, as long as seed shall sprout from the ground,' and, in a climax which no prophecy about the vitality of the Welsh tongue has ever surpassed in its magnificent confidence, 'as long as the language of the Cymry shall last.' But the bulk of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry deals with the perennial themes of love and nature, and comes as a welcome relief from the eulogies and elegies of his predecessors. To him, indeed, nature was 'an appetite, a feeling and a love,' so much so, that he seems to invoke a mistress but as an excuse for singing of some aspect of nature's life. Borrow would have it that Dafydd was never very seriously in love, not even with Morfudd, who inspired the seven score and seven odes.

'A strange songster was that,' Borrow writes, 'who, pretending to be captivated by every woman he saw, was in reality in love with nature alone—wild, beautiful, solitary nature—her mountains and cascades, her forests and streams, her birds, fishes and wild animals. Go to, Ap Gwilym, with thy pseudo-amatory odes to Morfudd, or this or that other lady, fair or ugly; little didst thou care for any of them. Dame Nature was thy love, however thou mayst seek to disguise the truth. Yes, yes, send thy love-message to Morfudd,

the fair wanton. By whom dost thou send it, I would know? By the salmon, forsooth, which haunts the rushing stream, the glorious salmon which bounds and gambols in the flashing water, and whose ways and circumstances thou so well describest!'

The song in which the bard begs the salmon to be his messenger of love is typical of a class of poems in which the bard invokes the assistance of the animal creation to convey greetings to his mistress.

'Fairest creature art thou,' he sings,* 'be holy Mary my witness, that ever was fashioned in the sea, thou proud prince of the wave.... Hie thee swiftly through the briny water, cleave the wave, be no laggard. Let no fish know thee, nor any man be ware of thee ... until thou comest where lies the maid of hue lovely as the swallow athwart the foam.'

In all these songs we find some playful touch, some freak of frolic fancy, which shows the poet's homely intimacy, his sense of comradeship, with these wild, shy, wayward creatures. The nightingale, the thrush, the sea-gull, the swallow, the cuckoo, the woodcock, the eagle, the swan, are among the birds he presses into his service of love. He knows them all, and echoes their notes, describes their plumage, hits off their habits in lines of singular felicity. The sea-gull is at one time 'the lily of the sea,' at another, 'a fleck of sunlight.' The swan 'has a doublet as of a thousand lilies,' 'a jerkin of white roses, a tunic of the blossoms of the vine,' and as he lies in wait for the fish, 'his angling-rod is his own long fair neck.'

This wanton and capricious play of the fancy in his treatment of nature is one of the distinctive traits of Dafydd ap Gwilym, and is what led Borrow to doubt the depth and sincerity of his love of women. No better illustration of this trait of his poetry could be found than in an ode in which the bard represents himself as slain by the cruelty of his mistress. Some half-dozen lines serve to tell us of his being done to death by despair. The rest of the poem is an elaborate description of his obsequies, in which all nature appears to participate; and it is indeed permissible to doubt whether there was any very deep or real passion in the heart of one who takes such obvious delight in the pomp and bravery of his funeral.†

---

* Ode LXXV. † Ode XXXI.

'To-morrow shall I be laid in my grave amid the leaves in the lush woodland, under sappy boughs of beech and ash. My spotless shroud shall be of the bright clover-flowers of summer, my coffin of glorious leaves, my pall of the blossoms of the greenwood, my bier of eight rods of the forest timber. And the white gulls of the main shall come in their thousands to attend me. Below the summer-clad hill, dearest, shall my church be, and two nightingales of thy choice shall be the idols of the sanctuary. . . . Grey-hooded priests shall be there, skilled in Latin lore and bardic lay, who have learnt their grammar and their song-craft in the green books of the forest. . . . And for my soul the cuckoo among the trees shall, like an organ, sing paternosters and orisons, and chant psalms with altered note; and all the summer month masses and tuneful prayers shall be offered for me, Love's victim.'

Of Morfudd, the Laura of this 'Cambrian Petrarch,' we know very little beyond what can be gathered from the odes of the bard himself. He saw the lady first at Rhosyr, or Newborough, in Anglesey, then a town of note, which Dafydd celebrates as 'the rival of heaven' among the towns of Wales, 'with its temples, its towers, its generous men, its wine and mead, its gallants and its love.' It was at the feast of St Peter, as he was watching the brave array of people, the pride of Mona, at Rhosyr, that he first cast eyes on 'the fair sun of Gwynedd,' 'a second Enid in mien and beauty.' 'She drew after her the eyes of all the world; and all the world wondered that heaven had vouchsafed such a gift to men.' To gain her favour, the poet sent her a present of a vessel of wine by his servant; but the lady would have none of it, and in her resentment actually threw the wine in the servant's face. The story is told by the bard with much spirit, and the entire tone of the poem shows that he was not much hurt by the rebuff. He is soon, however, singing to her again, and comparing her to the three supreme beauties of antiquity, as he calls them, 'Polixena, Diodema and Helen.'

'I asked myself who and what the fair creature is. Own sister is she to the Moon and the Stars, and niece of the splendid Summer. Daughter is she of the kindly dawn, granddaughter of the Sun above—and Gwynedd owns her!' *

---

* Ode XXIX.

His courtship of Morfudd either forms the subject, or supplies the occasion, of by far the greater number of Dafydd's poems; and it is in these odes that we have, on the whole, the best examples of his art. We have already instanced the characteristic poems in which he invokes the birds to be his messengers of love. A more daring flight of imagination and poetry of a higher strain are found in an ode in which he prays the wind to convey his message.*

'Chill is thy touch and hoarse thy voice, thou tyrant of the world, without foot, without wing.... How rapid thy rush this instant o'er yon hill! Tell me, thou North Wind of the gully, whither is thy flight? Ah, friend, would thou wert going unto Aeron, fair and bright in thy blowing, clear in thy utterance, staying not nor lingering by the way in fear of the Little Hunchback. Thou dost strip the bushes bare, and winnowest the leaves. None may dictate unto thee; nor ordered host, nor hand of warrior, nor blue blade, nor flood, nor rain can check thee. No mother's son in his rage can slay thee. Fire cannot burn thee, nor guile baffle thy might. Thou needest no fleet steed under thee, nor bridge nor boat to cross the wave.'

The 'Little Hunchback' mentioned in this poem was the bard's successful rival for the hand of Morfudd, one Cynvrig Cynin, a man of substance and therefore acceptable to the lady's family. Dafydd sought revenge upon the ill-favoured husband by inducing Morfudd to quit her home and to keep with him a brief companionship which he celebrates in exultant verse. This adventure resulted in the poet's imprisonment, as he failed to pay a fine inflicted upon him for his misdemeanour. His friends in Glamorgan, however, procured his release; and Dafydd showed his gratitude by composing a beautiful ode in which he bids the sun to 'go on his errand'—even the sun is in his service—and to scatter blessings, health, wealth, fruitfulness over the land of Glamorgan. The 'Little Hunchback' is the constant butt of the poet's ridicule, scorn and hatred. In the objurgatory poems addressed to, or reflecting upon him, Dafydd's maledictions are almost outrageous in their torrential flow. Many of his other odes are spoilt for the modern reader by a similar

* Ode LXIX.

wanton extravagance and riot of grotesque imagery. One might pardon the tumultuous jumble of abusive epithets and odious similes in the odes on Cynvrig, for in them a genuine and deep-felt hatred is literally 'foaming at the mouth.' But it is difficult to read with patience in other poems the bewildering succession of fantastic tropes and images, born as of a mania more violent than that which produced the worst excesses of the English metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century.

One of the best known of such odes is that on the Thunderstorm, which scared Morfudd when she and Dafydd were together at their sylvan trysting-place.* The poem opens with a number of strong couplets, most of them suggesting in their alliteration the sound of the storm, and containing some remarkable similes. While the bard and his love were oblivious of everything in their woodland retreat,

'a sudden crash of thunder dealt a blow to the earth; the cruel rain fell in raw floods, the heavens spat lightning in their anger. The din was as that of clashing arms in a sky beyond our bounds; from above I heard (I fled for fear) the giant trumpet of the beating rain—yea, a thousand giants heard I roaring from the chains of the constellations.'

But towards the end of the poem, failing to sustain the effort after sublimity, as he recollects the disservice done to him by the storm, the bard falls into a strain of shrieking vituperation. One might pass over such images as 'a hoarse bull shattering rocks,' or 'the horse-laugh of the mighty firmament,' which latter indeed has in it something of sublimity; but it is difficult to pardon comparison of the thunder to an 'ugly beldam clashing her pans,' or to a 'red-haired witch shrieking in bonds.'

In a similar and, doubtless, consciously ludicrous vein, Dafydd, in another poem, abuses the mist,† which caused him to lose his way while making for Morfudd's dwelling-place. It is an 'exhalation from the furnace of hell,' 'smoke of the *ignis fatuus* of the pit,' 'the father of rain and of thieves.' Blinded by it the bard fell into a morass, 'a slough as of hell, where in every ditch I bumped against a hundred wry-faced devils.' On another amatory

---

* Ode XLIV. † Ode XXXIX.

journey he was delayed by the snow; and his ode 'To the Snow,' with its kaleidoscopic sequence of images, is a thoroughly characteristic specimen of the bard's rapid and capricious flights of fancy.*

'No spot under the trees is without its white dress, no bush without its sheet! A cold shroud lies heavy on the sappy groves; the trees droop under their load of lime.... An all too thick shower of foam has fallen--fleecy masses bigger than a man's fist. Through Gwynedd do they pass amain—bees from Paradise are they, all in white.'

Other images are frankly grotesque. The snow-flakes become 'the feathers of the geese of the saints,' and 'flour' let down by angels who have taken planks out of the floor of the celestial store-loft. A more dignified figure is that which represents the vast sheet of snow overlying nature as 'a pavement larger than the grave-stone of the sea.'

The foundation of all Dafydd ap Gwilym's nature-poetry is his sheer, healthy delight in nature; the wealth, the colour, the glow of the visible world were to him supremely good things, and

> 'had no need of a remoter charm,
> By thought supplied, nor any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye.'

For Dafydd's fancy, as the passages quoted sufficiently attest, is nothing but the impulsive play of a lively imagination responding instantaneously and without afterthought to the sensuous impression of the moment. There is no trace of morbid sentiment or of superstition in Dafydd's poetry; sunshine, good health and love are to him far more precious than anything an ascetic creed can give.

'God is not so cruel,' he replies to the Grey Friar,† 'as old men affirm. It is the priests, reading their mouldy sheepskins, who tell us lies. God will never damn a good man's soul for love of wife or maid. Three things there be, loved the world over—woman, sunshine and health. Yea, in heaven the fairest flower found, save God himself, is woman.... From heaven came all delight, all sadness from hell. Song gives joy

---

* Ode CCV. † Ode CXLIX.

alike to young and old, to the sick and the whole. It is as right for me to sing as for thee to preach, for me to be a minstrel as for thee to beg. What are thine own hymns and responses but songs and rhymes, and the Psalter of David but odes to the good God? God feeds not all men with the same meat; and He has set a time for rhyming, and a time for preaching. Some love saintliness, others love company; but while everybody knows his paternoster, 'tis not everybody who can sing. Therefore, my holy brother, song is not the chiefest sin. And when men shall be as glad to hear a prayer as they are to hear a song, and the maidens of Gwynedd to hear a ballad of love—then, by my hand, I will sing paternosters without ceasing. Until then, confusion take me if I sing any prayer but a love-song.'

This spirited ode shows us Dafydd in frank revolt against the religion of his time; and that revolt was with him, as with Boccaccio and Chaucer, quite as much an affair of the intellect as of temperament. Artistically, however, the Welsh poet is not insensible to the attractions of the Church and her ordinances. We have seen how he makes priests of the birds, and churches of the birch-groves; and an occasional touch of pathos reveals a certain foundation of reverence and a capacity for devotion underneath all the daring use of ecclesiastical imagery and the rough banter of priests and nuns. One of his odes is an invocation to the virgin saint, Ddwynwen, who had a shrine in a romantic spot in Anglesey, begging her to become his messenger of love to Morfudd.* So audacious a choice of envoy might lead us to expect a poem irreverent, if not ribald, in tone. On the contrary, the bard addresses the saint in lines of singularly delicate sentiment. The poem turns on the thought that none could deny the petition of so fair and unsullied an emissary. He begs the saint to intercede, for once, with a human being on his behalf. 'Twould be no sin in her to do so; the kingdom of heaven is hers already, and no act of compassion towards a human being could deprive her of it.

'Heaven hath never refused thy prayer—sure, human creature will not deny thee, ready and eloquent of speech as thou art.... For the sake of all thou hast done to lighten

* Ode LXXIX.

the travail and the weary weight of the world, for the sake of thy faith and works of grace while here on earth, for the sake of thine unblemished chastity and precious virginity, plead for me with the maid to give me release of my pain.'

But even in this poem Dafydd's inveterate caprice must break out, for one of his reasons for invoking the saint is that Eiddig, the hateful one, the Little Hunchback, who is ever on the watch, will not dare molest such a messenger.

From an artistic point of view, the worst fault for which Dafydd ap Gwilym has to answer is his riotously extravagant use of figurative language, of which we have already given some specimens. When, however, we take into consideration the conventional and unadventurous character of the bulk of mediæval poetry, there is something refreshing in the wild abandon of this Welsh poet, so recklessly prodigal of his wonderful vocabulary and of his inexhaustible store of images. Professor Cowell characterises him as 'especially the poet of the fancy.' Fancy, undoubtedly, is his pre-eminent gift, but at his best he has the weightier qualities of imagination and feeling. When, for example, he speaks of the early spring-time as 'the hours of the skylark's hope,' or describes the waning moon as 'retiring to sleep in the shadow of the northern heavens,' or calls the stars 'the candles of Him who owns the world' sent to guide the lone wayfarer, he shows a depth of feeling in his observation of nature to which we cannot easily find a parallel in the poetry of the Middle Ages. The ode in which he sings of the stars contains some notable images, strung together, according to the bard's wont, without much regard to order and coherence. The stars are not only 'candles' sent to show him his road on the dark hillside; they become, in his glowing imagination, 'clover-flowers on the face of the heavens,' and 'the unstringed beads of God's own rosary.' 'Two by two,' he continues, with the inevitable change of image, 'are they marshalled in order like the hosts of Camlan in the broad gray sky.'

Very few allusions to legend or history are to be met with in Dafydd's poems. Like other Welsh bards of his own and of succeeding generations, Dafydd ap Gwilym found no worthy argument for his muse in Arthurian story. To him, as to the others, Arthur and Modred, Percival and Gawain, Lancelot and Guinevere, are only

shadowy names, rising on the crest of some casual verse but to tantalise us with brief and ineffectual suggestion. Perhaps the most remarkable of Dafydd's references to old Welsh tradition is that contained in his poem on 'The Owl's Pedigree.' It is, like many of his odes, cast in the form of a dialogue, and opens with eight lines of violent abuse by the bard, the owl having disturbed him in one of his amours.

'Ah, my son!' the Owl plaintively replies, 'well it is for me that I have a retreat in the woods to fly to. So, leave me to bear the agony of my penance, and the hate of all the birds of the world.... Of better stock came I than now appears, for once I was Blodeuwedd (Flower-Aspect).'

The old *Mabinogi* of 'Math, the son of Mathonwy,' tells how Gwydion, the son of Don, changed the maid Blodeuwedd into the likeness of an owl because of her love for Gronwy Pebyr.

'Because of the shame thou hast done,' Gwydion says in the romance, 'thou shalt never more show thy face in the light of day; and that for fear of all the other birds. For it shall be their nature to assail thee and to chase thee from wheresoever they may find thee.'

It is a reproach to modern Welsh scholarship that no adequate edition of the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym has yet been produced. The edition of 1789, reprinted in 1873 with its errors and obscurities not only retained but multiplied, still holds the field. It is high time that someone combining a knowledge of mediæval Welsh with knowledge of the laws of Welsh prosody should undertake to edit the poet's works from the best available MSS. With such an edition in one's possession it would be possible to give English readers a much fuller and more accurate account of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry.

Art. V.—ANTIQUE GEMS.

1. *Die Antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im Klassischen Alterthum.* Von Adolf Furtwaengler. Three vols. Leipzig and Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1900.
2. *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Par M. Ernest Babelon. Two vols. Paris: Leroux, 1897.

THERE have been times in the history of art when the inherent beauty of a material vied with the skill bestowed on it. It was so in the statues of gold and ivory of the Greeks, and in a less degree the same may be said of ancient engraved gems. The pure translucent colour of a golden sard, if the design sunk within it be shallow and in the best Greek manner, divides our admiration with the art when once the gem is held up to the light. The garnet is sombre on its surface, and usually the design upon it is cut deep; but let the sun penetrate it and the gem will seem on fire. A shallow intaglio on amethyst or rock-crystal appears almost ethereal against the light. It was a mistake of the Romans to carve these stones as cameos in high relief, as they sometimes did. Both the charm of transparency and the skill of the engraver were thus sacrificed. What was gained, as in the large amethyst cameo of Medusa in the British Museum, was only a striking opulence of colour.

On the other hand there was a large class of stones the beauty of which could only be brought out by treatment as cameos. Chief among these was the sardonyx, with its thin layers of sard and onyx superposed. With a stone of this kind before him, the engraver of a portrait in profile could reserve the uppermost layer of sard for the hair and the drapery on the shoulders. He would then cut away all the rest of that layer and get down to the white onyx, on which he would engrave the face and neck. That done, he would cut away the remainder of the onyx till he came to a second layer of sard, which would form his background for the portrait. By this process the sard, which is by nature translucent, becomes semi-opaque, because of the stratum of onyx below it, and thereby often

attains an incomparable effect of deep rich colour, which again is heightened by the close proximity of the white onyx. These rich effects, it is true, were only possible on large stones, but fortunately the sardonyx was obtained not unfrequently in large dimensions. The cameo of the Sainte Chapelle, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, measures fully one foot in height and ten and a half inches in breadth. It is the largest in existence.

The simple method of cameo-engraving on sardonyx, which we have just described, will be seen admirably illustrated in the famous Marlborough gem, now in the British Museum. But engravers would hardly have been mortal if they had rested content with a stage of the art in which strong colouring was far more conspicuous than their own skill in modelling and designing. The climax of their ambition may be seen in the splendid cameo of Augustus in the British Museum. The engraver has entirely removed the uppermost stratum of sard, excepting a thin patch on the breast. He has thus secured for the head and neck of the Emperor a large expanse of fine white onyx, on which he has bestowed all his talent in modelling the face and the hair, setting the whole against a background of a rich translucent sard. There is nothing to distract the eye from his workmanship except a gold diadem round the head now set with modern stones. One would have expected a laurel wreath, carved in the upper layer of sard, as in the large and splendid Claudius at Windsor—a royal inheritance from Charles I, who with the great Earl of Arundel was one of the first collectors of antique gems in our country.

As it happens, most of the great cameos that have come down to our time belong to the age of Augustus and his family. We have portraits of himself, alone or seated in triumph amid numerous figures as on the large *Gemma Augustea* of Vienna, the second largest of all known cameos. Tiberius is the central figure on the great Parisian cameo. Apparently he is being acclaimed emperor. In the sky above him are his immediate relatives, including, if Professor Furtwaengler is right, the young Marcellus to whose memory Virgil devotes the impassioned verses at the close of Book VI of the 'Æneid.' There are large cameos of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, alone or combined with her step-mother Livia in a manner which

may be artistic but is not historically true to the relations between them.

From what we know of art in the age of Augustus, especially judging from the remains of his Altar of Peace (*Ara Pacis*), now scattered in Rome, Florence, and the Louvre—such is the end of his dream—we can understand the delight with which the refinement of execution and the splendour of these large cameos were received. They appealed to princely instincts both by the subjects they represented and by the preciousness of the material. Nor is it strange that in the course of the Middle Ages several of these cameos are known to have passed through the hands of famous princes.

The Vienna cameo is mentioned in the year 1246 in the inventory of a church in Toulouse, whence it was removed by Francis I to adorn the royal cabinet. In 1590 it was sold to Rudolf II of Austria. The Paris cameo is first mentioned in 1341 in the inventory of the Sainte Chapelle. Shortly thereafter it was handed over by Philippe de Valois to Pope Clement VI at Avignon, but was again returned to the Sainte Chapelle in 1379. It was saved from the fire which destroyed the Palais de Justice in 1630, and was transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1791, whence after a few years it was stolen (1804) and carried off to Amsterdam with other spoils from the same collection. When recovered it was found to have been robbed of its gold frame, on which were represented the four Evangelists, one at each corner, their names inscribed in Greek letters. In the drawing which Rubens made of the cameo, he does not include the frame. With his knowledge of ancient gems, he would be well aware that the frame was a later addition. M. Babelon is inclined to trace it to a Byzantine origin; and, if we may judge from the description of it written in 1644, which is all the information we possess, he seems to be right.

There is abundance of literary testimony to the passion that prevailed in the Middle Ages for the collection of ancient engraved gems. Unfortunately it is in the form of very bare and brief lists, from which it is seldom possible to identify any of the gems with those now existing. Pope Boniface VIII had forty to fifty cameos, Charles V, King of France, possessed fifty-two, and Charles VI one hundred and one. Pope Paul II had a collection of two

hundred and forty, set in silver-gilt frames, of which twenty-three contained each only one gem. Part of this series passed to Lorenzo de' Medici, whose father also had been a collector of gems. There are inventories which go back to the eighth and ninth centuries. Still earlier, Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards (625), gave the cathedral of Monza a chalcedony cup mounted with precious stones, and a copy of the Gospels set with Roman cameos.

It was quite in the order of things that princes and popes in the Middle Ages should covet the possession of ancient gems. It was a taste which had been cultivated by the greatest of the Romans, even before the Empire began. Men of the stamp of Pompey and Julius Cæsar established public collections in the temples of Rome, and they in their turn had followed the examples of Mithradates and Attalus II, King of Pergamon (159–138 B.C.). We can understand also how the early Church was attracted by this branch of art, when we recall the importance of precious stones in Biblical ceremonial and imagery. The art of gem-engraving was then at a low ebb. It was easier to collect ancient specimens and to purge them from paganism by a religious rite.

We readily believe that most of the large cameos still existing have passed from one possessor to another in a continuous line from the day they were made till now. There is no record, so far as we know, of the finding of any large cameo in the course of excavations. They had the double fascination of being mostly portraits of great Roman rulers and of being splendid in their materials, appealing equally to the sense of historical continuity and of beauty. The suggestion of M. Babelon is that when the seat of empire was removed from Rome to Constantinople, the imperial treasures went with it; and that in the straightened times of the crusades the cameos may have been given up, like the Crown of Thorns, for value received, and conveyed to Western Europe. It may well have been so in many cases, but we sadly fear that the treasury at Constantinople had begun to be depleted long before that date. At all events it is due to the princes and nobles of the past that we now possess in the public museums of Europe a magnificent series of Roman cameos.

It is quite a different story when we come to consider what the Greeks accomplished in the art of gem-engraving.

In their best times they knew nothing of large cameos dazzling the eye with their beauty. They were content with stones of a very moderate size, and preferred to engrave the designs on them in intaglio, so that they might be used in the first instance as seals. These were not the sort of gems to attract specially the princely and noble collectors of the Middle Ages; nor were the Greeks themselves in those times looked back to with the respect they deserved. It was only with the Renaissance that the tide turned in their favour. Even then it was their literature that attracted most attention. Practically it was the nineteenth century that first brought the triumphs of Greek art within our horizon; nor was it till the second half of that century that students had any satisfactory means of judging what a true Greek gem was like, as distinguished from the multitude of Græco-Roman intaglios. Such specimens as had by chance found their way into old collections were not recognised. It is in fact from the era of excavations that our present knowledge dates. First in time and in importance were the Russian excavations in the neighbourhood of Kertsch, where a Greek colony had been established. For a long time the gems found in the tombs there and transferred to St Petersburg were the principal standards of Greek intaglio-engraving when at its best. In more recent times, the Greek gems—now in New York—obtained by General Cesnola in his excavations at Curium in Cyprus, provided us with standards of excellence for a somewhat earlier period of the art. Incidentally the interest thus aroused led to greater zeal in the search for gems among promiscuous diggers in Greece and elsewhere, with the result that the cabinets of most museums have been considerably enriched of late years, to say nothing of well known private collections.

But undoubtedly the most remarkable of recent accessions has been the long series of gems found by Dr Schliemann at Mycenæ, by the Greeks at Amyclæ, at Spata and Menidi in Attica, and by casual diggers in Crete and elsewhere, always associated with a peculiar class of antiquities which now goes by the name of 'Mycenæan,' for want of a better. Whatever name ultimately prevails, there can be no question that these antiquities, enormously increased in quantity since the days of Dr Schliemann, and in the area over which they have been found, represent

with striking effect a stage of civilisation, primitive yet splendid, which may well have furnished the basis of the Homeric poems. It was an age when costly articles of luxury were imported from Egypt, cylinders with cuneiform inscriptions from Assyria, and possibly much else from Phœnicia. But when we look for some general agreement among archæologists as to the precise chronology of that age we find only one fixed point. It is agreed that the Mycenæan civilisation had lasted down to 800 B.C. or somewhat later. No one as yet can indicate its dawn. As to signs of artistic development within itself, opinions are most diverse.

The subjects engraved on the Mycenæan gems are usually animals, the lion and the bull by preference. Where the human figure occurs, it is poorly represented in comparison with the animals, which are sometimes extraordinarily true to nature both in form and movement, and that too on materials which were hard and difficult to engrave, such as carnelian and hæmatite. The horse appears chiefly in these gems as winged—a prototype of Pegasus. Yet there is evidence, from a fragment of fresco-painting at Tiryns, that he was well enough known at that time. The fowls of the air are scarce, but the fish of the sea are fairly numerous, especially the cuttle-fish with its curling tentacles, which suggested decorative patterns. Next come fantastic combinations of animals, such as horses with wings, lions with a goat's head springing from their back like the Chimæra, Centaurs and other compounds of human and animal bodies, and much else absolutely grotesque, including the Gryphon and the Sphinx, which survived into later Greek art. There may have been some spirit of heraldry which regulated these matters. On the other hand we must bear in mind that in primitive phases of art —as in the drawings on reindeer's horns made by the cave-dwellers of Europe—the awakening artist does not work directly from nature, but seeks to reproduce the image made on his mind by a natural object, animate or inanimate. He concentrates himself on the details of the object which most strike his imagination. With the advance of artistic skill, when the form of an animal as an organic whole comes into view, these fantastic compounds disappear from Greek art, except of course the Centaurs, Sphinxes,

and Pegasi, round which legends had grown up. In any case it is obvious that the facility of the Mycenæan gem-engravers in inventing these combinations was an advantage in an age when seals were required in great numbers, and when animals were the chief source of design.

Possibly it was a gem of this kind that Minos, King of Crete, cast into the sea and challenged Theseus to fetch, if he was the son of a marine deity, as he professed to be. That was a legend beloved by Greek poets and artists, and it may have given some impulse to the later story of the ring of Polycrates. Polycrates had been advised by his friend Amasis, the King of Egypt, with whom he was in correspondence, to throw into the sea the object he valued most. This proved to be a finger-ring which he wore. With much ceremony he set sail for the open sea and cast away the ring. Shortly after, a fisherman caught a fish of such unusual size that he took it to the palace in Samos, where it was found to have swallowed the ring. Whether true or not, there is nothing supernatural in the incident: it may conceivably have happened. But the story is chiefly interesting to us now because of the tradition that the gem set in the ring had been engraved by a celebrated sculptor of the time, Theodoros, a native of Samos and a subject of the tyrant Polycrates (560–522 B.C.). Further, among the recorded works of Theodoros was a portrait of himself in bronze holding an engraving instrument in his right hand. With three fingers of his left hand he held a quadriga so minute in size that a fly was made to cover the whole with its wings, says Pliny ('Nat. Hist.,' xxxiv, 19). The general opinion is that Pliny has here misunderstood the Greek source from which he was translating, and that in reality the object held by Theodoros was a scarab or beetle-shaped gem of emerald having a quadriga engraved on its flat surface for use as a seal. Apparently this view is confirmed by the number of small Greek scarabs which have come to light in recent years in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor not far from Samos, most of them, if not all, belonging to the sixth century B.C., the date in question. Besides, Theodoros is said to have learned his craft partly in Egypt, doubtless in the city of Naucratis in the Delta, where Amasis had allowed the Greeks to settle and to build temples for their own gods. Indeed, Professor Furtwaengler produces (Pl. LXI, 11) an emerald scarab of

about that time, and readily allows (III, p. 82) that the ring of Polycrates may have carried a scarab. But he rejects the current interpretation of Pliny, that the object in the hand of Theodoros was a scarab, and maintains that it was an actual quadriga so small that a fly might cover it with its wings, which, to say the least, was a very odd way of illustrating its smallness.

In the past there have been occasions when we have differed much from Professor Furtwaengler. It is not so in his new book to any great extent. We readily recognise that he has had here before him a heavy task such as no one but himself would have dreamed of undertaking, in view of the extraordinary accumulation of gems in recent years. When we look at his three large volumes, we are struck by the mere energy required to collect the material. To attain accuracy in tracing the history of almost innumerable specimens, many of them from old collections, must have cost infinite pains. Vol. II is his monument in that respect. In the critical part of his work he had no predecessor to quarrel with seriously. Brunn was an excellent judge, but he dealt only with gems bearing or purporting to bear the signatures of the engravers; and these Furtwaengler had previously discussed very admirably in a series of articles in the 'Jahrbuch' for 1888–9. It was not necessary to go over that ground fully again. In our own country Mr King knew the old collections of gems well, and was no mean authority on questions of genuineness. He did not pretend to method in his books, but he was a fine scholar and brought to bear on the gems the ripe fruits of his scholarship in an attractive manner. Among quite recent books Professor Middleton's 'Ancient Gems' was useful within its limits, but too much indebted to the articles just mentioned by Furtwaengler himself to provoke any antagonism from him now. M. Babelon's book is as excellent as could well be, but it is limited to the cameos under his charge in Paris. We must always turn to it when we want special information on these gems. Thus, on the whole, the field was clear for a large comprehensive work which would call forth the best talents of the writer, and that we possess at last.

Minute and careful execution characterised Greek art in all its branches during the first half of the sixth century B.C. The climax was reached in gem-engraving.

The large stones of the Mycenæan age had gone completely out of fashion. What was now required was a small seal to be worn on the finger, not larger, as a rule, than a finger-nail, often smaller. The smallness of the seal invited preciousness in the material and exquisite workmanship. The result may be seen in the scarabs of the time, which are mostly of sard, occasionally of plasma or of steatite. The back is carved in the form of a beetle and the flat under-face is engraved with a minute design. The scarab was mounted on a swivel-ring, and was worn with the flat engraved face next the finger. We can imagine that the story of the ring of Gyges, which rendered him visible or invisible according as he turned it, originated in this early method of wearing seals. It is true and worth observing that neither in the Greek sculptures nor on the innumerable painted vases do we find figures wearing rings on their fingers, notwithstanding that the very word δακτύλιος means a finger-ring. Now we do not expect to see such things worn by gods and heroes; but, though there are hundreds of tombstones still to be seen in Athens representing ordinary persons, there are, so far as we know, no rings on their fingers. In Roman and late Etruscan art it is quite different. There we find a profusion of rings on the sculptures. The Greek artists had no objection to necklaces and earrings. Why did they draw the line at finger-rings, unless it was from sheer artistic reticence, and a desire to keep the fine articulation of the fingers free from accessories which would have vulgarised them in sculpture or painting, however pleasant they might be to the sight in daily life? In the treasure lists of the temples which still exist rings are frequently mentioned as the gifts of devotees.

To return to the scarabs. In the old collections of gems, such as the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Museum, there are large numbers of scarabs which have been found in Etruscan tombs. Many of them are obviously native Etruscan products. But there are others—not a few—as to which it is difficult to determine whether they had not been imported from Greece along with the many excellent Greek vases yielded by the tombs of Etruria in the early part of the last century, when excavations were carried on there with hardly ever a record of what objects were found together. It is easy to put aside the

poor specimens and call them 'native Etruscan.' That they obviously are. But the work of the Etruscans need not always have ended in gross failures. It seems conceivable that at least now and then a scarab would be turned out equal to good Greek.

We know that the Etruscans both imported and imitated Greek vases on a considerable scale. In most cases the imitations are readily distinguishable. But there is a residuum of the better class of these vases which seems to defy exact classification. It was only when Athens took the lead in this branch of art that the Etruscans failed in their imitations. Indeed, they seldom made any effort then to succeed. Apparently the same was the case in their gem-engraving. They worked hard to rival the Greek scarabs, and, with their extraordinary patience and technical skill, may have succeeded more frequently than we are now aware of. But in the next age, when the Greek engravers cast aside finally the old scarab-form of gem and displayed their genius in designs unfettered by archaic traditions, then the Etruscans ceased to follow them, adhering to the old types of scarabs and the old subjects from Greek legends, but modifying to some extent their ideas of the human figure under the new Greek influence.

We think that Professor Furtwaengler has treated this part of his subject admirably, from an artistic point of view. Whether he is right, or not, in his belief that the Etruscans reached Italy by sea from Asia Minor, is another matter. There is much artistic evidence in his favour; and, if what the Etruscans themselves believed as to their origin counts for anything, that also is in the main consistent with his opinion. It is a curious fact that in an island lying so close to Etruria as does Sardinia there should have been found a large series of scarabs which present a strikingly different appearance from those of Etruria. They are almost uniformly carved out of green jasper and engraved with purely Phœnician or, as we should rather say, Carthaginian designs. They have mostly been obtained in excavations at Tharros.* Professor Furtwaengler rightly points out that scarabs of this kind are extremely rare in Etruscan tombs; the explanation he offers is that Etruria was closed against Carthage at the date of

* A deserted site on the Gulf of Oristano, Sardinia.

these scarabs, and was working in close association with Greece. Her earlier alliance with Carthage, which we know of as an historical fact, confirmed by the numerous Carthaginian antiquities obtained in the earlier tombs, had come to an end, he supposes, while at the same time she could not, or did not, drive the Carthaginians out of Sardinia. That is reasonable enough; yet the Etruscans were certainly allied with Carthage in 474 B.C., when their combined fleet was defeated by Hiero of Syracuse off Cumae in Italy. Before then they could have had green scarabs in any numbers, had they been so minded. But we must give them the credit they deserve for excellent judgment in the articles they were just about then importing from Athens. It is no exaggeration to say that the finest vases the Greeks ever painted belong to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., and with comparatively few exceptions they have been found in Etruscan tombs. A taste which could appreciate work of that exceptionally high order would hardly have condescended to Carthaginian scarabs, alliance or no alliance.

At one time it was thought that the Greeks had never taken kindly to the scarab-form: these quaint-looking objects were supposed to be quite foreign to their taste. But the results of recent excavation have shown that for a short period the Greeks did undoubtedly accept gems of this form and engraved them with much freshness of conception and minute beauty of detail. On the other hand, the Greeks were not slow to perceive that to carve a beetle on the back of a gem was a useless, if not to them distasteful, waste of labour and skill. Hence their invention of the scaraboid, as it is called, that is to say, a gem which has the general outline of a beetle but is quite plain on the back, the engraver's talent being reserved wholly for the intaglio on the flat face of the stone. It is on gems of this shape that we see the transition from the excessive minuteness of the older generation to the dawn of a broad free style. Gradually much larger stones were employed, allowing the engraver ample space for his larger conception of the human figure, singly or in groups, and his greater breadth in the rendering of animals. The chalcedony and the agate were the favourites for these larger compositions, as we see from Plates XI–XIV of Professor Furtwaengler's work. But the sard and plasma still held

their own for smaller scaraboids. Witness the two archers on Pl. IX, the one, No. 21, being a plasma from Amathus * in Cyprus, now in the British Museum, the other, No. 23, being a sard from Naucratis, now in the collection of Lord Southesk; or compare a third archer (Pl. VIII, 38) engraved scaraboid in chalcedony, said to be from Ægina. In these three gems there are still the remains of archaism. But apart from that there is an extraordinary charm in the combination of rigorous truth with a fine sense of beauty which is diffused over the whole figure. We might add the Satyr carrying a wine-skin on his back (Pl. IX, 27) and the Athene (No. 33 of the same plate), both of which are of sard, and now in the British Museum. Nor do these by any means stand alone in the first rank of the smaller scaraboids. Occasionally we find opaque stones, such as the agate, employed for smaller scaraboids. An excellent example is the head of Eos, inscribed with her name (Pl. XIV, 33), from Ithome in the Peloponnesus. In its grandeur and simplicity it belongs to the age of Pheidias. At this point we may remark that the occurrence of names attached to the figures is as unusual on Greek gems as it is frequent on the Etruscan. It was natural for the Etruscans to wish to see the names of the Greek legendary heroes engraved on the gems beside the figures; and were it only a question of convenience they would have our sympathy. It is a mystery how the ordinary educated Greek was able to recognise—if indeed he was able—the scenes of myth and legend, with an infinite series of which he was surrounded in works of art. Of the painted vases a certain proportion present figures with names attached. The difficulty thus stood confessed. Still there remained a vast number providing no such aid, many of which even now, after half a century of research, are unidentified.

On the gems it was seldom possible to inscribe the names of the figures without detriment to the design. The Etruscan examples supplied a warning in that respect. To be intelligible, the names had to be placed close to the figures on the field of the gem, just where a clear space was most needed. A Greek engraver, when he inscribed his own name on his work, which was rare, set it, more

* A deserted site, 7 miles from Limasol.

often than not, close to the edge of the gem where it did not interfere with the subject. We have an exception, however, in the beautiful flying crane on a chalcedony scaraboid found at Kertsch and now in St Petersburg, signed by the engraver Dexamenos of Chios (Furtwaengler, Pl. XIV, 4). Here the signature is in the very middle of the field, written in two lines; and if so skilful an artist thought it proper to mark his name and nationality so prominently we cannot complain. As it happens, the same name, Dexamenos, is inscribed close to the edge of a chalcedony scaraboid in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge without any intimation of his nationality or of his having been the artist (*ἐποίει*). The field of the gem is certainly over-crowded, containing, as it does, the figure of a maid standing before her seated mistress and holding up a hand-mirror—a group such as we see so frequently on the Athenian tombstones (Furtwaengler, Pl. XIV, 1). The name of the mistress, who was apparently also the owner of the gem, is added above her head. The workmanship of the gem displays none of the elaborate detail which is so remarkable in the flying crane, and is in no sense distinguished beyond that of an average Athenian stelè. The conception is good, but the execution is remiss. The same may be said of another crane on an agate scaraboid from Southern Russia, now in St Petersburg, on which the name Dexamenos again appears written close to the edge of the stone (III, p. 137).

To account for this difference of style, Dr Furtwaengler thinks that the Fitzwilliam gem was an earlier work, about B.C. 450–440. It appears to us distinctly later, because of the freedom and ease with which the design is conceived, to say nothing of the carelessness in the execution. There remains, however, a fourth gem bearing this artist's signature, which we approach with some diffidence (Pl. XIV, 3). It is a scaraboid of a reddish mottled jasper, said to have been found in Attica. On it is engraved a male portrait head which has not been identified successfully. The workmanship has a striking resemblance to that of the flying crane. The beard and hair are rendered with the same hard minuteness as the feathers of the crane. But a treatment which was appropriate to feathers was not suitable for hair and beard, except in archaic art, which this gem does not profess to represent. There is, in fact, an air of incongruity suffusing the whole head, and doubtless

that is the reason why this scarab has been looked at askance during the past thirty years or more. Nevertheless Professor Furtwaengler finds in it the repose and perfection which the artist had acquired in Athens in the time of Pheidias and Pericles.

Let anyone who cares to see what Greek gem-engraving was at its best look at Pl. XIV of Professor Furtwaengler's work. It contains forty-one specimens. At most there are only two or three which might have been dispensed with. The rest have been chosen with perfect taste and discrimination. There are a few minor deities among them, but with these exceptions it is ordinary human beings and animals that we have before us, and the more we look the more we ask ourselves why they are so beautiful. The truths of nature are presented with the perfection of technical skill—we easily recognise this much—yet we know that it is nature seen through an artistic atmosphere. But of what does this atmosphere consist? Doubtless it consists of emotion in one degree or other, supported by technical skill, equal in degree to the emotion. But what is there in a young woman sitting playing on a harp to raise any emotion? We take as an example the splendid scaraboid of rock-crystal in Pl. XIV, No. 20. This is not Sappho playing to her own passionate lyrics. A serene enjoyment of the music is all we recognise in the figure; yet beneath an ordinary incident the artist has seen the deeper-lying springs of life, and has thus been able to present the figure in its true emotional light.

Among the harpists on Pl. XIV there are two others which deserve special notice. Both gems are in the British Museum. One of these (No. 14) represents a seated youth playing and listening with his head bent. It is a little older in date than the scaraboid just discussed, and is somewhat cramped in the attitude of the figure; yet in the whole plate there is no gem which may be so justly compared with the Parthenon frieze for its combination of an almost solemn dignity of bearing with breadth and simplicity of execution, which are in perfect keeping with the emotional element in the figure. It is like some noble thought of a great poet which remains with us as if hewn in imperishable adamant. The other gem (No. 21) represents a girl reading from a scroll, apparently a love-song, as we judge from the word 'Eros' inscribed on the

low pillar in front of her. Her lyre rests idly against the pillar. The gem is a golden sard as beautiful as could be, and the engraving is kept very shallow. In this instance the fine translucent quality of the stone has obviously been taken into account by the artist. He has made it part of his design, as we see by comparing an impression in wax or plaster with the gem itself. The pleasure we derive at first sight from the quality of the stone itself is heightened, first by the charming composition with its delicate lines and shallow forms, and next by the subject—a girl reading a love-song—which we take as the artist has given it us, with the simple delight belonging to a simple incident of daily life. The gem is considerably later in workmanship than the two previously spoken of. We quote it as an instance of admirable technical skill set in motion by a more or less superficial observation of nature.

These larger intaglios were perhaps seldom used as seals: their destination was rather that of personal ornaments. Most of them have been, or still are, mounted on swivel-rings, to be worn, like the scarabs, with the engraved surface next the finger. But in no case does the artist ever forget that his intaglio must be engraved in such a manner as to serve as a seal if need be. It must always yield a clean and perfect impression. There must be no undercutting which would in the least interfere with that. It was possible, no doubt, to engrave a design deep into a stone and yet obtain from it a true and perfect impression, as we see on Roman gems. But impressions of that kind were far more liable to injury, and were to be avoided in the numerous instances where they had to be preserved attached to wills, contracts, and other documents. From a practical point of view, therefore, all intaglios were best engraved in the shallow manner characteristic of these larger specimens of which we have been speaking. We see at a glance how admirably this shallow cutting suited the peculiar genius of the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., when their art was at its best. We call to mind the Parthenon frieze with its incomparably beautiful low relief. There are many parts of that frieze which can only be compared to the impression of a contemporary Athenian gem. We refer specially to some of the groups of young horsemen, where the nearest plane of the relief

is reduced to a thinness which seems almost to require the translucency of a precious stone to show up the exquisite beauty of the work, instead of the coarse opaque marble. This amazing delicacy of the plane nearest the eye leaves the broader masses of the rider and horse behind it to stand out in plenitude of light, undisturbed. This, we suppose, is 'that Greek combination of broad, majestic beauty of effect with the neatest perfection of finish,' which Rembrandt and Velasquez constantly aimed at, not in vain.* In these translucent gems, which were meant to be looked at against the light, the outer contours were sunk with a deep sharp incision. The design, say of a harp-player, then stood out boldly in its mass and general conception. The inner details were then modelled and graduated so as to be explicit, but never obtrusive. In more archaic gems the anatomy of a figure and the drapery are often obtrusive. In later periods there are no such mistakes. It is the level of conception that then becomes gradually lower and lower.

In the fourth century B.C. we approach the era of portraiture. Every scholar is aware that Alexander the Great would not permit anyone except Pyrgoteles to engrave his portrait on a gem; and that long afterwards the Emperor Augustus employed as his seal a gem bearing the portrait of Alexander. In that interval of about three centuries we can trace this new impetus towards portraiture in the cognate art of die-sinking on the innumerable coins of Alexander's successors. It is not a pleasurable sensation that we derive from following the stages of artistic degeneration from the grand heads of Alexander, with which that series of coins begins, through the increasingly brutal likenesses of the later Ptolemies. The really interesting point is the strong expression of individuality in the heads as we see them in the earliest and best examples, where the whole force of the artist is concentrated on the face, always in profile, and mostly beardless. In contrast with this pronounced vitality of the face is the conventional rendering of the hair. We see how the artist has accepted and employed a set of formulae which had been established in art long before his day. In time this conventional element was given

* *See* R. A. M, Stevenson's 'Art of Velasquez,' p. 74.

over to neglect, and became very coarse in treatment. The one marked exception is the coin of Mithradates VI, himself a collector of gems.

For the portrait gems of this period we turn mainly to Professor Furtwaengler's Pl. XXXII. In No. 29 we have Mithradates, as seen on his coins, with the same features, intended by nature to be beautiful and strong, but heavily charged with passion. In the rendering of the hair the gems display the same artistic freedom as the coins. In No. 17 we seem to have the same head again, but by a different and much inferior engraver, who has chosen a more conventional treatment of the hair and of the lines of the eyebrow and nose, but has striven to infuse into the face a measure of rigorous truth, as in the modelling of the cheek, the opened lips, the slight beard, and the apple on the throat. If No. 18 is a Ptolemaic king, as Professor Furtwaengler thinks, then we can understand where the Romans obtained their best inspiration in portraiture. Even more truly may this be said of No. 13 and No. 15 in Pl. XXXIII, the former engraved on a silver ring, the latter on a large gold ring found at Capua and now in the Museum of Naples, both of them signed by the artists, and both, especially the former, perfect examples of portraiture.

We may now return to the consideration of the large sardonyx cameos of the Augustan age. Among these is a cameo of Tiberius in Vienna, inscribed with the engraver's name, Herophilos, who adds that he was a son of Dioscurides. There were three brothers, Herophilos, Eutyches, and Hyllos, all known to us from gems engraved by them and bearing their names. One of them, Eutyches, says that his native town was Ægeæ in Cilicia. Thus father and sons were all Greeks by birth. We are told that it was Dioscurides, the father, who engraved the portrait of Augustus on a seal to be used by him, apparently in substitution for the portrait of Alexander the Great which he had previously employed. That seal was an intaglio; but we know also from two gems which have survived that Dioscurides could work equally in cameo. The view of Professor Furtwaengler is that the whole family were similarly adepts in both branches of the art, and that they had been brought to Rome by Augustus from their home in Asia Minor. He believes that some at least of the great imperial cameos are the work of their hands. We see no

objection to this view, for there is much in these cameos that takes us back forcibly to the Hellenistic spirit which these engravers would naturally have inherited in Asia Minor. Such accessories as the cornucopia and the eagle are bodily transferred from the coinage of the later Ptolemies. Even more important is the spirit of personification, so conspicuous in the large Vienna cameo and on the Tazza Farnese in Naples. That was a gift from the Greeks. Inevitably this Hellenistic spirit tinged the style of portraiture on many large cameos, and it remained more or less effective under the several dynasties of the family of Augustus. After their extinction the art of gem-engraving may be said to have collapsed. Apparently there is no gem now known, signed by its engraver, which can be dated much later than the splendid portrait of Julia, daughter of Titus, now in Paris. Among existing gems there is nothing to compare with the vast series of busts of the later emperors and empresses, if we except the really grand heads of Trajan and Plotina on a cameo in the British Museum. It has been argued that the large Marlborough cameo, now in the British Museum, represents Julian the Apostate and the Empress Helena, but we agree with Professor Furtwaengler that this interpretation is quite impossible. Workmanship of this quality was far beyond the skill of that late age. It points rather to the first half-century of our era.

As regards Roman portraits in intaglio, there is none so imposing as that of Julia, daughter of Titus, to which we have just alluded. It was the fashion of her time to arrange the hair in elaborate braids and curls. This fashion is fully illustrated on the gem; yet there is a breadth in the treatment of every detail which saves the general effect of the hair from interfering with the expression of the face. The charming simplicity of the drapery on the shoulder and breast tends in the same direction. Among the smaller intaglio portraits we should here mention the two heads of Julius Cæsar in the British Museum, both bearing the name of Dioscurides; Professor Furtwaengler ignores them both. The one—from the Blacas collection—may deserve to be so treated. It abounds in the minute unnecessary details in which a modern copyist is tempted to indulge. But the other—the Payne-Knight Julius—has few such

weaknesses; and though we cannot ignore some points which are not altogether satisfactory, such as the formation of the letters, there is, in our judgment, no sufficient reason for condemning the gem as modern.

Among the many intaglios now bearing the name of that famous engraver, the two which Professor Furtwaengler most readily accepts as correct are the two sards of Hermes in the British Museum. Both are beautiful gems, especially so the one from Lord Carlisle's collection (Pl. XLIX, 6, and 10). It was Eutyches, the son of Dioscurides, who engraved the beautiful bust of Athene on rock-crystal, which after many adventures since the fifteenth century, when we find it first mentioned, is now in Berlin. Professor Furtwaengler defends the authenticity of the Strozzi Medusa in the British Museum bearing the engraver's name Solon (Pl. XL, 18). We entertain some doubts as to that gem, and we cannot regard the large intaglio (Pl. LXV, 11) as antique; nor can we accept the large scaraboid of Victory erecting a trophy, in the British Museum, which he regards as one of the noblest of Greek gems (Pl. XIII, 37). On Pl. XXXI, 24, he gives and makes much of a portrait of a man wearing a cap like Ulysses. But, had he seen that identical portrait on a scaraboid which has been long in this country in private hands, he would probably have recognised the latter as the original, for while it lacks the pretty details which mark the gem published by Professor Furtwaengler it retains unimpaired all the strength of an original. It is hardly worth while, however, except for collectors of gems, to discuss doubtful specimens. At the present day there is so vast a series of gems on which the breath of suspicion has never fallen, nor ever can fall, that the student of this branch of ancient art finds in them alone more material than he wants. Every such student will feel deeply grateful to Professor Furtwaengler for his magnificent and scholarly work.

Art. VI.—DUELLING IN THE TIME OF BRANTÔME.

1. *Mémoires de Mesire Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de Brantôme, contenans les Anecdotes de la cour de France, sous les rois Henri II, François II, Henri III et IV, touchant les duels.* Leyden, 1722.
2. *Discours sur les Duels.* Par le Sieur de Brantôme. Avec préface par Henri de Pène. Paris, 1887.

Of all the volumes that have come down to us in the familiar Elzevirian '12mo' form—and they are a goodly library—it may be doubted if any single one is more replete with curious information than Brantôme's anecdotes of duelling during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de Brantôme, Baron of Richemont, Chevalier of the Order, Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to Charles the Ninth and Henry the Second, and Chamberlain to the Duc d'Alençon (as holder of an ecclesiastical benefice), who was born in 1527 and died at a ripe old age in 1614, is best known as the author of a series of short biographies—the Lives of Famous Ladies, French and Foreign; of Gallant Ladies; of French Men of Mark and great Captains; and of Foreigners similarly distinguished. He left also a number of letters, autobiographical and military opuscula, a curious essay upon the neglected topic of Spanish Oaths and Rhodomontades (the only one of his works which seems to have been translated into English), and lastly, those duelling stories of the sixteenth century which fill one of the fifteen volumes of his works in the *édition définitive*, published at the Hague in 1740.

Of the value of the memoirs in general as a contemporary source of history it is quite unnecessary to speak; and of those comprising in particular the 'Anecdotes de la Cour de France (during the reigns of Henry the Second, Francis the Second, Henry the Third, and Henri Quatre), touchant les duels,' it need only be premised that they constitute—in what they say, and what they leave unsaid—a social and ethical record of the first importance.

Brantôme, as a nobleman and an experienced campaigner, was thoroughly familiar with the society to which most of his anecdotes refer. Many of the actors in them were personally known to him. On many of

the occasions—'when we were on our way to the relief of Malta (1566)' . . . 'The first time I was in Italy' . . . 'Once when I was passing through Milan' . . . 'At the siege of such or such a place' . . . 'In the king's apartments at the Louvre'—he is his own authority. In other cases, as we are repeatedly told, he heard what had happened, shortly after the event, from the parties immediately concerned. Of the earlier anecdotes many are taken, as he tells us, from well-known histories—Paolo Giovio, Froissart, Du Bellay, Monstrelet, the 'Chronicles of Savoy' or the 'Romance of Bayart.' Of minor incidents, moreover, several are given as mere gossip or tradition worth mentioning, though, as he says, he cannot vouch for them himself. A competent critic has observed that no writer living in an age of scandal and corruption could be freer than Brantôme either 'from the indignation that would exaggerate, or from the scruples that would conceal,' such things; and in the matter of these duels, or, as the book is more fully entitled, the 'duels, single combats in lists, challenges, defiances that have taken place in France and elsewhere,' his interest is professedly, as he tells us at starting, a mere unprejudiced curiosity as to the rights and wrongs of duelling etiquette. Ought one to be courteous and generous to an opponent? Ought one to be severely business-like? Ought Charles the Fifth to have fought King Francis? and, if so, how? Is this or that practice, ceremony, or artifice really to be allowed and encouraged? 'On all these points, and points obscure as these' (the resolution of which does not appear to concern him very much, seeing that he usually leaves it for 'wiser authorities than myself' to determine), Brantôme provides an inexhaustible store of precedents, wise saws, and modern instances.

To the reader who looks back perchance upon the days of Henri Quatre as a 'spacious time' of heroism and chivalry, nothing could appear more remarkable than the unromantic nature of these contests. The spirit of chivalry, of the pious chivalry that animated Bayart, the Knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, had practically died out of society long before the death of Brantôme. In his days there were, indeed, plenty of cavaliers *sans peur* (for the three civil wars of his lifetime had barbarised society, and made life cheap), but very few *sans reproche*.

Brantôme himself embodies the tone and taste of a *blasé* and corrupt generation. Where a fact is doubtful or a motive uncertain he inclines (sometimes, as an eighteenth century editor remarks, with gratuitous *médisance*) to the worse interpretation. A modern commentator is even more struck with the non-moral atmosphere of Brantôme's history of duelling. With unruffled cheerfulness he recounts story after story of cold-blooded assassination, thinly disguised by a few artificial formalities. To his cynical dilettantism nothing appears positively wrong, and hardly anything, amid all the jargon of honour, particularly base.

He has conventional eulogies for heroes of the old-fashioned type, but his interest in life and the warfare that made so large a part of it seems mainly academic or sensational. He sweeps together any details likely to make a *belle histoire*, leaving posterity to find significance in it. What, for example, would the reader say in a case like this? In a famous combat between two favourites of Henry the Third, the weapons selected were sword and dagger, and one of the parties came into the lists armed with only one of these implements, and plaintively remarked on the disparity. The other only replied: 'The more fool you to have forgotten your dagger! we are here to fight, not to discuss punctilios.' This is clearly not what Bayart would have done (nor what was done by another gentleman in a parallel case); but Brantôme assures us that, the facts being as alleged, the etiquette of the matter was open to much discussion. The young gentleman with no dagger had to parry a great many blows with his hand, which was in consequence *toute découpée de playes*. He survived three days, bitterly complaining of what was, after all, a very mild sample of the sharp practice of his time.

The seconds—the reader will surmise—ought to have taken action, but these functionaries were occupied, all four, in fighting among themselves; for it was in this duel that the practice of seconds engaging as well as their principals was first inaugurated. Of which fashion one may observe that, though no doubt it gave them something to do (which was the principal motive), it rendered them of little use to their principals, except in those informal rough and tumble 'affairs' which, after

a little prefatory sparring, resolved themselves into a general *mêlée* of all the parties. This of course in earlier times, and particularly in the Italian combat *à la Mazza* (what we may call the 'hedgerow' or cross-country duel), was an understood thing.

It was another matter when—after a formal agreement that there should be no seconds, and, in fact, no one present but 'the grooms who held the horses'—one champion disguised a friend as *palefrenier*, relying upon his treacherous assistance in the conflict. This nefarious scheme was defeated partly by the promptitude of the enemy, who knocked his artful antagonist out of time at the first shock, and mounting the horse of his own groom (whose suspicions had been aroused) gave the quasi-second something else to think about. But even if the groom in attendance were a genuine 'lackey,' it was as likely as not that, if you killed his master—Brantôme gives us a case in point—he would assassinate you as soon as your back was turned.

On another occasion one noble cavalier was being worsted by his opponent, who had him on the ground, when a fortunate diversion was caused by the fall of a block of seats and the injury of a number of spectators. Taking advantage of this exciting incident (when people positively did not know—we read—whether to see out the duel or go and rescue the ladies who were screaming for assistance), some of the friends of the losing party cried out to him to 'throw some gravel in the eyes and mouth' of his opponent. But for the disturbance, it is true, they would never have ventured to do this, since bystanders, Brantôme specially tells us, had no earthly business to open their mouths—'non pas parler, tousser, cracher, moucher, n'y faire aucun signe qui pust porter ou paroistre'—any more than the spectators round a 'putting-green.' As it was, their suggestion was put in practice, and the apparent victor reduced to a helpless surrender. His supporters, we read without surprise, were dissatisfied. This, again, to parody a modern adage, was 'not duelling but monkey-tricks' or worse; but it showed what you might expect—when the judges were not looking. An equally significant incident is recorded of the combat between one Millaud and Brantôme's particular friend the Baron de Vitaux—a couple of black-

hearted cut-throats, we may observe in passing, as ever swung on tree.

It was a part, and no unnecessary part, of the business of a 'second' to examine (*taster*) the weapons and person of his champion's opponent, in particular to see that he had no secret arms, offensive or defensive, no rolls of paper or other protective substance concealed (after a fashion not unknown to schoolboys) under his clothes, and lastly no magical charms, relics, mottoes, or talismans nor even prayers 'inscribed on his body.' Brantôme had known these superstitious devices succeed in their object; also, for that matter, had known them fail. Speaking generally, it was not worth while objecting to a mere 'shirt of our Lady of Chartres,' a few relics from Jerusalem, or even a few pious orisons (which, 'as you could not get them off,' it was advisable to leave on). This, however, might raise a question, 'si l'un s'en trouvoit chargé et l'autre non,' seeing that the champions ought to be equally matched in all respects.

The ingenuous Millaud, on the approach of his friend's 'parrain,' threw open the front of his shirt, as who should say (like some traveller at a *douane*), 'Nothing there, you see'; and by this engaging frankness avoided a closer examination. It afterwards appeared, however, that he was wearing a fine steel cuirass of peculiar make painted the colour of human flesh! So people said, at any rate, and so his opponent thought. Our author had the whole story from a professional escrimeur—Millaud's instructor—who watched the contest from the top of a walnut tree: but no man could be less censorious than Brantôme, or more reluctant to judge an erring or embarrassed fellow-being. He would like, he tells us, to have the opinion of a first-rate artist as to whether a cuirass could be so painted. Having got that, he would probably refer us, once more, to those learned 'authorities on duelling' who seem, alas! to have discoursed so much and decided so little. It was the sort of incident that would crop up now and again even in a duel involving 'the best families'; and if an indignant adversary, finding his sword 'blunted at the point,' cried out, 'You scoundrel, you've got armour on, or I should have killed you then,' it did not follow that the contest would be stopped. In fine, the sharpest of police-court attorneys would have been usefully em-

ployed in safeguarding the interests of an inexperienced chevalier of those days against a veteran and *rusé* opponent.

The wording of the original contract—so to speak—accepting the challenge could not be too carefully scrutinised. It was simple madness, for example, to allow the other party (in case he had the choice of arms) to include in the category *any* sort of weapons that he pleased. The family solicitor would in such a case draw his pen through the clause in the draft 'cartel,' and substitute 'such as are used by gentlemen,' or 'such as are approved by competent and impartial judges.' To fight with no defensive armour at all was uncivilised, worthy only of a 'brute beast,' but there was a golden mean in the matter, also various 'supercheries,' or confidence tricks. One artful duellist included in his list 'defensive armour to cover the body from head to foot, with a small hole—about twice the size of the palm of your hand—just over the region of the heart.' One can see the warrior's representative suggesting this little provision—after the manner of Shylock—as a mere playful and harmless formality. The fact was that his client had been practising for a whole year past the one feat of hitting this particular spot on the body, so as to make a practical certainty of spitting his man at the first or second lunge.

The legal analogy seems even more obvious when we are reminded that the mere preliminaries of a duel, the 'pourparlers,' discussions, 'chicanery,' 'supercheries,' and consequent hagglings, etc., had been known to occupy a year or two! If a duellist were not killed by the sword of some bully or assassin, he might be ruined by the mere expenses of the 'process,' as effectively as a Chancery suitor of the early nineteenth century. This is one of Brantôme's great grievances in the matter of the celebrated duel that took place in 1547 between his uncle M. de la Chastaigneraye and the Sieur de Jarnac. Brantôme's references, by the way, to 'mon dict oncle,' 'feu mon oncle,' would fill a chapter by themselves. Once or twice, when on the point of telling us the whole story of this famous contest in which his distinguished relative fell a victim to the dastardly *coup de Jarnac*, he breaks off because his emotions are too much for him. In fact, the story is never completely and consecutively told. We look

for it in the Biographies, where we should expect it—towards the end of the 'Capitaines François.' From the biography we are referred elsewhere, presumably to the 'Duels,' and left to pick up for ourselves details which the writer seems to assume would be familiar to everyone. The thing was a scandal and a nine days' wonder. So incredible on all grounds did it seem that the brave, the noble François Vivonne, the hero of so many fights, should have fallen in this unworthy fashion at the hands of his well-known comrade in arms, that two soldiers in a distant province actually fought another duel among themselves upon the question whether Chastaigneraye were alive or dead, which, as each party was put *hors de combat*, remained, by the duellistic law of evidence, undecided.

But, to avoid lengthy digressions (as Brantôme is so fond of observing), it is not so much the 'hamstringing' of his uncle which rouses his indignation, as the preposterous attempt of Jarnac to reduce his opponent and former friend to bankruptcy! In fact, Chastaigneraye would have been ruined had not King Henry the Second and various friends subscribed to assist him in his emergency. 'Jarnac,' protested the victim, 'veut combattre mon esprit et ma bourse.' He demanded, although the right of choice was only his through the courtesy of his opponent, more than thirty different kinds of 'arms' and equipments—both pedestrian and equestrian—including a large assortment of the most expensive varieties of 'mount,' coursers, Turks, barbs, hackneys, chargers, war-horses, and jennets, saddled in every known fashion. The contest ultimately took place on foot, and one of the arms selected, besides two pairs of swords (one being held in reserve by the judges), was a peculiarly long and stiff species of arm-guard (*brassard*), chosen with the view of preventing Chastaigneraye from exhibiting his well-known strength and address as a wrestler.

If you challenged a man, you would, of course, select the weapon or armament to which he was least accustomed. That was why Soto Mayor demanded that Bayart (who was a notoriously good horseman) should fight him on foot. He was rather taken aback when the Chevalier assented as a matter of course. In such matters, says Brantôme, he was ever ready to oblige anyone. And when

a tall bully of a Gascon was once challenged by a little man, the latter insisted, on the advice of a friendly expert, that the defensive armour should include a stiff spiked collar. The virtue of this was, that the wearer could not look down, though he could quite easily look up—an obvious advantage for a David opposed to a Goliath. An ingenious and imaginative taste for 'murder as a fine art' might clearly run riot in the invention of such novel monstrosities.

Burlesque pales before some of the tragi-comic absurdities gravely enumerated by Brantôme. To his contemporary eye no 'fun' is discernible in all the haggling and sharping about these fantastic and childish details. For behind them stood a grim cold-blooded brutality.

In the orthodox old-fashioned duel (which was fought in a round 'champ clos' with barriers) the confident champion had a right to demand that a scaffold should be raised and a fire lighted by the side of the lists so that he might, if he pleased, first hang and then burn his defeated opponent. It was only by the courtesy and kind permission of the victor that the person of the vanquished could be removed from the arena, his wounds attended to, or his dead body buried. That was another distinctive grace about Bayart in his celebrated duel aforesaid, that having, with some art, killed his man, he gave up the body for burial, instead of burning it or dragging it about, as he was legally entitled to do, in a fashion which Brantôme believed to be copied from a celebrated Homeric hero. But Bayart was a paragon. Of this remarkable man, by the way, Brantôme has left us a valuable portrait, derived, of course, at second hand (for he died three years before our author was born), from the companions in arms who survived and remembered him. The famous chronicle of his prowess written by the anonymous 'Loyal Serviteur' (now seemingly identified as one Jacques de Mailles *) was well known to Brantôme, who is perhaps one of the first to refer to it. Pierre Terrail (not Du Terrail), Seigneur de Bayart, fell, mortally wounded by a stone from an arquebus, on the retreat from Italy in 1524. His famous 'last words' addressed to the Constable de Bourbon, when

* 'Histoire de Bayart, par le loyal serviteur,' ed. M. J. Roman (French Historical Society), 1878; and see Du Bellay, 'Mémoires,' fol. 1572, p. 59, from which authority one or two of the duelling stories are derived.

the latter came up with his victorious forces and found the hero dying alone under a tree, are recorded, not by the 'Serviteur,' but by Martin Du Bellay. 'No need that you should pity me,' he said, 'but rather that I should pity you, perjured traitor to your King and your country.'

This serious attitude towards your 'cause' and general conduct was not common amongst Brantôme's contemporaries. They might be disposed to imitate Bayart's courtesy in not pushing a victory to extremities on the grounds more than once urged by Brantôme. It was just as well to be *bien considéré* in these matters. If your antagonist were killed, you might stretch a point and let him be buried. The relations liked it. If he were so securely maimed—*estropié*—that there was no danger of his giving serious trouble in future, you might spare his life without even giving him a few gratuitous stabs about the face and nose—such is the hideous suggestion!—as a memento of the contest. But if he was ever likely to dispute the fact that you had had him at your mercy, or if he was an obstinate braggart who could not realise it, why, in such case it was better to finish him off then and there. On the other hand, one should not attempt to exact too humiliating a form of words from an honourable adversary. 'Demande-moi ta vie, ou je t'achèveray.' Fitz-James's,

> 'Now yield thee, or by Him who made
> This world, thy heart-blood dyes my blade,'

might only provoke the spirited reply given by Roderick Dhu, and many a gentleman of his time, which might involve the mere needless destruction of a brave warrior. One of the innumerable unsettled questions thrown at us by Brantôme was whether one of a man's backers could, just to save his life, surrender for—a pig-headed principal. There were cases, of course, pointing this way and that; but of one thing he seems convinced, that it was nonsense to suppose a man was disgraced by accepting his life at an antagonist's hands, or, for that matter, by defeat in fair combat. Nor was there anything shameful in apologising when you were in the wrong, though that should be done in no grovelling terms and with a hand upon your sword. Brantôme himself thinks it a pity that

people should separate without fighting, when everyone had come to see a duel. As to surrendering, there were haughty spirits who could never bring themselves to admit in so many words what was palpably obvious to a whole gallery of spectators. Others said, 'Il n'y a que de vivre.' Survival had its charms even with the chance of being killed in some local broil next week.

Another point, in any case, seems clear. At formal public contests the victorious champion was lord paramount of the arena. Fair ladies might weep and pray, the spectators might murmur or expostulate (though the strictest order was generally maintained by the heralds' cry of 'Gare le ban'), but he could do what he pleased. He might be generous. He might say, after disarming his enemy, 'Pick up your sword again. I'm not going to fight you so.' And if the other replied, 'It's no good, my dear fellow, I couldn't hold it; my hand is simply cut to bits,' he might (and, we are glad to learn, did sometimes) answer, 'Very well, then the combat is over'; or, 'I'm not going to massacre an old friend like you.' Courtesy might even go further, as in the case where the friend replied, 'Oh, well, do the whole thing while you're about it. For goodness' sake, smear a little blood on your arm, and wear it in a sling for a bit, so as to look as if I had wounded you, and were not quite such a duffer as I am'; and the conqueror 'didn't mind if he did.' One can imagine that such combatants, especially if the 'difference' were formally accommodated before some marshal or prince (as it were by an order from the Horse Guards), would afterwards be better friends than ever.

There was no rule in these complex matters but *discretion*, and then discretion, and then more discretion. The veteran Matas, for example, fought some braggart boy in the woods of Vincennes, disarmed him by a turn of the wrist, and merely observing, 'You had better learn how to hold your sword before you fight again with a man like myself,' walked away. But the young man, in a frenzy of conceited passion, ran after Matas and stabbed him in the back. This, again, was not a chivalrous return, but it had to be reckoned with. In the first place, it was much wiser not to fight, for the mere pleasure of the thing, in woods or other such 'dark' places, where, if you did any deeds of prowess, no one would ever know

of them, and where, moreover, irregular or unorthodox practices might be resorted to, as in this particular case. A duel should not be a 'hole and corner affair.' Even if it were in public there was a certain danger (varying of course with the nature of the place) that the friends of the worsted party might jump over the barriers and attack his opponent—a thing not absolutely unknown in the rougher of our modern sports. Generally speaking, it would be a mistake to suppose that a second was much safer than is an unpopular football referee in the mining districts. A victorious champion, with a few minutes on his hands, might devote them to polishing off the 'parrains' of the defeated party, if his own seemed unequal to the task. Indeed, if he failed to do so, he showed an imprudence which might cost him his life.

In fact, to return, as Brantôme is for ever returning, to the great case of 'feu mon dict oncle,' it was partly through fear of the 'gallery,' which included many comrades of the unlucky Chastaigneraye, that Jarnac ('le Tartufe du champ clos,' as the modern duellist-editor, M. Henri de Pène, calls him) was deterred from actually finishing off his antagonist. Until he had executed the dastardly *coup de jarret*, his policy was to avoid close quarters; and when he had done it the mangled Chastaigneraye (so runs the ghastly tale) kept crying 'Tuez-moy! tuez-moy!' and, in fact, declined to accept his life or to have his wounds tended. The King, indeed, threw down his *bâton*, but, as Brantôme laments, too late. It was a triumph of *Tartufisme* over a somewhat Quixotic generosity—of which more anon. Two minor points may meanwhile be noted: first, that the presiding king or prince could, in spite of what has been said above, stop a contest, at any rate in cases where the combatants were obviously trifling with one another, or where, on other grounds, a satisfactory result seemed impossible; second, that this particular duel had been forbidden by Francis the Second, and so only came on, like a long-delayed suit, in the first year of his successor's reign. Whereby hangs, as readers will see, the whole philosophy of the *Deffense* or 'special prohibition' of the single combat, which may be briefly summarised as follows. Within the dominions and during the lifetime of any effective and recognised authority—king, prince, or general—his prohibition was a valid

answer to a challenge; though it would appear that few gentlemen availed themselves of the plea.

The pure old-world joy of fighting for its own sake (apart from family feuds and the personal interest in assassination) was certainly not extinct. How refreshing is the story of the noble lord at Naples (where Brantôme picked it up) who, having demolished his opponent, was leaving the ground when one of the 'appellants' (or seconds) muttered a word of indignation. Angered at the death of his champion, he feared some might reproach him that he had let it pass unavenged. 'Oh, if that's all,' answered the victor quietly, 'most happy, I'm sure' (Ne tient-il qu'à cela? Vrayement je le veux), and polished him off too. Then came up the third—who was quite as brave as the others—with, 'A fine victory truly, and but that you are spent with two conquests I would try to divide the honours with you; but as you are tired I challenge you for to-morrow.' 'Tired,' quoth the Neapolitan, 'not a bit of it . . . much rather fight now whilst I'm warm' (pourquoy passons-en nos fantaisies, sans remettre à demain); and a few minutes later resumed his way home safe and sound, leaving materials for a goodly funeral behind him.

Of the same flavour is the tale of the young Gascon who fought *two at once*, and when friends enquired into the method of such madness, only replied, 'Eh! Mort Dieu! Je me voulais faire mettre dans les chroniques.' Who can wonder at the interest attaching to 'the French Memoir' when such was the competition for a place in its pages!

And for the 'first-class fighting man' of the sixteenth century, what far greater variety of entertainment was provided than in our own days! 'Tis true there were limits. The 'harpoon and the Maxim gun'—to use a modern figure—might be barred as 'armes non usitées.' The 'pistolet,' the 'arblast' and the 'arquebus' were in fact excluded by certain 'docteurs duellistes,' on the ground that a combat should be decided by personal bravery, and not by the particular arms employed—an objection rather unreasonably scouted by Brantôme. But he discovers, no doubt rightly, a more obvious reason in the danger to the judges, seconds and spectators. Even without these more elaborate weapons, excellent enter-

tainment could be provided. A 'very pretty duel,' as Sir Lucius O'Trigger might have called it, could be got up with two combatants on horseback, each with a sword, a lance and (like Joab when he went to attend to Absalom) 'three darts in his hand.' But a Gascon warrior, having challenged an Italian, did insist, we are told, on fighting with an arblast, and carried his point. For when the antagonist objected that the weapon was not commonly used, he replied, 'Fiddlepin's end! nothing more so *in our country!*' Which was true enough; and, as Brantôme tells us, he had got two or three shots into the Italian before the wretched man had got his instrument strung! Some judges, again, would exclude the 'espée bastarde'—a short and heavy sword. Others recognised it as commonly used by the Swiss.

A more curious variety of weapon (calculated to surprise an opponent and entertain the 'gallery') was the 'espée vitrine'—a sword not *made* of glass, but of so brittle a temper that, unless you had been specially trained to use it, the thing flew to pieces in your hand at the first encounter. It was safer to insist on fighting with an ordinary sword of some well-known make. Though even then you should not 'draw' when hundreds of yards away from your adversary, for this did not look well. The prettier style was to whisk out your trusty blade at some twenty paces distance, and (if you knew how) send the sheath flying through the air. This was what Millaud did, in the contest above mentioned, to the admiration of beholders.

It will seem a thousand pities to many readers that Brantôme has no scientific interest in the numerous combats he describes. He tells us a good many miscellaneous details about weapons and armour, the laws of 'Honour'—of which a word presently—and the technicalities of the duel of his time. But he hardly says anything (though he mentions Tappe, Patenostrier, Jacques Ferron, D'Aymard and other fencing-masters of the time) of the particular skill by which the different victories were gained. It was recognised that a blade could be 'sword and shield' though it was hardly adequate as defensive armour. But of particular parries, 'coups' and 'bottes,' we hear nothing—merely general assurances of the peculiar strength or unrivalled courage of successful or defeated

champions. The science of fencing had, of course, not been fully elaborated. Besides, Brantôme's memory is sufficiently taxed to recall the mere names of the gentlemen killed in his time without rehearsing the details of each particular conflict. Here are no glowing lifelike pictures of sword play such as adorn the immortal 'Trois Mousquetaires' or Whyte Melville's 'Cerise.' Yet if there were not some masterly fencers about, one would like to know how it was—for example—that 'Count Claudio' polished off so adroitly the *four* soldiers whom he would not allow to fight each other in a sheep pen! Surely the Count must have 'kept the wrist going like a windmill?' Surely it must have been a case of 'Bah! *one*, *two*, a simple disengagement you would say, and I saw six inches of (somebody's) blade through (someone else's) back'? A common soldier, by the same token, could, after two years' creditable service, challenge and fight a superior officer, and even his own captain, provided he first quitted the company; and ranks and dignities generally could be waived at discretion by pugnacious or condescending grandees. Brantôme's interest in the matter is, as has been said, simply a social or 'sensational' one, which, however, makes his little book all the more valuable as a study of life and character.

Among the abstruser technical questions by which, as we have seen, he is perpetually finding himself mildly puzzled, is that of the justice—the religious sanction—of the whole duelling system, and the 'secrets de Dieu,' as he calls them, so obscurely revealed in its results. The fascinating simplicity of the 'Wager by Battle' (an institution of immemorial antiquity, and only abolished from our own law in the nineteenth century) was not all that mediæval fancy had painted it.

When Count Robert of Artois (Brantôme cites the story from Paulus Æmylius) brought into court some title-deeds concerning his right to Flanders, which everyone knew to be forged, the King (Philip of Valois) felt bound to expostulate with him 'en amy et parent.' It was really too much, he suggested, in fact discreditable, for a relative of the King to produce such documents. 'Forged!' said Count Robert without a blush—not a bit; on the contrary they were as genuine as possible (*très bons*), and he would fight the King himself on the point,

and 'lui maintiendroit leur vérité.' On which his Majesty retired hurt and indignant, you may guess, says Brantôme, that the Count was so little troubled about the justice of his quarrels. 'He was tolerably convinced that God would do much the same for him whether he were wrong or right.' Not every one was equally hardy. Thus we read of one warrior who, on entering the arena, was seized with qualms of conscience and ran away. 'Ha! coward, thou fliest!' cried his antagonist in the usual melodramatic form. 'You lie,' said the fugitive, turning suddenly upon him. 'Now I've got a good cause. Come on!'

Personal bravery, indeed personal skill (of the bravo type), reigned so supreme, that the hankering after religious approval or assistance strikes one at first sight as the merest cant. But Brantôme regrets with sincere bitterness the over-confidence of 'feu mon dict oncle' on the occasion we wot of. He despised his enemy too frankly; and it was absurd, reiterates the author, to trust too much in your own strong arm—at any rate, if you could, by any judicious hedging, get other support as well. For while Chastaigneraye erred in this direction, neglecting altogether to implore the help of Heaven, not even attending church on the day of the contest, the unscrupulous Jarnac, on the other hand, 'ne faisoit autre chose que hanter les églises,' engaged every monastery and convent in the place to pray for him, and attended mass himself most devoutly on the morning of the duel. Could one wonder at the result? Not that he continued these practices afterwards. On the contrary,

'Passato il ponte, gabbato il santo'

(over the bridge one laughs at the saint), and so did Jarnac after the battle, 'car il se fit Huguenot très ferme!'

If the *espée* in judicious hands made a legal title to real property, it was equally valid evidence of moral character, which was otherwise presumed on the slightest grounds to be bad. When a man, guilty of hideous crime, slaughtered his accuser with apparent ease, that was one of the unfathomable *secrets de Dieu*. In a story much resembling Browning's 'Count Gismond,' a certain Goutran traduces the character of a fair countess. Without any trial she is forthwith accounted *criminelle*, placed on a

scaffold and told to prepare for the worst. In vain the unfortunate lady goes round to her relatives, begging each of them in turn—*piteusement*—to take up her cause. All express themselves convinced of her innocence, *désolés* in fact, *but*—Goutran, like Robert of Artois, was a man of his hands, and none might stand against him. 'Mauvais et poltrons parens estoient,' says Brantôme, a little harshly one thinks. But, in fact, the world of his day was no place for non-combatants.

It need not be inferred that Brantôme had any romantic conception of the honour of women. The question reduced itself, like all others, to a cut-and-dried formula. Every man, he tells us, was bound to defend the character of the fair sex, whatever he might happen to think or know about it; for, after all, 'however bad she may be,' a woman does like to be thought honest and respectable. Manners, in fact, and appearances were practically everything: and one of the best things in Brantôme's book is his sketch of one or two 'persons of quality' like Bussy and the Duc de Guise ('the one recently murdered'), taciturn, contemptuous and *haut en main*, past-masters of the 'grand manner' so useful for putting down common people, prototypes of all the Strathmores and Guy Livingstones known to romantic fiction, who could yet unbend now and then so far as to throw 'a silver candlestick' at your head or even run you through the body.

As to male honour, it is enough to read of the career of the author's particular friend, Baron Vitaux, and the long tale of treacherous murders connected with the name of this eminently successful duellist. 'It was said,' says Brantôme—what will not censorious people say?—'that he killed his men unfairly.' When such a man, the most indefatigable and remorseless of sleuth-hounds in the matter of revenge, as we are assured, could be represented as a shining light of chivalry in Germany, Spain, England, and Italy, and the 'paragon of France,' it is not surprising to learn that a few douce and timid gentlemen here and there took refuge from such a society where alone refuge could be found—in the bosom of Mother Church.

Art. VII.—THE SOUTH POLE.

1. *The Scientific Advantages of an Antarctic Expedition.* By Dr John Murray, the Duke of Argyll, Sir J. D. Hooker, Dr G. Neumayer and others. 'Proceedings of the Royal Society,' vol. lxii, 1898.
2. *Plan und Aufgaben der Deutschen Südpolar-Expedition.* By Erich von Drygalski. Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, Berlin, bd. xxvi, 1899.
3. *First on the Antarctic Continent.* By C. E. Borchgrevink. London: Newnes, 1901.
4. *Relation sommaire du voyage de la Belgica.* Par Adrien de Gerlache. Bulletin de la Societé Royale Belge de Géographie, tom. xxiv. Brussels, 1900.
5. *Auf zum Südpol.* Von Dr Georg von Neumayer. Berlin, 1900.
6. *The Antarctic Manual.* Edited by Dr George Murray. Royal Geographical Society. London, 1901.

And other works.

During the past twenty years scientific men in this country and in Germany have been advocating a renewal of exploration within the Antarctic regions in steam-vessels fitted with all the instruments of modern research. The demand has at last been successful. Two expeditions, well equipped for such an exploration, set sail from Europe in August last: one a British expedition in the ship Discovery, under Commander Robert Scott, R.N., the other a German expedition in the ship Gàuss, under the direction of Professor Erich von Drygalski. The departure of these important expeditions calls for a brief sketch of the progress of Antarctic exploration in the past, for a statement concerning the present condition of scientific knowledge regarding the South Polar regions, and for some details respecting the bold attempt now to be made to lift the veil of ignorance hanging over the most inhospitable and forbidding area on the surface of our planet.

The end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries were the golden age of geographical discovery. Until that time, men's knowledge of the world had been limited to a small part of the northern hemisphere; but within the space of about thirty years Vasco

da Gama had sailed round the Cape to India, and Portuguese pilots had mapped out the Indian and Chinese seas as far south and east as New Guinea; Columbus had discovered America; and one of Magellan's ships had circumnavigated the globe. These voyages, together with less celebrated feats within the same period, doubled the sum of human knowledge of the earth's surface and added a hemisphere to the chart of the world.

On the map of Leonardo da Vinci, which appeared about 1514, a large island is represented, mostly to the south of the equator, bearing the name America. A knowledge of this new world—this fourth part unknown to the ancients—with its wild and cannibal inhabitants, was first spread abroad in Europe through the letters of Vespucci. It was at once recognised that these lands in the south were quite different from the shores of Asia which Columbus was believed to have reached a few years previously. They were identified with the 'Antichthon' of ancient and mediæval philosophers, while the inhabitants were identified with the 'Antipodes' of the south—souls which had participated neither in the sin of Adam nor the redemption of Christ, the belief in whose existence had been condemned as a heresy by the fathers of the Church. Such discoveries and conjectures did much to fire the imagination and to bring about the intellectual and moral changes characteristic of the Renaissance, as well as to give a powerful impulse to geographical exploration south of the equator.

Long after it had been shown that the northern continental masses were cut off from land to the southward, the belief in a great southern continent persisted. This belief played a large part in geographical explorations and speculations. Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, South Georgia, the New Hebrides, were each in turn believed to be portions of the southern continent, which was represented by some geographers of the eighteenth century to be greater in extent than Asia, while the number of its inhabitants was estimated at fifty millions. Queiros, who at the beginning of the seventeenth century carried out explorations in the Southern Pacific, became the hero and apostle of this great southern continent: he pictured in glowing terms its richness and beauty, and even formed projects for its colonisation. An ardent champion of the

views of Queiros was Dalrymple, who was Hydrographer to the Admiralty when the celebrated voyages of James Cook began. He was designated, at the outset, as the leader of the first expedition to the Pacific; but, as he did not belong to the Royal Navy, trouble with the regular officers was feared, and he was replaced by Cook. He became the life-long opponent of Cook; and the bitter controversies which were carried on between Dalrymple and Cook's friends are among the most curious and interesting in geographical literature.

During his first voyage Cook proved that New Zealand was an island, and that no continent was situated in the South Pacific north of the fortieth parallel. The Fellows of the Royal Society, wishing to have this question of a southern continent settled once for all, induced the Government to send Cook on another expedition to the South Seas. Cook's second voyage commenced in the year 1772; and in its course he explored the whole southern ocean in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt that, if a continent did exist, it must be situated within the Antarctic Circle and is covered with eternal ice and snow.

There was no disputing the conclusions of this hardy and persevering navigator: henceforth the great southern continent disappeared from charts and from geographical controversy. It was, however, replaced by an Antarctic continent, parts of which Cook believed he might have seen, and in the existence of which he expressed a firm belief:—

'But,' he added, 'I can be bold enough to say that no man will venture further than I have done, and that the lands which lie to the south will never be explored.'

Cook's unfavourable report concerning the physical conditions prevailing in the neighbourhood of the South Pole effectually prevented further exploration in this direction for the next forty years. But in 1819 the English sailor Smith discovered the South Shetlands; and in 1820 the Russian Bellingshausen discovered Alexander Land. Both explorers reported great numbers of whales, fur-seals, and penguins to the south of Cape Horn. Almost immediately a brisk and profitable whale and fur-seal fishery sprang up among British and American sailors, who through their many voyages extended our knowledge

of Antarctic lands and seas. In 1823 Weddell reached a latitude of 74° South. Between 1831 and 1839, Biscoe discovered Enderby Land, Kemp discovered Kemp Land, and Balleny discovered the Balleny Islands.

A new and important direction was given to Antarctic exploration in the year 1838 through the publications of the great German mathematician, Gauss, concerning terrestrial magnetism. He showed theoretically how, from observations at a few well-distributed points, the magnetic force and the deviation of the compass from the true north could be calculated for the whole surface of the earth. The observations required for this calculation had been made for the northern hemisphere, where, indeed, the position of the magnetic pole had already been determined, but they were altogether wanting in high southern latitudes. Here, then, was a practical problem which at once appealed to the great commercial nations. Seamen must have magnetic charts in order to steer their ships aright: they must know the laws of magnetic action to be able properly to estimate the trustworthiness of their compasses. Three important expeditions were accordingly despatched about the same time to make magnetic observations in high southern latitudes: one French, under Dumont d'Urville, who discovered Louis Philippe Land, Joinville Land, and Adelie Land; one American, under Wilkes, who discovered Palmer Land and Wilkes Land, the latter of which he regarded as part of a great continent; and one British, under James Clark Ross.

In the years 1841 and 1842 Ross boldly worked his two sailing ships through the ice-pack and discovered Victoria Land, to the east of which, in both seasons, he found an open and navigable sea. He followed the mountainous coasts of the new land for five hundred miles to the south, where they terminated in Mounts Erebus and Terror, the former of which was vomiting forth flame and lava from a height of twelve thousand feet. He then sailed for three hundred miles to the eastward along the perpendicular face of an ice-barrier which rose from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above sea level. He landed on two volcanic islands devoid of vegetation, and sailed within one hundred and sixty miles of the south magnetic pole; he had previously planted the flag of his country on the north magnetic pole. Not only did he

successfully carry out his magnetic survey, but he sounded and dredged in deep water, he studied the temperature of the ocean, and, with the assistance of Dr (now Sir Joseph) Hooker, he investigated the marine fauna and flora of the Antarctic. Till within a few years ago, his observations supplied the most trustworthy information concerning the South Polar regions; and he described in a vivid manner all the anxieties, dangers, sufferings, and joys which the explorer experiences in those magnificent realms of snow, ice, and volcanic fire, where hailstorms, fogs, and gales alternate with brilliant sunshine.

The time had at length arrived in the history of civilised nations when costly expeditions could be sent forth in search of knowledge for its own sake, without direct reference to any commercial or other material advantage. Such was the Challenger expedition which sailed from England in the year 1872. During her exploration of the great ocean basins, the Challenger made a short excursion to the south, and was the first steamship to cross the Antarctic Circle. As she was wholly unprotected, she could not penetrate the ice-pack, nor did she discover any new lands; but her accurate magnetic and meteorologic observations, her deep-sea soundings, her investigation of surface and deep-sea organisms, her observations on specific gravity and deep-water temperature threw a flood of light on Antarctic problems. Just as Cook's second expedition was brought about by the theories of Queiros and Dalrymple regarding a great southern continent; just as the expeditions of d'Urville, Wilkes and Ross were brought about by the researches of Gauss in terrestrial magnetism; so do the Antarctic expeditions of the last few years, the two expeditions that have just sailed, and those still contemplated from Scotland and Sweden, all owe their origin to the Challenger investigations and the advocacy of its naval and civilian staff—Nares, Tizard, Wyville-Thomson, Murray and Buchanan. It should not, however, be forgotten that Professor Georg von Neumayer, who founded the Magnetic Observatory at Melbourne, has long advocated a renewal of Antarctic exploration.

The Antarctic discoveries during the past six or seven years have not been unimportant. While engaged in an unsuccessful search for whalebone-whales, Larsen, in 1892,

landed on Seymour Island, and picked up some tertiary fossils. The following year he steamed down the eastern side of Graham Land as far as 68° South, when high land was seen to the east and south, and an active volcano was discovered. In 1894 Kristensen steamed through the ice in the track of Ross with the whaler Antarctic, and effected the first landing on the Antarctic continent at Cape Adare. In 1898 the German deep-sea expedition carried out a splendid series of soundings from the Cape to Bouvet Island, thence along the pack-ice towards Enderby Land, and northward to Kerguelen, discovering a very deep ocean. In 1898 the small but well-equipped Belgica expedition made careful explorations on the west coast of Graham Land, and then, steaming south towards Alexander Land, became fixed in the pack-ice south of the seventieth parallel of latitude. The Belgica was thus the first ship to pass a winter within the Antarctic Circle. In 1899 Borchgrevink, who had been with Kristensen in 1894, again made his way to Victoria Land in the Southern Cross, and anchored in Robertson Bay off Cape Adare; this was the first time a ship had anchored within the Antarctic Circle. Borchgrevink and nine companions landed with houses, stores, sledges, and dogs at Cape Adare, where, for the first time in history, a winter was passed on the Antarctic continent. The Southern Cross meanwhile returned to Australia. She again reached Cape Adare the following season, and after embarking the whole party, explored the eastern coast of Victoria Land as far south as Mount Terror. The ice-barrier was then followed for three hundred miles to the eastward; and Borchgrevink was able to land at a point in east longitude 195° 50′, where a break was observed in the barrier with low ice. With two of his ship's company, dogs, and sledges, he travelled over the surface of the barrier to latitude 78° 50′ South, the most southerly point yet reached by man.

In passing to a consideration of the problems which await solution from systematic observations within the Antarctic Circle, it may be pointed out that all general conceptions concerning the distribution of terrestrial phenomena, and all attempts at constructing the past history of our planet, must remain more or less unsatis-

factory till we have a fuller knowledge of the phenomena surrounding the South Pole. In physical geography it is essential to know the form and nature of the relief of the earth's crust, for these very largely influence the distribution of all other natural phenomena. In temperate and tropical regions, we are slowly gaining an accurate idea of submarine topography from deep-sea soundings which are necessary for cable purposes; but cables are not likely to be required across the Antarctic Ocean. At the Berlin Geographical Congress Sir John Murray stated that, were science, national and international, properly organised, then the first task of Antarctic expeditions would be to sound the great Southern and Antarctic Oceans in all accessible areas, so that their depths and the position of the Antarctic lands might be laid down, and the best line of attack on the unknown regions be indicated.

We know that a very deep ocean runs round the world at about the 60th degree of south latitude. To the south of the Cape, the Valdivia obtained depths exceeding three geographical miles (3134 fathoms); and further to the west Ross paid out 4000 fathoms of line without reaching bottom. To the south of Kerguelen, the Challenger recorded depths of one geographical mile and a half close to the Antarctic Circle, and depths of nearly three geographical miles to the south of Australia. The open sea to the east of Victoria Land lies over a submarine projection of the Antarctic continent, Ross's soundings showing the average depth to be less than 500 fathoms. Wilkes obtained a few shallow soundings along the shores of Wilkes Land. The Belgica drifted through 20 degrees of longitude over a continental shelf to the north of Alexander Land, where the depths were sometimes only 75 fathoms; but, a little to the northward, this submarine plateau plunged rapidly to the much greater depths of the Southern Pacific Ocean, just as is the case off many other continental coasts.

The large glaciated blocks and other rock-fragments which the Challenger and afterwards the Valdivia dredged from the floor of the Antarctic Ocean consist of gneisses, granites, mica schists, quartziferous diorites, grained quartzites, sandstones, limestones, and shales; these clearly indicate that the Antarctic ice moves over ancient

continental land situated somewhere within the Antarctic Circle. Again d'Urville found gneiss and granite at Adelie Land; near the same place Wilkes met with blocks of red sandstone; Dr Donald brought pebbles of radiolarian chert from Joinville Land; Bernacchi has described stratified rocks with a slaty structure and graphitic layers at Robertson Bay. Observers on the Belgica collected granite, serpentine, and unfossiliferous slates in Dauco Land; while fossil coniferous wood and fossil marine shells, which indicate a warmer climate, were picked up by Larsen on Seymour Island.

There is thus abundant evidence of a wide extent of continental land within the ice-bound regions of the Antarctic Circle. Only a very indefinite estimate of its extent can be made, but it is almost certain that the mountain ranges, varying from 3000 to 15,000 feet in height, in Victoria Land, Wilkes Land, Graham Land, and Alexander Land, all rise from the same continental plateau, which is flanked on one of its sides by volcanoes and great lava streams, in such a way as to suggest the continuation within the Antarctic of that great 'circle of fire' surrounding everywhere the vast basin of the Pacific Ocean.

At the South Pole, then, there is a continent completely cut off from the more northerly land masses by an ocean in which the soundings indicate that the shallowest water exceeds two geographical miles in depth. At the North Pole there is a deep sea almost completely cut off from the great oceans by a ring of continental land, the Arctic Sea being separated from the Pacific by a submarine barrier on which the depths are less than 100 fathoms, and from the Atlantic by a similar submarine barrier on which the depths are less than 400 fathoms. This contrast in the distribution of land and water towards the two polar regions helps to explain the distribution of many other terrestrial and oceanic phenomena within the two hemispheres.

Over the circumpolar ocean, to the north of the Antarctic Circle, there is a remarkably low atmospheric pressure at all seasons of the year. Into this area the north-westerly winds continually blow. The mean barometric pressure of this circumpolar region is apparently less than 29 inches, which is much lower than at similar latitudes in the northern hemisphere. It was at

one time supposed that this low barometric pressure continued right to the South Pole, but Buchan's discussion of the Challenger and other meteorologic observations gave excellent reasons for concluding that a great anticyclone rests permanently on the ice-covered Antarctic continent, and that cold dry winds blow from the South Pole to the north at all times of the year.

This view has been confirmed by the recent observations for two complete years. At the position where the Belgica was fixed in the pack-ice, the winds were in summer from the south and east; in the winter from the north and west. This indicates that the ship was not far from the southern edge of the great barometric depression, and also that in winter the centre of the Antarctic anticyclone shifts towards the Indian Ocean, in which direction the largest extent of continental land is probably situated. At Cape Adare the prevailing winds were from the south-east. For more than a quarter of the time spent at this station these south-east winds blew with a velocity of forty miles an hour; on two occasions the velocity was over ninety miles an hour. Nothing more appalling than these frightful winds with their tons of snow-drift can be imagined. In the northern hemisphere there is no circumpolar area of low barometric pressure, and no permanent anticyclone over the North Pole. The great northern land masses extending into temperate and tropical latitudes produce a much more complicated system, through being heated by solar radiation in summer and cooled by terrestrial radiation in winter.

It has long been known that in the southern hemisphere the summer temperature is very much lower, and the winter temperature much less severe, than in corresponding latitudes of the northern hemisphere. In the south the lines showing the mean temperature of the air and sea-water take a nearly concentric and parallel arrangement around the South Pole. In the north these lines show very marked deflections in a north and south direction under the combined influence of the great continents and great ocean currents like the Gulf Stream. The extremely favourable thermal conditions in the southern hemisphere are a consequence of the wide extent of open ocean, especially in latitudes 50° to 55° South. The recent winter observations within the Ant-

arctic Circle, which have excited so much scientific interest, show, however, that these favourable conditions are lost as we approach the South Pole.

At the Belgica position the mean temperature for the year was 14°·7 Fahr.: the mean for the coldest month (August) was −11°·7; the mean for the warmest month (February) was 30°·2, therefore nearly two degrees below the freezing-point. The observations at Cape Adare show similar results, but the mean temperature for the year was only 7°·05. The maximum temperature recorded here was 48°·9 in January, during a strong gale from the south-east, and the minimum temperature was −43°·1 in August, during perfectly calm and clear weather. The intense effect of solar radiation is indicated by the fact that a temperature above 80° was frequently recorded at Cape Adare by the black-bulb thermometer *in vacuo*, while at the same time the temperature in the shade remained several degrees below the freezing-point. The lowest temperature ever experienced by human beings, namely, −89° Fahr., was registered at a place in Central Siberia, just to the north of the Arctic Circle. Taken with the relatively high temperature in summer at the same place, this gives the greatest annual range of temperature known on the face of the earth. Nevertheless, it may fairly be expected that, owing to the very slight rise of temperature during the Antarctic summer, the absolutely lowest yearly temperature—the absolute pole of cold on the face of the earth—will be found on the Antarctic continent.

The winter temperature of the ocean water at Cape Adare was constant at about 27°·8, while in December, January and February it rarely rose above the freezing-point, which agrees with previous observations in polar regions. The whole range of temperature met with in polar oceans is at most from 27°·8 to 35° or 36° Fahr., so that small differences are of relatively great importance, for it is by these that the course of oceanic circulation can best be traced. The common distribution of temperature in the Antarctic Ocean is a thick warm layer between a cold layer at the surface and a cold layer at the bottom. This warm intermediate layer has not been traced southward to its disappearance, nor has the cold bottom layer been traced northward to ascertain its connection with the cold water which the Challenger found, so far north as the

equator, at the bottom of the ocean off the Brazilian coasts of South America, where the temperature was 32°·5. Off the River Plate the Challenger again found this cold water at the bottom; but, at a depth of about 1600 fathoms near the coast, and 2200 fathoms far out at sea, there was a steep temperature gradient between 35° and 33°, which indicates a renewal of water, and therefore a current at very great depths. The density of the cold bottom water was found to be very high. By tracing this cold bottom water to its origin at the surface of the Antarctic Ocean, much insight might be gained into the causes of oceanic circulation in general. Unfortunately, the Valdivia's temperature observations are not sufficiently near enough to each other to show the position of the temperature gradient to the south of the Cape.

Ice is the most important feature of polar oceans. In the northern hemisphere, with the exception of Greenland, there are no gathering grounds for glaciers comparable in extent with those of the Antarctic continent. Consequently no great tabular icebergs like those of the Antarctic are to be found in the North Polar area. The Arctic Ocean being almost completely surrounded by land, there is but a very limited outlet for ice-floes to the south, so that the pack-ice becomes much heavier and more compact than within the Antarctic Circle, where, owing to the surrounding ocean, it is easily carried northward by winds. On the other hand, large icebérgs and hard fragments of land-ice are more numerous in the southern pack than in the Arctic, where soft, plastic, yielding sea-ice is the rule.

The more ice is studied, the more there seems to be learned about it. It is often forgotten, especially by geographical writers, that ordinary sea-water freezes at about 28° or 29° Fahr.—the salter the water the lower the freezing-point; that the maximum-density point of sea-water is below its freezing-point, not above it, as is the case with fresh water; and, further, that pure ice-crystals melt in sea-water at the temperature at which the sea-water in which they are immersed begins to freeze, i.e. at a temperature much below 32° Fahr. or 0° C. In freezing, sea-water separates into pure ice-crystals and brine, which in part adheres to them; the process of freezing, like that of evaporation, leaves the sea-water salter than before.

When sea-ice has acquired a certain thickness, the formation of ice at the lower surface takes place very slowly, and the ice last formed is much freer from salt than that first formed, while most of the salt disseminates itself in the surrounding sea : from this it follows that every lump of ice in the pack has a different composition. Weyprecht, Nordenskiöld and others tell us that even at a temperature of −40° there is liquid brine in the surface layers of sea-ice. At this low temperature, on walking over such ice, every footstep is impressed on the white surface, which looks like snow in a state of thaw.

From these considerations it is evident that a careful study of the mutual interaction of ice, salt and water is necessary for a right understanding of the distribution of salinity, density and temperature in the Antarctic Ocean, and a just appreciation of their effect on general oceanic circulation. Cook held that the flat-topped icebergs could not be formed at sea away from the support of land. This view was not accepted by his companions, the two Forsters; they did not think the presence of land was necessary to explain their formation; and, in support of this opinion, J. G. Forster cited the celebrated experiments of Nairne on the freezing of sea-water, published in the Philosophical Transactions in 1776. The writers of the article on 'Ice Observations' in the 'Antarctic Manual,' regard this question as still open, but most scientific men and polar navigators regard the question as definitely settled against the 'floe theory' of Antarctic icebergs, i.e. against the Forsters' views.

Ice is an even more characteristic feature of Antarctic land than of the Antarctic Ocean. All explorers represent the land as being covered by a thick white mantle of snow and ice except on the face of bold and steep cliffs and on low points projecting into the sea, apparently swept by gales and oceanic currents. While minor details of the landscape are obliterated, the outlines of the mountain ranges stand forth in bold relief. At some places many peaks have been seen to rise, one behind the other, towards the interior. Some geologists compare these climatic conditions with the last phase of glaciation in the northern hemisphere; for there is abundant evidence of a more extensive glaciation throughout high southern latitudes in past times.

Only about seven or eight landings have been effected within the Antarctic Circle, one by d'Urville at Adelie Land, and the others by Ross, Kristensen and Borchgrevink on or in the neighbourhood of Victoria Land. The east coast of Victoria Land is the best known. The Admiralty and Prince Albert ranges of mountains run along the coast; and, although the seaward faces do not form a very extensive gathering ground, the glaciers which fill the valleys are pushed out to sea from one to thirty miles. Bernacchi believes that Wood's Bay, at the base of Mount Melbourne, is the only place in South Victoria Land where a ship could winter with perfect security; and he says that from near this place a party could reach the foot of Mount Terror—one hundred and seventy miles distant—in eight days by travelling along the ice-foot with dogs and sledges.

No feature of the Antarctic world has attracted so much attention and aroused so much interest and discussion among scientific men as the great ice-barrier discovered by Ross, running for three hundred miles eastwards from the base of the great volcanoes, Erebus and Terror, in latitude 78° South. This solid wall of ice, from one hundred to two hundred feet above the sea, probably rests on the sea floor, where the average depth is about one thousand four hundred feet. Ross saw no break in it. It has probably changed since his time, for Borchgrevink was able to land on the barrier and travel over its surface, which is represented as an immense white unbroken flat with a scarcely noticeable rise towards the south.

Bernacchi thinks that if the Southern Cross party had continued their journey for some fifty miles to the south they would have come to an open sea. This is most improbable. The balance of evidence is altogether in favour of the accepted view—that this ice-barrier is the seaward face of a great glacier or ice-sheet, descending from immense gathering grounds towards the interior of the continent, which is just in the condition to throw off the table-shaped icebergs some miles in length and about 1400 feet in thickness. This is not, however, the only place where these tabular bergs are shot forth into the Antarctic Ocean. Similar barriers have been seen at many other oints. There is much to suggest that the rate of motion in Antarctic glaciers is very rapid. Arctowski says the thunder of falling ice is continuous on the rugged coasts of Graham

Land; Buchanan reports the same thing on Heard Island; and Borchgrevink and his captain nearly lost their lives through a glacier giving birth to an iceberg during their brief visit to a pebbly beach at the foot of Mount Terror. Drygalski found that some Greenland glaciers moved at the extraordinary rate of sixty feet in twenty-four hours, and that the rate was not affected by change of season. If, as he supposes, the rate of motion is due to the mass of the glacier, then there is little wonder that the supply of tabular icebergs is so abundant in the Antarctic.

Drygalski found that the inland ice forming the reservoir of Greenland glaciers had little or no appreciable motion, and he believes that the low temperature of the surface penetrates the bottom of the ice-field. In the moving glacier the temperature was found to rise rapidly from the surface downwards; and at the bottom, where rock and ice meet, the temperature, even at the coldest time of the year, is probably the ordinary temperature of melting ice. The heat necessary to produce this condition of things is believed to be derived from the friction of the grains of ice against each other during the motion of the glacier. These grains of ice are irregular in shape and of various sizes: they fit into each other like the pieces of a puzzle, and are said to be surrounded by slightly impure water in which they, as it were, float. At very low temperatures this water becomes a thin film of brine by the process to which we have just referred in speaking of the formation of salt-water ice. With rising temperatures the grains in a glacier begin to melt at the temperature at which they ceased to freeze, the surrounding brine becomes diluted, and the melting-point of the grains of ice is raised. The difference between land-ice and sea-ice is, as Buchanan says, one of degree and not of kind; sea-ice is mixed with much brine and flows easily; land-ice contains little brine and flows with difficulty. Motion in a glacier is due to the effect of fusion and regelation under conditions of very slight variations of pressure brought about by gravity.

The dazzling whiteness of the surface of a glacier is not so much caused by snow as by the disintegration of the compact blue glacier-ice into its constituent grains through the influence of solar radiation. On the other hand, the deep blue-green colour of caves and grottoes and

the heavenly blue of overturned bergs in the Antarctic pack is due to the presence of deep-seated layers of ice which have not yet been sunburnt. The gigantic icicles which Ross describes as hanging from the ice-barrier, the streams, seen by Buchanan, cascading down a large flat iceberg, and the two small lakes, with an issuing stream, noticed by Borchgrevink on the John Murray glacier, all point to much surface-melting under the insolation of the long polar day. Drygalski's views concerning glacier motion have not yet been universally accepted, but it is a matter of great satisfaction to the whole scientific world that an observer so experienced in glacier work has been appointed leader of the German Antarctic expedition.

The southern limit of terrestrial plants and animals is reached in Victoria Land. Five species of lichen, including the ordinary reindeer moss, have been collected at Cape Adare and at the foot of Mount Terror, even on rocks at a height of 3000 feet. Among the tufts of lichen three species of insects were captured. This is the total record of the Southern Cross expedition. The Belgian observers were not much more successful on the west coast of Graham Land. One single flowering plant (*Aria antarctica*)—a dwarf grass—was found among the tufts of moss which filled up cracks and moist corners, while grey, orange and yellow lichens clung to vertical rock faces. The mosses produce no fruit: they multiply by budding: the severe climate does not permit the reproductive organs to function. Hopping about among the mosses and lichens was a blue-black snow flea (*Podurella*). A dipterous fly (*Belgica antarctica*) was also found; it had only rudimentary wings, all individuals attempting flight being carried to sea by the gales and drowned! Lastly, two or three mites (*acarina*) led a precarious existence on the scanty vegetation. In little ponds of fresh-water a few microscopic infusorians, rotifers, water-bears and nematodes were observed, together with the diatoms and other minute algæ on which they feed. At one time these ponds are wholly frozen, at another wholly evaporated by the sun's rays; and, in consequence, all these organisms have the power of encysting so as to be able to live through long periods of dryness and congelation.

Many much larger animals are met with on the ice

and dry land, which cannot, however, be, properly speaking, called terrestrial. Penguins in vast numbers, and of several species, occupy in summer every available spot near the seashore; their eggs and flesh furnish fresh food to the explorer, while their skins, loaded with fat, supply him with fuel. Petrels, skuas, terns, gulls and sheath-bills are numerous; and some of the species nest as far south as Mount Terror. Four species of seals are more or less abundant on the pack-ice, while sea-lions and sea-elephants are met with further to the north. Troops of humpbacks, rorquals and other whales are to be constantly seen feeding in the holes and lanes of the southern ice-pack, especially where the submarine continental platform extends far seawards. Some of the species are definitely known, but of many our information is still defective. No whale similar in form and habits to the great Greenland "right" whale has been found, although expeditions have been sent south to search for it. The southern whalebone whale is a much smaller animal, and lives north of the ice-region.

It is well known that all animals are ultimately dependent for their food on plants, i.e. on organic substances elaborated in the presence of sunlight and chlorophyl. Where is the requisite natural laboratory of vegetable compounds in the Antarctic? Not on the land, but in the sea. At some places on the shore, well protected from the grinding ice, a few species of attached algæ have been discovered; but the real source of the food for whales, seals, birds, fishes and all other animals is found in the vast meadows of diatoms and other minute algæ floating near the surface of the sea: they flourish even under the pack-ice, through which some sunlight filters. The small herbivorous pelagic animals browse in these floating meadows; in turn they serve as food for the microscopic carnivora of the surface waters. The *dejecta* and dead bodies of these pelagic organisms then fall down through the waters of the ocean and form a rich pasture for the millions of animals which live on and crawl over the floor of the ocean. Recent expeditions have collected fish, starfish, molluscs, crustaceans, sponges, medusæ, bryozoans and gorgonids in the shallow waters of the Antarctic. Detailed descriptions of these collections, as well of those to be made by the new expeditions, are

awaited with the greatest interest by naturalists; for it has been alleged that many marine organisms from the Antarctic are identical with or most closely allied to species in Arctic seas, while they are wholly absent from the intervening tropical oceans. We are asked, in fact, to believe that the fauna and flora of the Arctic and Antarctic regions, although as far asunder as the poles, are more closely related to each other than to those of any intermediate region.

Geographical zoologists and botanists, geologists and palæontologists, are ever prone to put forth far-reaching generalisations. Some of these may be referred to. To account for the sub-tropical fossil flora of Greenland and Spitzbergen in the north, and for the fossils of Seymour Island, Kerguelen and Patagonia in the south, a nearly uniform warm climate is supposed to have prevailed over the whole earth in early tertiary times. When cooling commenced at the poles, many marine forms were killed out or forced to migrate to the deep sea. To explain the distribution of some living and fossil forms, a great southern continent is supposed to have existed in late geological ages, uniting Africa, South America, Australia and New Zealand with the Antarctic continent.

The last glacial period in the northern hemisphere is sometimes referred to cosmic agencies, sometimes to local telluric agencies, such as a deflection of the Gulf Stream. The period of glaciation is regarded by some as having been simultaneous in the two hemispheres: by others the periods of glaciation are held to have alternated in the north and south, the great oceans flooding at one time the northern and at another the southern hemisphere. If this be so, evidence of interglacial periods should be found in the Antarctic. The presence of glacial deposits in lower *Dyas* layers over wide areas is supposed to point to great glaciation in the southern hemisphere in later palæozoic ages, at which time, it is held, the South Pole was situated somewhere near the centre of the Indian Ocean. The absence of deposits of the same character and age in Arctic regions is held to confirm this supposed shifting of the earth's axis. In order to explain the circumpolar distribution of the northern carboniferous and southern *Dyas* (*Glossopteris*) floras, which are held to be independent of each other, and to have been developed from

different centres, an equatorial ocean is supposed to have run right round the whole globe between a great continent at the North Pole and another great continent at the South Pole. A study of the Antarctic rocks and the geological age of their faults, together with the possible discovery of limestones, coal and fossils, will, it is believed, have a very important bearing on these various theories.

The work of Ross, Moore, d'Urville and Wilkes enabled physicists to draw the curves of the magnetic elements with much greater accuracy than before. The magnetic pole, which is an area and not a point, is, however, constantly changing its position; and since Ross's time the science of magnetism has made great progress. A recent calculation from the latest data has proved most unsatisfactory. The Challenger observations have thrown doubt on the idea that the magnetic pole moves round the geographical pole. Deductions cannot be made from a few observations in a limited area: trustworthy observations must be carried right round the South Pole before results, adequate to the immense labour involved in the calculations, can be expected. It is these observations that the Gauss and the Discovery will endeavour to obtain; and it is expected that they will, in the near future, result in a supply of more correct magnetic charts for the navigator and lead to an advance in the physical theory of magnetism.

The distribution of magnetic action in the two polar regions is entirely different. In the south there are two foci of total intensity both situated on the same meridian to the south of the Australian continent. In this region magnetic storms and disturbances are more frequent than elsewhere. So also are the auroral displays, owing to the proximity of the magnetic pole. Borchgrevink observed these displays nearly every night in winter in all their beauty. They were much less frequent and intense in the locality where the Belgica wintered; and on the opposite side of the geographical pole they are rare phenomena, no display having been seen in the year 1882–83 in South Georgia or near Cape Horn. It is thought that careful observations on atmospheric electricity in the Antarctic region may show some connexion between the above-mentioned phenomena and electric action.

Not less important than a magnetic survey will be a gravitation survey in high southern latitudes, for no measurements of the gravitation-constant have as yet been made within the Antarctic Circle. Such a survey will, it is hoped, increase our knowledge concerning the figure of the earth, render more definite our views as to those physical and terrestrial constants depending on the radius of the earth, and show some connexion between gravity and terrestrial magnetism. In 1895, the Permanent International Geodetic Commission expressed its conviction that a gravitation survey within the Antarctic area would be of the greatest benefit for higher geodetic theory. It may, in short, be said that almost every natural science requires more observations within the Antarctic Circle as a necessary condition of further advance.

Within the past twenty years the British Government have several times been urged to renew exploration in the Antarctic regions by means of a naval expedition similar in character to the great expeditions of Cook, Ross, and the Challenger, of which all Englishmen are so justly proud. The reply on each occasion has been that, for urgent reasons of state, neither ships, officers, men, nor money could be spared for such a purely scientific undertaking. An appeal made by the Royal Geographical Society to the general public for funds to fit out a private expedition met with a very unsatisfactory response, till a subscription of 25,000*l.* was received from Mr W. L. Longstaff. The fact that early in the year 1899 the German Reichstag unanimously voted the money necessary for an Antarctic expedition appears to have produced a change of opinion in British official circles; for, in June of that year, Mr Balfour gave a favourable reception to a deputation from the Royal and Royal Geographical Societies, and promised Government assistance. A letter was soon after received by the Royal Society to the effect that a sum of 45,000*l.* would be granted, provided that an equal amount were forthcoming from other sources. To secure this grant, the Royal Geographical Society increased its subscription to 8000*l.* The available funds thus amounted to 90,000*l.*

No Government department undertook to direct the organisation of the expedition. This was left in the hands of the two learned societies, which were wholly without

experience in executive work of the kind. Various committees and sub-committees were formed, the component elements of which underwent continual change. Eventually a committee of four, consisting of the two presidents and another official from each society, had to be entrusted with full powers. In these circumstances it was no wonder that serious disagreements arose, and that the final arrangements were not altogether satisfactory to the scientific men of this country.

The Discovery is a very strong wooden ship, specially built for this voyage by a Dundee firm from the designs of Mr W. E. Smith, one of the naval constructors. She is about the size and type of the largest modern whaling vessels—178 feet in length, 34 feet in width, and 20 feet in depth, with a displacement of 1570 tons. She is barque-rigged, with auxiliary engines of 450 horse-power and a coal capacity of 240 tons. All the internal fittings have been arranged for work and comfort. Amidships is a magnetic observatory, within 30 feet of which all the fastenings are of brass, copper, or gun-metal, so as to ensure immunity from magnetic influence. The ship carries out dogs for sledging purposes, and has been carefully provisioned for three years. The outfit for the winter station and the supply of scientific instruments have received the direct attention of experts, so that in these respects the expedition is nearly all that could be desired. The vessel is commanded by Captain Robert Scott, a young and energetic naval officer, who has five other officers under his command. The crew consists chiefly of bluejackets, with some Dundee whalers, the total complement, including the civilian scientific staff, being about forty-eight men, most of whom are under thirty years of age.

The expedition is now on its way to the base magnetic station at Christchurch, New Zealand. The latest reports are to the effect that Commander Scott is in every way delighted with his ship, and that all the scientific work is going on to his entire satisfaction. About the middle of December the expedition will proceed directly south to Victoria Land. Ross with sailing ships pushed his way through the pack in two different years to these coasts; and the whalers Antarctic and Southern Cross have since successfully followed the same route in

three separate years. There is therefore a good prospect of the Discovery reaching the scene of her chief operations before the end of January 1902. In all probability the ship will winter in Wood's Bay, at the foot of Mount Melbourne. Here magnetic, seismological, electric, and gravitation observatories will be established, and tidal gauges set up on shore, while experiments with meteorologic kites and the balloon will be attempted. It is evidently the intention, in the spring of 1902, to concentrate the whole energy of the expedition on an advance over the inland ice by means of sledging and depôts. An effort will be made to reach the magnetic pole, distant about 200 miles to the west, or the geographical pole 750 miles to the south. The President of the Geographical Society says:—

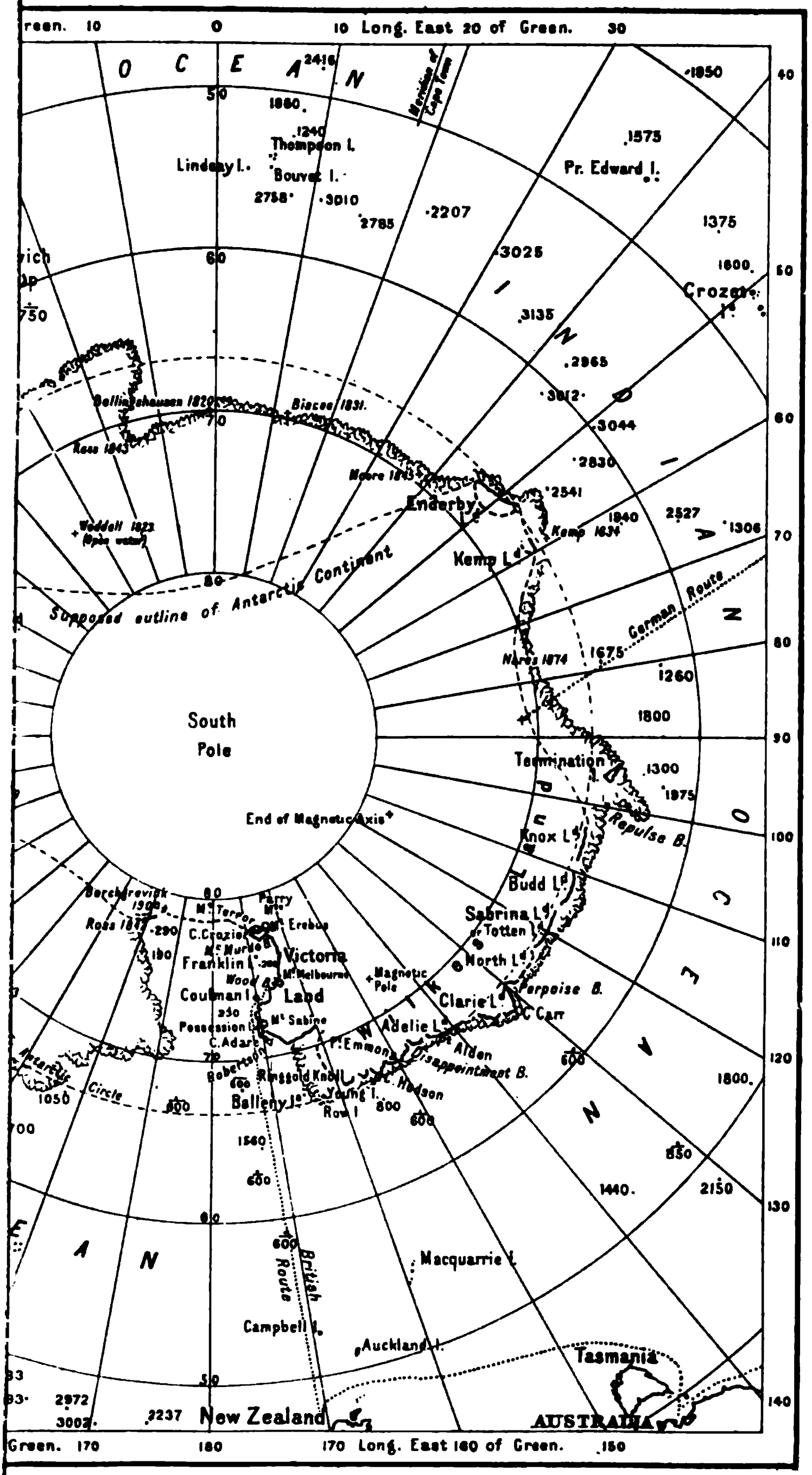
'In this sledge-travelling I look hopefully forward to great results. No one yet has ever equalled or even approached the achievements of British naval officers in polar travelling. It is their own especial work.'

A few years ago an attempt was made in Germany to raise, by public subscription, funds sufficient for the outfit of an Antarctic expedition, but it soon became evident that the necessary amount of money could not be obtained in this way. The German Emperor, however, became interested in the project. The question was brought up in the Reichstag in January 1899, and in March of the same year the money for a national Antarctic expedition was unanimously voted, after enthusiastic speeches by the leaders of the several parties in the Reichstag, all of which exhibited a keen appreciation of the objects and the importance of Antarctic exploration, both from the scientific and the national point of view. A government department undertook to direct the organisation of the expedition, and its first step was to call together a committee of advice consisting of about twenty specially qualified scientific men from all parts of the German Empire. The first meeting of this committee was presided over by the Minister of State, Graf von Posadowsky-Wehner. The relations that should subsist between the leader of the expedition and the naval officers of the ship were discussed and settled, as well as the number and qualifications of the scientific staff, the size of the ship, and the

nature of the explorations to be undertaken. The work connected with the expedition proceeded methodically and smoothly. Professor Erich von Drygalski was from the outset appointed leader of the expedition; and his colleagues have, during the past two, three, or more years been engaged in the practical study of Antarctic problems and methods of observation. No Antarctic manual has been considered necessary for the use of this staff.

The German ship—named Gauss after the great mathematician—is of the same type as the Discovery, but somewhat smaller. She was specially built by a Kiel firm from plans supplied by the Admiralty department. She is schooner-rigged—151 feet in length, 35 feet in width, and 20 feet in depth. Although about 27 feet shorter than the Discovery, she is thus a foot wider; and this build will, it is said, cause her to rise in ice-pressure when the British ship would not do so. She can steam about seven knots. The internal arrangements are similar to those of the Discovery, but the laboratory accommodation is more commodious and better situated. The commander of the Gauss, which flies the German Imperial flag, is Captain Hans Ruser, of the Hamburg American Line, who has had much experience in sailing-ships and ice-navigation. There are four other naval officers, and the total complement is about thirty-two men.

The Gauss is now on her way to Kerguelen Island, in the Southern Indian Ocean, where a magnetic and meteorologic observatory will be erected, at which observations will be regularly carried on by three scientific men and three assistants during the absence of the Gauss in higher latitudes. On the conclusion of the explorations these observers will be brought home by another ship. The Gauss will leave Kerguelen about the same time as the Discovery leaves New Zealand, but, unlike the British ship, she will endeavour to penetrate a wholly unknown part of the Antarctic—the west coast of Victoria Land. The rocks dredged by the Challenger and Valdivia indicate palæozoic land at no great distance towards Termination and Enderby Land, but the many tabular icebergs observed thereabouts suggest that in this direction the coasts are faced by great ice-cliffs. The Gauss may experience great difficulty in finding a safe winter harbour. Should she find one, observatories will be established on


reen. 10
0
10 Long. East 20 of Green.
30
OCEAN
2418
Meridian of Cape Town
1850
40
50
1880
1240
Thompson I.
Lindsay I.
Bouvet I.
2758
3010
2785
2207
1575
Pr. Edward I.
1375
3025
1600
Crozet I.
60
50
3135
2965
3812
3044
2830
2541
Enderby
1840
Kemp 1834
2527
1306
70
60
Bellingshausen 1820
Biscoe 1831.
Ross 1843
Moore 1843
Weddell 1823
Kemp L.d
Continent
80
Supposed outline of Antarctic
German Route
Nares 1874
1675
1260
1800
70
80
South
Pole
Termination
1300
1975
90
End of Magnetic Axis
Knox L.d
Repulse B.
100
Borchgrevink 1900
Ross 1841
Parry Mts
Mt Terror
Mt Erebus
C. Crozier
Mc Murdo B.
Victoria
Franklin I.
Mt Melbourne
Wood Bay
Coulman I.
Land
Magnetic Pole
Budd L.d
Sabrina L.d
Totten
North L.d
Clarie L.
Porpoise B.
C. Carr
Possession I.
Mt Sabine
C. Adare
Adelie L.d
Pt Emmons
Mt Alden
Disappointment B.
Mt Hudson
Roberts
Ringgold Knoll
Young I.
Balleny Is.
Row I
Antarctic Circle
1050
600
1560
1440.
2150
850
1800.
90
130
Macquarrie I.
British Route
Campbell I.
Auckland I.
Tasmania
2972
3002.
2237
New Zealand
AUSTRALIA
140
Green. 170
180
170 Long. East 160 of Green.
150

[*To face p.* 472.

shore, and journeys will be undertaken towards the magnetic and geographical poles.

In their recent addresses to the Geographical Society and to the British Association, both Sir C. Markham and Dr H. R. Mill assure us that it is no exaggeration to say that the Discovery is the best-found and most completely arranged vessel which has ever left these shores on a voyage of discovery. Similar remarks have been made in Germany with respect to the Gauss. These statements must be taken with a grain of salt. Even for Antarctic exploration, the Russian Admiral Makaroff regards both these vessels as at least half a century behind the times. He reminds us that this is the age of steel, and he urged that the Antarctic expeditions should be provided with ships like the great icebreaker Ermack, built at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in which he has been smashing his way through Arctic floes during the past two seasons. All who have inspected the Ermack, or have made a voyage in her, will probably admit that she is the most powerful and efficient vessel afloat for exploration, and the best-equipped and most convenient for scientific observation and research. Should the Tzar send this splendid ship to the Antarctic seas next season, her operations would most certainly result in large additions to knowledge in directions which cannot be attempted by the Discovery and the Gauss.

Nevertheless, with such ships and men, we may hope for a considerable measure of success. There will be cordial co-operation between the two expeditions in the use of instruments, in the methods of observation, and in other matters, so that very valuable scientific results may be expected from these simultaneous investigations. The characteristics of the two peoples are stamped on the ships, on the methods of organisation, and on the naval and scientific staffs. There will consequently be keen national interest in the relative successes of each in the several departments of polar research and exploration. The best wishes of all the civilised nations go forth with the Discovery and the Gauss, and the scientific world cannot be too grateful to the many learned men in England and Germany to whose long-continued efforts and advocacy the dispatch of these important expeditions is to be attributed.

Art. VIII.—THE MODERN TROUBADOURS.

1. *Li Margarideto; Li Sounjarello*, &c. By Joseph Roumanille (1818–1891).
2. *La Miougrano Entro-Duberto; Li Fiho d'Avignoun*, &c. By Théodore Aubanel (1829–1886).
3. *Mirèio; Calendau; Lis Isclo d'Or; Lou Pouemo dou Rose; Lou Tresor dou Felibrige*, &c. By Frédéric Mistral (1830–).
4. *Amour e Plour.* By Alphonse Tavan (1833–).
5. *La Farandoulo.* By Anselme Mathieu (1833–1895).
6. *Lis Aupiho; La Crau.* By Marius Girard (1838–).
7. *Li Carbounié; Lou Roumancero Prouvençau; Li Rouge dou Miejour*, &c. By Félix Gras (1844–1901).
8. *The Troubadours at Home.* Two vols. By Justin H. Smith. New York and London: Putnam, 1899.
9. *Jasmin; Une Étude.* Par Paul Mariéton. Avignon: Roumanille, 1900.
10. *Histoire du Félibrige.* Par G. Jourdanne. Avignon: Roumanille, 1897.

And other works.

If there is one region of Europe of which it can be said that it has been continually the home of poetry, that region is 'the sunny corner of France,' as Paul Arène calls Provence—'the empire of the Sun,' as Mistral styles his native land—'the Midi,' as the old Roman province is universally designated. Every literature in Europe has drawn light and warmth from this source; and to-day Provençal literature is still the only national literature whose salient characteristics are youth, hope, and joy. In one of the admirable letters of La Comtesse Sophie de L——, the 'Mignon' of Aubanel's charming posthumous volume of correspondence, occurs the phrase 'la Provence, entre toutes les nations, est restée jeune'; and to the student of Provençal history, of Provençal life and literature, the phrase carries conviction. In the days of the Troubadours, Provence was not only the one country where poetry was nourished as a beautiful art, where it was the actual breath of the finer spirits of the time; it was also the one inheritor of the gladness that had been the gladness of Greece, the gladness that died out of Europe with Julian the Apostate, and that only once or

twice during many generations revealed itself as a living force, now in the Italy of the Renaissance, now in the England of Shakespeare and Raleigh. To-day, in the work of every Provençal poet of note—as Mistral says of a book by one of his friends, the Aixois poet, Jean-Baptiste Gaut—'un petit vent de Grèce agite son habit.' The song of the delight of life was the song of every *trouvère* from the banks of the rushing Arc, the brown Durance, or the azure Rhône, to the sandy Loire, the willowed Marne, and the 'grey-eyed' Seine. To-day the rural poets by the Loire are silent, and those of an urban Seine sing of despair and sorrow, of loss and regret and longing. Pessimistic and disillusioned, they have re-named love, desire; hate, bitterness; beauty, illusion; nobility, vanity; gladness, regret; hope, despair. But in the South, in that Midi so passionately loved and so passionately sung, life is more than ever life, love more than ever love, beauty and joy and gladness more than ever gladness and joy and beauty. It is almost impossible not to find this note of joy in the writings of every Provençal poet—and now, Provençals and Languedociens, from Toulouse to Antibes, from Briançon to Barcelona, and above all in Provence proper, the singers are legion. Even with the saddest—and there is no Provençal poet whose song is all of sadness—there is a *joie de vivre* which is as an inextinguishable fount.

Perhaps the most sombre, as well as certainly one of the most powerful and intense, of the Provençal poets is the Protestant Languedocien, Auguste Fourès; but no reader of 'Cants del Soulelh,' 'La Muso Sylvestro,' 'Lou Troumbeto'—to mention his three most characteristic works—can fail to note therein the deep delight in life, as well as the ardent heart and impassioned soul of a poet the secret of whose genius was a continual grave ecstasy. Perhaps the most 'divinely melancholic' of the new Troubadours is Alphonse Tavan; yet the melancholy and sadness of some of the poems in his winsome 'Amour e Plour' ('Love and Tears') will seem, to the northern reader, but April weather, brief sallies of rainbow-lit rain, soft showers among lilacs at dawn or sundown. There is, in the Provençal literature of to-day, nothing of the poignant bitterness of Heine, or of the weariness of De Musset; nothing resembling either the evil beauty of the 'Fleurs du Mal' or the morose despair of 'The City of

Dreadful Night'; nothing of the lamentation of the Irish or Scottish Gael over 'that which has gone away upon the wind.' Even in the work of the delicate and ill-fated Jules Boissière, whose recent tragic end in the French Orient closed a career of rare promise, we find the note of joy as marked as in the lyric serenity of Mistral, or the joyous abandon and sunny paganism of Aubanel. In his beautiful ode, 'Of the Sky, of the Waters, of the Earth' ('Dou Cèu, de l'Aigo, e de la Terro'), in 'Li Gabian,' he cries: 'Adieu, l'enuei e l'escor!' ('Farewell, weariness and distaste!') Every Provençal poet can say, with him,

'L'amour vanego à l'asard
Per gravo, colo, e carriero;
Dins li poutoun dóu vènt Larg,
Te beve coume un neitar,
Festo dóu Céu, de la Mar,
De la Terro entiero.' *

If one wish to understand Provence, or to approach its contemporary literature with adequate knowlege of that wonderful Provence of old which for generations enthralled and inspired Europe with its romance, its poetry, its codes of love and chivalry, with all its lovely and dignified traditions, his best preparation, by a strange contrast, will be through the wide and erudite labours of an American enthusiast. In his two beautiful volumes, 'The Troubadours at Home,' Mr Justin H. Smith has elucidated his vast subject-matter with a fulness, a thoroughness, and a vivifying sympathy which render his labour of love a truly valuable production.

It is with some self-denial that one turns from a period—a period of two hundred years, from its dawn with Duke Guihem of Aquitaine, Marcabru, and the famous Rudel, to its sunset with Guiraut Riquier at the close of the thirteenth century—so attractive to any reader, but above all to the student of the origins of modern literatures. Again, and particularly in connexion with the hidden growth and immediate origins of modern Provençal literature, one would gladly dwell on the fascinating and complex problem of the making of Provençal, in all its

* 'Love wanders at hazard through the streets, by the hillsides, in the valleys. In the kisses of the wave-born wind I drink to thee as a nectar, Festival of the Sky, the Sea, and the whole Earth.'

many dialects, and on the still more complex ethnological problem of the fundamental constituents of the Provençal nature, mind, and genius. As Mistral says at the outset of his great philological work, 'Lou Tresor dou Felibrige' —the outcome of triumphant scholarship and the continuous labour of ten years—'quau tén la lengo tén la clau' ('who holds the language holds the key'). But that is apart from the subject-matter of the present article, nor would it be alluded to but for the obvious, if not direct or unbroken, connexion between the Provence of old and the Provence of to-day.

Gaston Paris and other scholars have written much on the ethnological foundations of the Provençal peoples; there is a whole library of books on *Langue d'Oc* and *Langue d'Oil*; and there is no lack of learned treatises, scholarly dissertations, and more or less valuable and voluminous studies, summaries, and enquiries on everything connected with Provence. Perhaps much learning can be conveyed in a few words. Gaston Paris himself has summed up the career of the old Provençal literature by saying that from its original seat in or near Limousin, it spread over Poitou and Languedoc, aroused in France an imitative poetry, inspired the Minnesingers of Germany, created the poetry of Spain and Portugal, and in Italy fertilised the soil that was to produce a Dante and a Petrarch. Through Dante and Petrarch, all modern lyric poetry may reasonably be said to descend from the troubadours of Provence.

This efflorescence of poetic genius died away before English had become the uniform speech of a united nation. Consideration of it may therefore seem superfluous to a study of the Provençal literature which with Jasmin lifted up its head anew, and with Roumanille and Mistral became a living and beautiful creature—'a divine figure,' as one of the Felibres has it, 'with a Greek soul and a Latin spirit, with Celt and Visigoth as ancestors, with all the nations of the world as blood-relations, and with Paradise, renamed Provence, as her Promised Land.' But it is not superfluous. In whatever direction the intelligent and sympathetic student may turn, he will find himself on surer ground, will more fully understand and appreciate, in proportion as he is well informed on the history of all that once made the fame of Provence—that Provence

which Keats has immortalised for us in a single line. With this knowledge—and no more accessible or safer guide exists than these two scholarly and entertaining volumes by Mr Justin Smith—he will discover a continuity that is not readily to be discerned otherwise. When, in our day, Teodor Aubanèu (Aubanel) sings his famous 'Quau canto soun mau, encanto'—'Who sings his own sorrow, enchants'—he is but saying, out of the same Provençal heart, in the same Provençal tongue (a tongue of many dialects, but a single language, as a trailing wild-rose has many blooms), and in the same Provençal land, what Duke Guihem the Crusader sang in 1100, 'A song I'll fashion from my grief'; and it might be either Gaucelm Faidit of Malemort, the twelfth-century Joglar, or Théodore Aubanel of Avignon, the nineteenth-century Catullus of Provence, who writes—

'L'amour es la vido,
La vido es l'amour:
L'amour nous convido
A cuiè la flour.'

Both groups of poets, old and new—the Rudels and Marcabrus, the Arnauts de Maruelh and Bernarts de Ventadorn, the Gaucelms and Guihems of to-day, and the Jasmins and Roumanilles, the Mistrals and Aubanels of that dim, remote, golden age of song—to reverse the mere accident of nomenclature—have a common inspiration, a manner in common, a heart and soul alike. 'La cigalo di piboulo, La bouscarlo di bouissoun, Lou grihet di ferigoulo, Tout canto sa cansoun.'*

Modern Provençal literature, as we know it, may be said to begin with Jasmin, though his home was in remote Agen, outside of Provence proper. He had precursors and contemporaries but his was the first master-voice to save the *lengue roman* from disappearing in a hundred channels and sands of dialect, the first to lure the cultured ear of France and the world beyond. Jasmin was not a great genius like Frédéric Mistral, but in his hour and place he was a great pioneer, the proudly isolated captain of what seemed a forlorn hope.

---

* 'The tree-locust in the poplar, the thrush in the wayside bush, the grasshopper in the wild thyme, each sings its own song.'

It is an error, frequently iterated, that Provençal literature absolutely lapsed during some four or five hundred years, and that the wonderful revival which took place well on in the nineteenth century knew no immediate precursors. In each successive age there occur at least one or two eminent names, as, for example, Grassois de La Belaudière in the sixteenth century, the Roumanille or the Mistral of his time; and Pierre Goudelin, the Toulousian Aubanel of the seventeenth century. One name, indeed, from the latter epoch is as fresh to-day as two hundred years ago, and perhaps is better known in Provence than that of any other singer of the past—the beloved *Noëlliste*, Saboly, whose charming Noëls, or Christmas carols, may still be heard throughout the Midi at midwinter. There were others, in each generation, whom we need not mention here. They were, however, few and isolated, and spoke no common Provençal speech, but used each his own regional dialect. Above all, none wrote from out of the people, as one of the people, for the people. Despourrins was a poetic Watteau, not a Burns; the Abbé Favre, the Herrick of the Midi, was the joyous Prior of Celleneuve who tuned his lyre for Languedocien dames and gentry, not for humbler folk, then unlettered and indifferent. Even when Jasmin came upon the scene, early in the nineteenth century, there were Provençal singers of note, though none was for Provence, but for his own province only. The now celebrated modern Provençal anthology, made by Roumanille and his colleagues, had its immediate predecessor in 1823, when the brothers Achard of Marseilles and seven other *felibres* (they called themselves *troubaïres* then) published a successful contemporary 'Treasury.' The famous 'Felibrige' itself was the outcome rather than the progenitor of the new life which became unified in the Provençal Renaissance. That league was not definitely established till 1854; but before its formation there was a great outburst of patois minstrelsy, many books appeared in this or that dialect, and numerous periodicals in Provençal and French circulated from Marseilles, Avignon, and Aix. Roumanille himself, indeed, had already raised the Rhône-side patois to a language, for in 1847 and 1851 had appeared 'Li Margarideto' and 'Li Sounjarello.'

To-day Jasmin is not much read in France. He is

beloved in seminaries and orphanages, and his books are among the 'specially recommended volumes of eminent authors'; but even with the Languedociens of Agen and Toulouse his fame is a kindly tradition rather than a living power. Yet every one is supposed to know all he has written, and to admire it, or at least the 'Françouneto.' He is to the Midi what Longfellow is to America; and, as Longfellow was once overrated but is now unjustly underrated, so is it with Jasmin. At the same time it must be admitted that in lyric faculty, in human range, in universal interest there is no just comparison of the Provençal with the American poet. Jasmin is eminently provincial, in every sense of the word. Nor has his poetry that finish of art which alone (save perhaps in one or two national songs) enables verse to endure. His faculty of rhythmic utterance was as spontaneous and inevitable as that of Béranger, Burns, or Heine; but he lacks the real culture and intuitive knowledge of men and of men's thoughts in the outer world, which for those poets was the soil whence many of their fairest flowers grew.

Although in later life Jasmin produced works of signal merit and beauty, notably 'Maltro l'Innoucènto' and 'Mous Noubels Soubenis' ('Martha the Innocent' and 'New Recollections') his *chef-d'œuvre* was the ever-charming and delightful work of his maturity, 'Françouneto,'* completed, after seven years' labour, when the poet was forty-two. This graceful idyll of Provençal life is the flower of modern Gascon literature and one of the treasures of French poetry. Its significance as a Provençal masterpiece lies in the fact that it preceded not only the now world-famous 'Mirèio' of Mistral and the first works of Roumanille, but also the first definite attempt to organise 'the Provençal Renaissance.' Neither Roumanille nor Mistral, nor even Aubanel, the love-lyrist of Provence *par excellence*, has produced a more winsome 'Tanagra d'Amour,' to use Gasquet's phrase, than 'Françouneto'—Françouneto 'damb soun cap de luzèr e soun ped d'Espagnolo e sa taio de fissaiou,' 'with her lizard-head and her Spanish dancer's feet and her waist like a wasp's.' She is the idol of the poet, and is idolised by all his readers.

---

* Françouneto herself is a reflection of Magnounet, Jasmin's beautiful and charming young wife, the life-long inspirer of his muse.

It is not yet half a century since the Félibrige *—'association régionaliste d'écrivains et d'artistes du Midi de la France'—was formally founded. In these forty-seven years the great wave which, on its ascent, uplifted Roumanille and Mistral to its crest, and on whose crest Mistral still rests supreme, has covered the Midi in one vast triumphant sweep. Provence has become a nation re-created by genius. The shadow lies in this already paralysing apprehension, that with the death of Mistral (when that veritable disaster for Provence comes at last) the great wave will be crestless, will be seen to have spent its force, to be swinging indolently or feebly lapsing along these shores of old romance. Mistral himself, though he has given all his genius to the Provençal national movement and has nourished and sustained it for half a century with indomitable power, resource, and influence, is not blind to the bitter facts that the language is being more and more relinquished by the people as the unique and proud expression of themselves and their nation; that the league itself is now rather a forlorn hope than an eager vanguard or militant army; and that among all its able and sometimes truly notable lieutenants there is not one, now that the veteran Félix Gras has just passed away, with authority and power to command, to guide, and to lead. Mistral's grief is that the great philological work of his life, 'Lou Tresor dou Felibrige,' is destined to be not the dictionary of the enduring speech of a people, but the cenotaph of the language, the genius, and the romance of Provence. His hope, and the hope now of many of the most eager and far-seeing of the younger men, impassioned with the idea of nationality and the southern spirit, is in the already potent and significant Latin League, a league whose end is to unite the ardent spirits of the Latin race. It is a splendid, an inspiring ideal; and who dare say it is impossible? Recently, the present writer heard Mistral's superb *sirvente*, 'A la Raço Latino'—that wonderful 'Ode to the Latin Race' which has been translated into every Latin tongue and dialect, and is in a sense the 'Marseillaise' of a new confederation—read by a beautiful young Provençale, the daughter of Marius Girard and

---

* This Provençal equivalent for 'League of Poets' carries an accent only when used as a French term in a French context.

wife of the brilliant Aixois, Joachim Gasquet; and he can never forget the electrical effect of their stirring clarion-call, in the mellifluous and virile tongue of Provence, as given by a 'Queen of the Felibrige,' herself the devoted friend and impassioned disciple of the great poet.

'Aubouro-te, raço latino . . .

'Emè toun pèu que se desnouso
A l'auro santo dou tabor,
Tu siès la raço lumenouso
Que vièu de joio e d'estrambord;
Tu siès la raço apoustoulico
Que sono li campano à brand:
Tu siès la troumpo que publico
E siès la man que trais lou gran.

'Aubouro-te, raço latino!'*

'There,' exclaimed a member of the little company (one of the most notable of the younger writers of the Midi), 'there is our hope, our faith, and our flag. The Latin genius with the Provençal spirit—that is our literary ideal, as the Latin genius with the French spirit is our political ideal—as, across the Alps, with our racial kin, it is the Latin genius with the Italian spirit, or, across the Pyrenees, the Latin genius with the Spanish spirit. But. triumphantly, from Palermo to Paris, from Cadiz to Cherbourg, the Latin genius, the Latin spirit, the Latin League!'†

Whether by accident of poetical and technical congruity, or because of a deeper intent, this 'Ode to the Latin Race' follows (among the *Sirventes* or Odes in Mistral's most varied and charming volume, 'Lis Isclo d'Or,' 'The Golden Isles') that terrible outburst of rage and passionate refusal to despair, written in September 1871, 'Lou Roucas de Sisife' ('The Rock of Sisyphus')—with its

---

* 'Latin race, arouse thyself! With thy hair loosened To the holy air of the tabor, Thou art the race of light, Who live in enthusiasm and joy: Thou art the apostolic race That sets the bells a-chiming; Thou art the trumpet that proclaims; Thou art the hand that sows the seed. O Latin race, arise!'

† This contemplated League of the Latin races cannot be dealt with here at this moment, but it may be added that already the movement is active and far-reaching, with its recognised chiefs and leaders, its magazines and journals, and even an international organ.

bitter cry, 'Erian, a passa téms, un pople' ('Of old we were a people!'), and its fierce final anathema on the Emperor who had sold France by his selfish pride and ambition, 'Siegues maudi, maudi, maudi!' ('Be thou accurst, accurst, accurst!').

It is as the 'Trumpet of the South,' however, even more than as the chief prophet of the Latin Union, that Mistral is revered in Provence. To-day, we fear, his heart beats less high when he recalls some of the stanzas in his beautiful book 'Calendau'—that masterpiece somewhat overshadowed by the overwhelming popularity of 'Mirèio' and the lyric variety of the composite 'Lis Isclo d'Or'—as, for example, the invocation in 'Cant Proumiè' (i.e. Canto I).

'Amo de moun païs . . .
Amo de-longo renadivo,
Amo jouiouso e fièro e vivo,
Qu'endibes dins lou brut dou Rose e dou Rousau!
Amo di seavo armouniouso
E di calanco souleiouso,
De la patrio amo piouso,
T'apelle! encarno-te dins mi vers prouvençau!' *

So much curiosity has been excited by the titles Felibre and Felibrige that a word should be said on the subject. The designation 'Felibre,' equivalent, in common parlance, to troubadour, minstrel, poet, but originally signifying rather a bard in the Celtic sense, a singer and poet but also a priest and a doctor of the divine law and the history of men, was found by Mistral in an old Provençal canticle (a song in a mystery play or Christmas pastoral), where Mary is alluded to as meeting Christ in the temple 'among the seven *felibres* of the law' ('li set felibre de la lei'). As later versions gave either 'doctors,' 'bards,' 'poets,' or 'wise men,' Mistral at once recognised the comprehensive value of the recovered ancient word. Neither he nor other philologists, however, have yet definitively settled its derivation, though, among other

---

* 'Soul of my country . . . Soul eternally reborn, Joyous and proud and alive, Who [as a war-horse] neighest against the sound of the Rhône and the Rhône-wind [idiomatically, 'lou Rousau' means the wind from the further side of the Rhône, i.e. the west wind]; Soul of our musical woods and our sun-lit havens, Pious soul of my Fatherland, I call thee! May'st thou become incarnate in my Song of Provence!'

specialists, Mistral himself thinks it possible, and Gaston Paris and d'Arbois de Jubainville are convinced, that the word is one of the many Celtic survivals in the Provençal language, composed of the ancient Erse *filea* and *ber*, and equivalent to chief-singer or arch-poet. As for the contemporary meaning of the word and its derivatives, *Felibre* is a poet who is a native of Provence and composes in Provençal—a recognised term, certainly preferable to the outworn 'troubadour' or 'trouvère'; *Felibrée*, a bardic gathering, the *Eistedfodd* or *Mòd* of the Provençals; *Félibresque*, *Félibrique*, are two French terms for that which pertains to the Felibres or their works, but the first is used rarely now and the second is obsolete, the adjective *Félibréen* having replaced them. The *Felibrige* is the organised fellowship of the Felibres.

In recording the great work done by Roumanille and Mistral, the chiefs, and Aubanel and other masters of the Provençal Renaissance, one should not forget, as is commonly the case in France and even in Provence, the pioneer work accomplished by immediate predecessors, men who at least cleared the ground, tilled and sowed, and made ready for the great cultivators, the masters of the olive and the vine, who were to come. Allusion has already been made to the brothers Achard of Marseilles and seven comrades, *troubaïres* as they called themselves, who in 1823 published in one volume their collective Provençal verse. At Béziers in 1839 the learned Provençal, J. Azaïs, presided over an influential gathering of philologists and archæologists to discuss the origin and composition of the Langue d'Oc. About 1840 two popular and prolific patois-singers, Bellot of Marseilles and Désanat of Tarascon, decided to publish a special 'organ' for the social and literary life and interests of Provence; but, as one wished that the periodical should be bi-lingual and the other that it should be solely in Provençal, the outcome was that Bellot, with Louis Mery, produced 'Lou Tambourinaire et le Ménestrel,' while Désanat inaugurated the longer-lived, more virile, and more national 'Lou Bouil-Abaisso.' Not only did most of the scattered patois-singers contribute to these 'organs,' but the earliest lyrics and poems of Roumanille, Anselme Mathieu, Mistral, and others less known, also appeared in them.

A year after the decease of 'Lou Bouil-Abaisso,' which,

with one long break, had lasted six years, the first high note of the Midi was heard. Hitherto only in distant Gascony had the Provençal Muse caught the ear of the outside world. Now from the little town of St Rémy, the ancient Roman *Glanum*, 'the town of gardens, poets, and beautiful women,' came the clear and strong voice of Joseph Roumanille, afterwards to be known as the Father of the Felibrige. By 1847 Roumanille had published his beautiful idyllic poem 'Li Margarideto,' and had written his still finer 'Li Sounjarello' ('The Dreamers') when, at the seminary in Avignon, where he was a young teacher, he met Frédéric Mistral, then a lad, who, on his neighbouring ancestral farm of Maillane (Maïano), had already begun his life-long dream of the poetry and romance, of the past and present and future of Provence, of the conservation and purification and definite restoration of its beautiful language. The lad and the young man at once became intimate friends. Mistral had already a sympathiser, one Anselme Mathieu: and, just as at Oxford two young men, William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, became intimate friends through reading together one spring day by the water-side a poem by another not much older than themselves, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, so was it with Mistral, Mathieu, and Roumanille.

The first public outcome of this union of three enthusiasts was the publication, early in 1852, of 'Li Prouvençalo,' an anthology from the scattered writings of the living poets of the Midi. In August of the same year a Congress of Provençal Poets was held at Arles under the presidency of Roumanille. The following year a still more influential gathering was held at Aix, the old Troubadour capital. From the several regions of Provence came representatives, sixty-five in all (only Jasmin refrained, piqued at this extraordinary invasion into what he considered his own territory); and, as a result, another and greater anthology was published, 'Lou Roumavàgi deis Troubaïres' (1854).

But the 'Centre,' the not yet named Felibrige, held itself independent, with its more concentrated and impassioned ideals. On the 21st of May 1854, seven young Provençal poets—known as the Avignon group—met in the little château Font-Ségugne (Vaucluse), the ancestral home of one of them, Paul Giéra, and solemnly bound them-

selves to purify and restore their native speech, and to devote their lives to this end, to poetry, and to Provence. As our Pre-Raphaelites were all men of individual power but were profoundly influenced by one dominating and inspiring genius, so was it with this Avignon group. Roumanille, Mistral, Aubanel, Paul Giéra, Jean Brunet, Alphonse Tavan, Anselme Mathieu—all were men of rare and beautiful powers; but the greatest were the two youngest, Aubanel and Mistral; and the Rossetti of these Pre-Raphaelites was Mistral. Here, however, it may be well to add, with this accident of analogy, all likeness ends. Thus was formed the Felibrige, afterwards to become a league so great and comprehensive: but Provence has not known any more truly characteristic singers than the first seven Felibres, or any poets so great as Mistral—'the Emperor of the Midi,' as the people proudly call him, perhaps the greatest poet whom France has produced—and Théodore Aubanel, 'the southern nightingale.'

Of the work of one or two of those early Felibres it is not easy now to find more than a few scattered poems. These must be sought in anthologies, in the Provençal periodicals, in the annual 'Almanack of the Midi' (now approaching its fiftieth volume, and a continual source of interest and pleasure since its first appearance as 'L'Armana Prouvençau per lou bel an de Diéu, 1855'). Neither Paul Giéra nor Jean Brunet published any collection of their poetry; while Tavan and Mathieu have been content to remain, respectively, the authors of 'Amour e Plour' and 'La Farandoulo,' beautiful indeed, but a strangely meagre output for men of brilliant promise who began thus and have since given us no more than fragments. Jean Brunet published nothing in book-form in his lifetime but a pamphlet entitled 'Bachiquello sus La Luno' ('Bagatelles on the Moon'); but his poems in the 'Armana' and elsewhere are much admired. There is more individuality, with a stronger national accent, in the poetry of Paul Giéra, who died comparatively young. Students interested in Provençal should consult an interesting but now somewhat rare volume, edited by Roumanille and Mistral, and published by the former at Avignon, entitled 'Un Liame de Rasin.' It comprises, besides biographical notices and representative verses of Jean Reboul (an excellent poet of Nîmes), Castil-Blaze, Adolphe Dumas, and Toussaint

Poussel, the fifteen pieces left by the Felibre Paul Giéra, collectively entitled 'Li Galejado' ('Facetiæ').

We have seen it frequently stated in Parisian chronicles that two other eminent French men of letters, Provençal by birth and upbringing, were associated with Mistral in the inauguration of the Felibrige, viz., Alphonse Daudet and Paul Arène. There is, however, no basis for this statement. These two masters of French prose, perhaps the most supple and delicate prose in French literature, owed much to the Provençal genius which they inherited as a birthright, and to the Provençal background of life and nature which was an inspiration to both: but neither wrote in his native dialect except experimentally, and not even thus till after the Felibrige had become an influential league. Daudet, indeed, is not known to have written more than a single set of verses in Provençal—'La Cabano,' the little cabin or moor-cot, which appeared in 1880, in the April number of the periodical 'La Farandole'; for he did not really himself write, as commonly averred, the Provençal version of the 'Contes de mon Moulin.' The 'Moor-Cabin' is a charming and graceful poem, and its few lines breathe the desiderated atmosphere of a vast wind-filled solitude; but they have the suggestion of a *tour de force*, of a literary achievement. The same may be said of much of the work, both in verse and prose, of Jean Aicard, who is now probably in Paris, and in France generally, the most widely read of all living Provençal writers, partly because of the immense success of his powerful and picturesque romance, 'Le Roi de Camargue,' and partly because he writes solely in French. It is significant that, though a Languedocien—for the great novelist of the Midi was born at Nîmes—Daudet's 'Cabano' is written in the pure Provençal of Arles and the Rhône. Paul Arène, who was born at Sisteron, one of the least known but not least fascinating and picturesque of the smaller Provençal towns, never collected his scattered Provençal verses; but these may be found in the 'Armana' and other annuals or periodicals of the Midi, and have invariably the same freshness, charm, distinction, and beauty as characterise the French writings of this exquisite prosaist, the author of 'Jean des Figues,' 'La Gueuse Parfumée,' 'La Vraie Tentation de Saint Antoine,' and other masterpieces in the *genre* of the short story.

Of Tavan and Anselme Mathieu a further word must be said, for though so little known beyond the somewhat indefinite frontiers of Provence, their names are fixed stars in the galaxy of the Felibrige. Tavan is still alive, though he has long ceased to write, or at least to publish. Born in 1833 at Château-Neuf-de-Gadagne, a beautiful region of Vaucluse, he was—what he always remained—a true son of the soil, one of those peasant-aristocrats who have been the pride and glory of Provence. He lived the sane and arduous life of a man of the fields and olive-orchards till he was about twenty, by which time his remarkable poetic talent had proved itself. Drafted into the army, fortune took him to Rome during the days of the French occupation; but a serious mischance overtook him, for he fell a victim to malaria. Thus rendered unfit for military service and for field-labour, he obtained a clerical post in connexion with the railway, and has been a railway-employé ever since, that is for the greater part of his life. Alphonse Tavan is none the less a peasant in nature, thought, and expression: and it is as a beautiful and refined poet of the people that he is loved. The shortness of his allotted spell of happiness saddened but did not embitter him: when he lost his dearly loved wife and little girl, he held them near to him in an exquisite lyric memory. In his preface to his one published collection, 'Love and Tears,' he writes:

'Commonly, the life of the poet is reflected in his poetry, and in my case it is but right frankly to admit that all my life is mirrored in these verses. I am but a peasant, and have seen little, have little learning, few acquirements, but I could not do otherwise than sing what I have so deeply felt, my own joys and sorrows, that is to say my life. Thus it is that these rustic airs are not idle carols of the wind, but true songs from a human heart.'

And therein is the secret of their compelling charm, the reason why to this day 'Love and Tears' is a beloved book in many a Provençal *mas*, or valley cottage, or hillside *cabano*. That it is so little known elsewhere in France is because no French translation was made by the author, nor by any admirer of his poetical work. Of Tavan's less intimately personal poems some are now classic, as, for example, his early lyrical piece entitled 'Li Frisoun de

Marieto' ('Mariette's Curls'), than which Béranger never wrote anything more gay and dainty, with its delightful idolatry of two coquettish curls on a pretty girl's brow:

'Pichot frisoun descaussane,
Merviho de noste vilage,' *

and which begins so characteristically with an allusion to this village beauty as 'fresco e lisqueto coume un iòu' ('as fresh and shiny as an egg'). Another, of a fine nature, that evokes the strong national note, is the *sirvente* (or species of ode) called 'Prouvenço e Troubadour' ('Provence and her Singers'), a kind of symphony on the chord struck in Mistral's 'Calendau':

'O flour, erias trop proumierenco!
Nacioun en flour, l'espaso trenco
Toun espandido! . . .' †

Here the poet recalls how the Provençal singers carried the art of poetry and the *fine fleur* of life into other countries, and how all Europe listened with rapt delight to this honey-sweet voice: 'l'Europe s'estasio a vosto melicouso e siavo pouësio.' And this joy, everywhere audible in the old Provençal poetry, was, says the poet, and truly, the first glad modern expression of the romance and beauty and fidelity of love: 'for their poetry is all love.'

'L'amour! aquelo flour poulido
Aquelo flour dóu mes de mai,
Ateno l'avié pas culido
Li Mouro e li Latin nimai;
Vous-áutri sias vengu: la floureto óudourouso,
Embaumo vosto amo amourouso,
L'amour vous alargo si doun:
Escampant vòsti cor, courrès tóuti li terro:
Bernat de Ventadour enébrio l'Anglo-terro,
Giraud de Bournélh, l'Aragoun.

'Ves l'Italio e l'Alemagno,
Coume se souvènon de vous!
Vosto flour crèis, vosto flour gagno
Li serre li mai auturous:

---

* 'Dear little lawless curls, the marvel of our village!'

† 'O flower of Provence, too soon was thy blossoming: O nation in flower, the sword cut thee off in thine early beauty.'

Beatris la divino e Lauro l'estelado,
Sus l'aubo roso encimelado,
S'emplanon amount dins l'azur,
Car Petrarco e lou Dante an senti vosto flamo,
An beisa vosto flour, an coumprès vòstis amo,
An respira voste amour pur!

'Erias trop béu . . . mais la tempésto
Agouloupo nosto nacioun!' *

Another beautiful and stirring ode, the *sirvente* entitled 'Ma Mestresso,' is universally known in Provence, and is even in some degree an accepted national chant. The 'mistress' whom the poet sings is no beautiful woman; she is not even Provence, but Liberty. The poem appeals to all who can cry with the author: 'Ai la fe que trasporto, ai l'espéro qu'esbriho,' 'I have the faith that uplifts, and hope unquenchable.' It is a passion, not a deep devotion only that he sings, and a passion that grows stronger with the passing years:—

'Siéu amourous bén mai, O bén mai! Ma mestresso
Es divo. En béuta passo e Minervo e Venus:
D'elo raive, e'n pantai . . . ma mestresso es divesso.' †

It is, however, as much a Christian as a Pagan cry:—

'Lou Crist, noste grand priéu, soun plus caud calignaire,
Vougué la prouclama . . .' ‡

---

* 'Love, this beautiful flower, this flower of life's springtide, neither the Moor nor the Roman, nor Athens herself has truly culled it: but you, Provençal singers of old, come . . . and in its fragrant beauty embalm your very soul, and Love dowers you with every gift he has to give. With hearts uplifted you wander now to the ends of the earth. Bernard de Ventadour intoxicates England with his song, and all Spain listens entranced to Giraud de Borniel.

'And Italy and Germany, can they ever forget you? The Flower of Song grows, and may be gathered, on their proudest heights! The divine Beatrice, the starry Laura, shine from on high, twin-planets over the rose and azure of Dawn—for Dante and Petrarch lit their hearts at your flame, have kissed your sacred flower and breathed its spiritual fragrance, and known that pure and perfect love.

'You were too beautiful . . . the tempest broke—and our nation was no more!'

† 'More and more I love her. My mistress is godlike. In beauty she excels Minerva and Venus. I dream of her, and in my dreams . . . my mistress is a goddess.'

‡ 'Christ, our great chief and her most ardent votary, wished to proclaim her . . .'

The poem ends :—

'Siéu dóu pople e moun cor i'a douna ma tendresso,
E vous dise lou noum de ma bello mestresso :
Ma mestresso es la Liberta !'

The late Anselme Mathieu, one of the leading members of the Felibrige, and famous on account of his unique achievement, 'La Farandoulo,' was also a Vauclusien, and born also at a 'Château-Neuf,' though the birthplace of the 'Felibre di poutoun' ('the poet of kisses') was the lovely Château-Neuf-du-Pape, between Orange and Avignon. Like Mistral, Mathieu came of good Provençal stock, and of parents who spoke only the native tongue of the Midi; he was Mistral's schoolfellow at Avignon, and his fellow-student for three years at Aix, whose literary associations and beautiful surroundings inspired both poets. Anselme Mathieu, Mistral, and Aubanel are the 'aristocrats' of the Provençal group; and the note of distinction revealed itself early in the young singer from Vaucluse in his admirable translations into pure Provençal of some of the finest odes and lyrics of Virgil and Catullus. Those who would know more of the man and his life and life-work should consult Mistral's intimate and generous preface to 'La Farandoulo,' wherein he alludes to his friend's work as one of the fairest fruits, as a perfect fruit, from the tree of Provençal genius; and adds that for the turn of the phrase, the lovely suggestiveness of the thought, and for metrical variety and suppleness, the poetry of Mathieu, more than that of any other contemporary, resembles the *fine fleur* of troubadour song. This preface is well worth perusal for its own sake. Mistral invariably writes beautiful prose, at once virile and delicate; and in the mass of his miscellaneous sketches, studies, reminiscences, introductions, &c., there are few better examples of his charm as *prosateur* than this preface to 'La Farandoulo.'*

What he says of 'La Farandoulo' may be summed up in a Provençal phrase now become classical in the Midi: 'You will find here young girls, flowers, and kisses, and if you love kisses, flowers, and young girls, "The Farandole" will content you.' The book consists of some forty-five poems,

* 'La Farandoulo,' par Anselme Mathieu (2nd edition, with French translation). 'Avans-Prepaus' (Introduction) par Frédéric Mistral. (Avignon : Roumanille, 1868.)

grouped in three sections, 'Lis Aubado' ('The Aubades,' or 'Songs at Sunrise'), 'Li Souleiado' ('Songs of the Noontide'), and 'Li Serenado' ('Serenades'. . . by implication, 'Songs of Dusk and Love'). Many of these are in light joyous measures, with a Burns- or Béranger-like lilt, as the song of one Gatouno, who was ill with love:

'Gatouno,
Malautouno,
Malautouno d'amour,
Paureto!
I floureto
Countaro si doulour.'

But perhaps Mathieu is most successful in the quatrain, to which he gave a new swift and deft movement, as in the altogether delightful 'Coy Maid' ('La Paurouso') or 'The Old Vineyard' ('Lo Vignasso'), the finest vine-chant of the Midi:

'L'agoulènço de ti bouqueto,
Just n'ai beisa l'espino, Agueto,
Just l'espino! . . . E pièi, que ié fai?
Un poutoun encaro! . . . Ai! Ai! Ai!'*

or—

'Ai uno vigno à Castéu-Nóu,
Dins un valoun di Coumbo-Masco,
Sus lo revès d'un degoulòu:
Clafis ma tino, emplis mi fiasco.'†

The wine of the Enchanted Valley, from the old vineyard planted two hundred years or more ago among the broom and thyme in the honey-pale moonshine, amid fairy laughters, has intoxicated many a poetic brain beside that of Anselme Mathieu. One thinks of 'lou vin

---

* 'From the wild-rose of thy mouth, I have but kissed a little thorn away—just a little thorn—no more, and what is that? Now, one real kiss! . . . Ah! ah! ah!'

† 'I have a vine at Château-Neuf,
In an enchanted valley,
Lone in a rocky ravine:
Ah, but my cellar and flasks remember it!'

The writer first heard 'Lo Vignasso' recited in a little arbour, over 'old wine of Crau,' in the wild highlands of Vauvenargues, and on enquiring what was the actual meaning of 'Coumbo-Masco' was told that 'li Coumbo-Masco' were 'enchanted valleys,' or 'valleys of the bewitched.'

dou valoun di Coumbo-Masco' as no less symbolical than that fay in Mistral's 'L'Amiradou':

'Au castéu de Tarascoun
I'a 'no rèino, i'a 'no fado,
Au castéu de Tarascoun
I'a 'no fado que s'escound.' *

It is perhaps difficult now to understand aright the far-reaching influence as well as the vogue of Joseph Roumanille; much of it, no doubt, was personal. Roumanille had a dominant individuality as remarkable as that of Victor Hugo, with a passionate enthusiasm for Provence and Provençal literature equalled only by that of Frédéric Mistral. Of these two great influences—one the influence of a remarkable mind and of a true, if not a great poet, the other the influence of a master-mind and of the greatest living poet of the Latin races—it would be superfluous to write here in detail. French, German, Italian, Spanish, Scandinavian studies on Roumanille and Mistral have appeared in plenty; and, if these writers are less known and less appreciated among ourselves than among other nations, it is by no means wholly from lack of interpreters, from the first faithful if not very flexible translation of Mistral's 'Mirèio' (by an American, Miss Preston) to the charming 'Embassy to Provence' of Mr Thomas A. Janvier. In France a hundred writers have dealt with Mistral and the Felibres, in books, treatises, studies, articles, anthologies and individual translations—perhaps none so authoritatively and ably as M. Paul Mariéton.† So great, indeed, is the library of books dealing with modern Provence that only a few enthusiasts could possibly cope with it.

But, to-day, when we take up the (still untranslated 'Li Margarideto,' or the more widely known 'Li Sounjarello' of Roumanille, it is to read with no little wonder what one has so often heard praised as masterpieces. For these poems, masterly as in a sense they are, have the

* 'In the Château of Tarascon
Is a queen, is a fay,
In the Château of Tarascon
Is a fay who hideth.'

† E.g. in the long and important articles on the Felibres, and on Mistral, Aubanel, &c., in the 'Grande Encyclopédie,' and in books, notably 'La Terre Provençale.'

beauty of *genre* rather than the final and universal beauty. They differ in kind from 'The Rhône' or 'Calendau' or even the 'Mirèio' of Mistral, bearing somewhat of the same relation to these as the poetry of Tannahill or Fergusson does to the 'central' poetry of Burns: or, let us say, as the essentially parochial stories of John Galt do to the universal romances of Walter Scott.

It is regrettable that 'Li Margarideto' has not been translated into French, for in France justice has not been done to this pioneer-work of the Provençal revival. This idyllic poem is in four sections: 'Quan Li-Z-Agrena Flourissien,' 'Quan Li Bla se Maduravon,' 'Quan Li Feuio Toumbavon,' 'Ou cantoun dou Fiò,' which may be rendered, 'When the Blossoms whiten,' 'When the Grain ripens,' 'When the Leaves fall,' and 'By the Winter-Hearth.' Popular as 'Li Margarideto' ('The Daisies') was and still is, Roumanille's fame was far more widely extended by the lovely lyrical narrative-poem 'Li Sounjarello' ('The Dreamers'), published five years later (1852): and was perhaps more permanently deepened by his beautiful 'Li Nouvè' ('Noëls'), some forty in all, published first in magazines and journals or 'fascicules' between 1845 and 1859. The vogue of 'Li Sounjarello,' as a poetic love-tale, resembled that enjoyed, with us, in the mid-Victorian period, by the 'The Gardener's Daughter.' The poem has considerable metrical diversity, apart from the little lyrics which it enshrines; but here is a representative divisional section:—

'Dindouleto, parla me d'èu:
En travessant la mar, avès pas vis moun bèu?
Dessu si mas bessai avès fu la pauseto.
Es que vous a rèn di se ma mio Leleto? . . .
Acó se m'èro pas fidèu! . . .
Pamen, plouravo tan quand me laissè souleto,
Que me dounè la croux de sa maire, e l'anèu . . .
Mai que dise? siéu folo! . . . Ana léu, dindouleto,
Ana-ié piénta moun bonjour;
Pourta-ie su vosti-z-aleto
Moun lángui, mi poutoun e mi souspir d'amour . . .
Diga-il que l'espère, ô bravi dindouleto!' *

---

* 'Swallows, tell me of him! In crossing the seas, have you not seen my beloved? Mayhap you rested on the masts of his ship. Did he whisper nothing to you of his dear Leleto? Oh! if he has not remained true to

Besides 'Li Margarideto,' 'Li Sounjarello,' 'Li Nouvè,' and his share in 'Prouvençalo' ('The Provençals') and in that delightful and invaluable annual 'L'Armana Prouvençau' (inaugurated in 1854 and still flourishing), Roumanille published notable minor works in verse, such as 'La Part de Dieu' and 'Li Flour de Sauvi' ('Flowers o' the Sage'), and the longer and more masterly 'La Campano Mountado,' a mock-heroic poem in seven cantos, which so capable a critic as M. de Pontmartin regarded as Roumanille's most original production. His complete poetical productions may be had in one volume, modestly entitled 'Lis Oubreto' ('Minor Works').

In Provence there is nothing of his so loved among the poor hill-folk and vintagers as his 'Noëls.' Saboly himself, the prince of 'the Singers of Bethlehem,' never wrote anything lovelier, more exquisitely tender, than 'Li Crèchо,' with its plea of the Seraph to God, that when the little Jesus first knew mortal cold in the manger at Bethlehem—

'Es moun rire que l'assoulavo,
Es moun alo que l'acatavo;
L'escaufave emé moun alen.' *

Last Yuletide, the present writer heard sung one midnight in the streets of Aix—'Aïs, la antico vilo di Troubaïres'—another lovely 'Noël' of Roumanille's, 'La Chato Avuglo,' 'The Blind Girl,' of which the first stanza runs thus:—

'Èro lou jour tant bèu qu'uno Vierge enfantavo
A Betelen;
E soun fru benesi de la fre tremoulavo
Su'n pau de fen;

---

me! . . . and yet, how he wept the day he left me all alone, and gave me the little cross that had been his mother's, and the ring. . . . But what am I saying? I am mad! . . . Quick, quick, little swallows, breathe on him my morning greeting: carry to him on your little wings my impatience, my kisses, my sighs of longing. Whisper that I await him, that I await him, O good little swallows!'

This quotation is from the original edition. It was after the publication of 'Li Sounjarello' that the Provençal language was given its classic uniformity, mainly by or through the influence of Mistral. Later versions of 'Li Sounjarello' have a revised text.

* 'It was my smile that consoled Him, my wings that sheltered Him, my breath that warmed Him.'

Lis ange, eilamoundant, tout-bèu-just acabaron
Soun "Gloria,"
E, de tout caire, au jas pastre e pastresso anavon
S'ageinouia.' *

Roumanille, the son of a gardener, and of a mother 'of the old race of the gardeners of St Rémy, the town of gardens,' was born among the beautiful gardens he so often lovingly described, on the 8th August, 1818. Even in his long and keenly enthusiastic as well as arduous life, he was acknowledged as the 'chef de départ'; and, since his death a few years ago, his fame has grown as that of the most potent and victorious lieutenant in the great movement of which Mistral is the commander-in-chief.

It is but right to add a word on Madame Roumanille, wife of one famous Felibre, and, as Rose-Anaïs Gras, sister of another, herself a fine poet and a woman who, as friend and publisher of so many of the poets of the Midi, has had a very real influence on the development of contemporary Provençal literature. A little poem of hers in sonnet form suggests comparison with 'The Toys' of Coventry Patmore, and is no less pathetic and dignified. Called 'Lou Chambroun,' 'The Little Room,' it may be thus rendered, perforce baldly, in prose :—

'Here, in a corner, are her little cart, her doll, her rattle, lying abandoned on the floor beside her pretty baby-skirt; yonder on the wall of the silent room hangs the little one's amber necklace: dust, like a shroud, covers the desolate cradle. Here, midway, are her tiny blue slippers, so lively ever, so restless. . . . O dear God, the music of those little pattering feet only so brief a while ago. . . . Hist! some one comes . . . I hear steps. Of this little room say nothing, not a word. Never again will the mother enter it.'

There is no need to dwell in detail on the work and achievement of Frédéric Mistral. His fame is in all lands. Translations of his chief works exist in French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—and not in the Latin tongues only, but in German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Russian. Into

---

* 'It was on the wondrous day when a Virgin bore a Child at Bethlehem. This blessèd fruit of the Divine Love trembled in the mortal cold of the manger: but the thronging angels rejoicingly burst into song, singing the "Gloria," there on high, as the shepherd folk here on earth, bending their knees before the new-born Son.'

English 'Mirèio' has been at least twice translated. The greatest poet of Provence, he is also by far the greatest living poet of France—having indeed, within the definitely narrower limits of lyrical excellence, no rival in any of the Latin races save, perhaps, Carducci. As scholar, as poet, as man of letters, as the pioneer of the intellect of the South and the captain of its soul, as a Provençal of the Provençals, with the greatness and nobility of his nature and the unequalled charm of his personality, Mistral is, in truth, worthy of his popular designation, 'the Emperor of the Midi.' 'Mirèio,' 'Calendau,' 'Lis Isclo d'Or,' 'Lou Rose,' are already classics. Lamartine's prophecy about 'this new-risen genius at Avignon' has been justified to the full. The worship of Mistral in Provence is unequalled; such a triumph as his, when ten thousand people in the vast amphitheatre at Orange simultaneously arose on his unexpected entrance, has no parallel in modern times.

Scattered through the many published addresses and prefaces of Mistral are scores of characteristic sayings which reveal the man, but few perhaps better than words such as these: 'I believe in the audacity which accomplishes miracles; and I believe that the higher one aspires the higher one attains.' For Mistral, as for Mirabeau on a famous occasion, 'impossible' is a stupid word. For, in truth, he has achieved the seeming impossible. In that extraordinary dialect-revival, so noticeable in several countries at this moment,* no one man has had so potent an influence as Mistral. He has done three wonderful

---

* In France, chiefly with Breton and Provençal; in Spain, with Basque, Catalonian, Andalusian; in Italy, with Sicilian, Neapolitan, Romagnese, Venetian; in Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, each with marked lingual revivals, national (as in Norway) or regional (as in Lithuania); while among ourselves we know with what ardour and eagerness Gaelic and Welsh are now being advocated for the native populations of Ireland, the Highlands, and Wales. German Poland, Russian Poland, and Austrian Poland are growing weary of the Teutonic and Russian tongues, and are more and more (particularly since the world-wide fame and immense influence of Henryk Sienkiewicz) returning to Polish, though at Berlin, Vienna, and St Petersburg the national language is called a dialect only. German is losing, not gaining ground in Hungary; and Moravia, Moldavia, and all the Southern States, principalities and kingdoms are following the deep instinct for the hereditary speech. The Flemish genius has never been so strong in Belgium as just now, and the effort to give the Swiss one national tongue is at last recognised as hopeless.

things, remarked an eminent Felibre to the present writer—

'he put a soul into a revived language; he has himself used that language as Dante and Petrarch used Italian, as Heine used German; and, lest its mortal body should perish, he has embalmed it for all time in that marvellous triumph of philological science, "Lou Tresor dou Felibrige"!'

Frédéric Mistral, 'Arch-Capoulié dou Felibrige,' was born in 1830 at Maillane, an ancestral property near the small village of the same name in the arrondissement of Arles and within a few miles of St Rémy—'St Remy, with its gardens, its gentle folk and pretty girls, its lovely and picturesque neighbourhood, its ancient ruined temples and arches, its poetic tradition, the St Rémy so closely associated with Roumanille and Félix Gras and Marius Girard.' He has lived in the same place ever since, a peasant, a prince, and a poet. In the history of modern Provençal literature there are no landmarks more familiar than 'Mirèio' (1859), 'Calendau' (1867), 'Lis Isclo d'Or' (1875), 'Nerto' (1880), 'La Rèino Jano' (1890), and 'Lou Rose' ('The Rhône,' 1894). These six works also—to change the metaphor — are milestones on the road followed by the minor developments in the last half century. Not even the fame of Jasmin equalled that which came to Mistral when the beautiful idyllic romance of 'Mirèio' took Provence and all France by storm—at first in great part, no doubt, because of that literary bombshell, the famous pronouncement of the then all-powerful Lamartine, to the effect that—

'in Mistral a great epic poet is born, a true Homeric poet in this day, a primitive poet in this age of decadence, a poet who has given a new sensation and a new scope to modern literature, a poet who has created a language out of a dialect, as Petrarch created Italian.'

Though that superb epical achievement, 'Calendau,' did not have the vogue of its predecessor, it is now, perhaps, still more widely admired. The earlier poem may be said to embody the Provence of the plains and pastoral valleys, the Provence of the Crau, the Camargue, and of the Rhône; the other, to embody the Provence of mountain and sea. But of all Mistral's books none is now

so familiar, so loved and admired, as his collection of dramatic lyrics, ballads, odes, and other poems, collectively entitled 'Lis Isclo d'Or' ('The Golden Isles'). Here all his most famous lyrical triumphs—from the 'Ode to the Latin Race' to the delightful and so often quoted 'Lou Prègo-Diéu' (a kind of grasshopper)—are to be found. 'Lis Isclo d'Or,' in technical mastery, ranks with the finest work of Hugo, Banville, Leconte de Lisle, and Baudelaire, and has more of the pulse of universal humanity. 'Nerto,' an epical poem in the style of the chivalrous romances and of Ariosto, is a Provençal chronicle of the popes in Avignon. Though hailed with welcome, and crowned by the French Academy, it remains the least widely known, and in Provence the least read, of Mistral's works. The fine tragic drama, 'La Rèino Jano,' was more impressive to witness on the stage (especially at Orange) than to read; and perhaps only to Provençals is there compelling magic in the name of the famous princess round whose memory so many native legends, romances, songs, and ballads have gathered. In 'The Poem of the Rhône' Mistral has produced his epical *chef-d'œuvre*. Here, unquestionably, he justifies that supreme praise of Lamartine's which so profoundly impressed the whole European world of culture.

Of two of his most valued colleagues and literary contemporaries, Félix Gras and Marius Girard, though not members of the original 'league of poets, much might be written here, were there space to spare. Certainly no student of contemporary Provençal literature can afford to overlook M. Girard's 'Lis Aupiho' ('The Lesser Alps,' behind St Rémy), published in 1888, and the larger and finer collection, with its often valuable and always interesting notes, 'La Crau' (the great stony plain of the Bouches du Rhône, contiguous to, but distinct from, the vaster Camargue, the 'Maremma' of Provence). Marius Girard is one of the most distinguished of the Felibres of to-day; and, as he is still vigorous in mind and body, we may look for further works or fresh collections from his fertile pen. His contemporary, Félix Gras, is much more widely known, and within the last five years, indeed, has, as a romancist, won also a wide circle of readers in the United States and Great Britain through the admirable translation by Mrs Catherine Janvier of his trilogy of 'The Terror' ('The Reds of the Midi,' 'The Terror,' 'The

White Terror'). Four years younger than Marius Girard, Félix Gras was, till the other day, the Capoulié or Head of the Felibrige, and after Mistral the greatest of living Provençals.* While still a young man (i.e. in his thirty-second year) he published 'Li Carbounié' ('The Charcoal-Burners'), and at once became famous. The note struck was a new one, intensely virile, robust, sonorous. This 'épopée' in twelve cantos has no real rival in Provençal literature after Mistral's 'Calendau' or 'Nerto': indeed few works of the kind can even be compared with it, except perhaps the splendidly picturesque 'Chanson Lemouzina' of the Abbé Roux, the great poet of the Limousin. In later life Gras achieved another success in this *genre*, with 'Toloza,' a *geste provençale* in twelve cantos dealing with the famous crusade of Simon de Montfort. In 1887 he published, through Savine of Paris (one of the few instances where a Provençal book has been printed beyond the unofficial frontier of the Midi), his *chef-d'œuvre*, 'Lou Roumancero Prouvençau.' The book consists of a score or so of romantic ballads or ballad-romances, and in metrical strength, poetic virility, and compelling charm recalls no contemporary poetry so much as Browning's 'Dramatic Lyrics and Romances.' Perhaps the finest is the fifth, the barbaric 'Roumanso de Damo Guiraudo.' Others hardly less notable are 'Lou Rèi Reinié' ('King Réné'), 'La Roumanso de la Rèino Jano,' 'Guihen de Cabestang,' the pathetic 'Blanche de Simiane,' and the savage 'La Dama Tibor'—all, and 'The Lady Tibor' in particular, strongly suggestive of our own wild north-country ballads, 'Glasgerion,' 'Burd Helen,' and the like. In all his poetry, epical or lyrical or episodic, sonorous lines continually recur, with a sound in them as of the sea or the mountain-wind:

'Es-ti la grando mar? Es-ti la grand mountagno?
Sarié-ti lou mistrau que bramo e coumbouris?' †

---

* Since this article was written, Félix Gras has succumbed, after a brief illness following a feverish chill. His death was deeply lamented throughout Provence, and indeed all France. His successor as Capoulié (periodical chief or president) is a young Provençal, Pierre Dévoluy, who was elected largely through the wish and influence of Mistral.

† 'Is it the great sea? or the voice of the hills?
Or the wild tumult of the mountain-wind?'

and lovely lines, full of aerial light and sound, such as—

'Lou long salut que fan souto vènt li piboulo.' *

In connexion with the success of his romances of 'The Terror,' it may be added that though the prose literature of the Provençal revival cannot vie with that in verse, it is still very remarkable and fascinating. We need allude only to the most outstanding works, such as the 'Contes Prouvençau' of Roumanille, the brilliant, vivacious, and highly flavoured as well as highly coloured 'Li Papalino' ('Tales of Papal Avignon') of Félix Gras, the fine and austerely simple 'Memòri d'un Gnarro' ('Reminiscences of a Farm Hand') of Baptiste Bonnet, the vivid 'Scenes of Provençal Life' of the Toulonaise Charles Senès, and those strange, bewilderingly erudite, flame-coloured, but inartistically wrought antique 'classical' romances of the poor peasant Jean Lombard (whose early death in 1891 was practically due to privation bordering on starvation), 'L'Agonie' and 'Byzance.'

As for the larger 'world' which cannot read Provençal, and has no time or thought to look for the less eminent men, it can well rest content with the work of the delicate genius who gave to all countries 'Tartarin,' 'Numa Roumestan,' and the 'Lettres de mon Moulin,' with that of the refined and exquisite artist, Paul Arène, whose work is the very essence, the very fragrance, of Provence; and with that of picturesque and vivid romancists such as Jean Aicard. One of the most notable prose works by any Provençal writer, though dealing with alien life and conditions, is the strangely impressive 'Fumeurs d'Opium' of the late Jules Boissière: another, more recent, more powerful, if less rare in quality, less subtle in style, is Louis Bertrand's 'Le Sang des Races.' Doubtless all the Provençal novelists will henceforth write in French, for they are in the same case as native Welsh or Irish novelists, who might prefer to write, but who cannot get published, tales in Welsh or Irish. Among these younger men the most promising are Emmanuel Delbousquet, Louis Bertrand, and Joachim Gasquet, the latter a young Aixois who, besides having already won high distinction

---

* 'The long swaying of a poplar to the wind.'

by his beautiful verse and the range and distinction of his prose, is achieving a continually growing influence through his able editing of 'Le Pays de France,' one of the most interesting of French monthly magazines.

Another writer of whom something should be said, the more so as he is in danger of being overlooked by the younger generation of Provençal students, is the late Jean-Baptiste Gaut, one of the most distinguished sons of Aix, and an influential member of the Felibréen league. His prose writings—notably his 'Résumé de l'Histoire du Roi Réné' and his now rare 'Poètes et la Poésie de Provence'—are as interesting as they are erudite. His lyrical drama, 'Uno Court d'Amour,' was crowned at the Floral Fêtes at Montpellier; and his 'Lou Mau d'Amour' ('Love-sickness'), produced in 1881, has the distinction of being the first and still the best comic opera on the Provençal stage. A more noteworthy dramatic achievement was his earlier drama in three acts, with many songs, called 'Lei Mouro' ('The Moors'), published about 1875.

Although Mistral, Aubanel, Gras, and other Provençal poets have written sonnets, the sonnet has never taken a prominent place in the poetic literature of the Midi, and is never a 'popular,' always a 'literary,' form. But Gaut has the distinction of being the Provençal sonneteer *par excellence*. His 'Lei Sét Pecat Capitau' ('The Seven Deadly Sins') is a notable group of poems; and the literary enthusiast may consider himself lucky who obtains that fantastically delightful collection, 'Sounet, Souneto, e Sounaio' ('Sonnets, Tinkles, and Idle Rhymes'), published in 1874, with a 'Sounadisso' or *avertissement* by Mistral, wherein the great poet half playfully appreciates his friend's singular qualities—saying 'Qu'il joue aux osselets, ou qu'il chasse aux perdreaux, ou que dans la rivière il fasse mordre quelque anguille, un petit vent de Grèce agite son habit.'

We have left to the last one of the greatest of the Felibres, and, as we believe, one of the finest lyric poets whom France has produced, Théodore Aubanel. Aubanel is the poet whose name above all others in Provence causes the chord of love to thrill in the hearts of the young. He is, supremely, the poet of youth and love and beauty. Throughout his writings we may hear the refrain of his lyric, 'La Glòri de Vau-Cluso'—

'L'Amour es la vido,
La vido es l'amour,'

as throughout all his own days he heard the self-same song—

'L'amour nous convido
A cuie li flour.'

This, for the greater part, sufficed him—this instinct of life, this passion for beauty, for love, for the sunshine and the blithe delight of spring and summer in his beloved Provence, where 'La cigalo di piboulo, La bouscarlo di bouissoun, Lou grihet di ferigoulo, Tout canto sa cansoun.' In his glad content with the beauty of the world, the world of youth and love and songs, he struck a note which endeared him to his compatriots—

'Tout auceloun amo sou nis :
Noste ceu blu, noste terraire
Soun pèr nous-autre un paradis.' *

His posthumous collection, 'Lou Rèire dou Soulèu' (literally, 'From Behind the Sun,' or poetically, 'From Beyond the Grave'), is as full as his *chef-d'œuvre*, 'Li Fiho d'Avignoun' ('The Girls of Avignon'), of that inspiration of the country districts, *di bastido*, of which he sang in a little canticle for the Festo Felibrenço at Nîmes in 1859—

'O muso di bastido
De siedo noun vestido
E pamens tant poulido,
Muso di Prouvençau ! †

Aubanel's printed writings are slight in quantity. 'La Miougrano Entre-Duberto' ('The Half-Open Pomegranate'), first privately printed about 1880 (though written many years earlier), and published in a complete form in 1888; 'Li Fiho d'Avignoun,' published in the year of his death, 1886; and 'Lou Rèire du Soulèu,' published in 1900, represent his achievement in lyrical poetry. Besides these books he wrote three dramas in Provençal verse. One of these, the powerful and sombre 'Lou Pan dou Pecat' ('The

---

* 'Every little bird loves its nest. Our blue sky, our little country, are Paradise for us.'

† 'O muse of the country places (*lit.* of the farmsteads), Not clad in silk art thou, Yet O most fair to see, Muse of the Provençals!'

Bread of Sin') has been published, and, in Paul Arène's somewhat unsatisfactory French version in alexandrines, was acted in Paris. Of another no trace has been found. The third and most powerful, 'Lou Pastre' ('The Herdsman'), though known to exist at the time of his death, is apparently destroyed or lost also. From the little publicly known of it, and some fragments remembered by friends, it is certain that 'The Herdsman' was one of the most terrible of modern tragedies, too savagely terrible perhaps for publication to-day. Some idea of it, though even here modified, may be gained from the note about 'Lou Pastre' in the appendix to 'Lou Rèire dou Soulèu.' The only other book of Aubanel's is the posthumous collection of his letters to a friend, the 'Mignon' of his idealising and romantic love for 'a dear unknown.'

There is perhaps no single book of contemporary poetry so full of the atmosphere, as well as the sound and colour, of beauty, as 'Li Fiho d'Avignoun.' In it is one supreme masterpiece: 'the apple on the topmost bough' of modern Pagan poetry. 'The Venus of Arles' is, in contemporary poetry, what the Venus of Milo is among all the other treasures of the Louvre. Aubanel's work is all of music, beauty, emotion. His lyrical poems are as full of light and rippling sound as an aspen. One could quote scores of lines such as this quatrain from the pathetically beautiful 'Li Piboulo' ('The Poplars')—

'Bello lèio de grand pibo
Enfloucado dóu tremount,
Que veses sus l'autro ribo?
Que veses d'aperamount?' *

New cadences, too, come into this Latin poetry, vaguely suggestive of those of Celtic music—

'De-la-man-d'eila de la mar,
Dins mis ouro de pantaiage,
Souvènti-fes iéu fau un viage,
Iéu fau souvènt un viage amar,
De-la-man-d'eila de la mar.' †

---

* 'Stately alley of great poplars, All aflame with the fires of sunset—What see you, in the valley, From your swaying tops, what see you?'

† 'To a far land across the sea, oftentimes in my dreaming hours I voyage alone, a bitter voyage of longing oftentimes I make, to a far land across the sea.'

The whole of this poem (No. XI in 'The Book of Love') is beautiful with its 'Eilalins' and 'De-la-man-d'eilas,' and other melancholy recurrent cadences, as, for example—

'D'erso en erso, sus l'aigo amaro,
Coume un cadabre i mar jita,
En pantai me laisse empourta
I pèd d'acquelo que mèi caro,
D'erso en erso, sus l'aigo amaro.' *

Aubanel spoke for all Provence as well as for himself when he wrote 'la pouèsio es lou soulèu, lou soulèu di jouine e di fort e di bèu'—'poetry is the sun, the sun of the young and the strong and the beautiful.' He sang for all poets when he shaped in music his own device, 'Quau canto soun mau, encanto.' For him, as for many another beautiful singer of human love and loss, an earlier writer long ago said 'the deep word'—

'Quia sine dolore non vivitur in amore.'

Let us take leave of Aubanel, and with him of the singers of modern Provence, in fitting words of his own, uttered in one of his poems to his 'Laura,' his 'Beatrice'—

'Dins lou vaste camin dis astre barrulant canto dins la joio.' †

If there be that immortality also for the poet, there is none worthier than Théodore Aubanel to enter upon it. 'We are two comrade stars,' said Mistral prophetically. And truly both are of the company of 'Adonais,' 'e chi lo scrisse.'

---

* 'From hollow to hollow, on the salt wave, as a body thrown upon the waters, in dreams I let myself be carried to the feet of her I love: From hollow to hollow, on the salt wave.'

† 'On the vast road of the wandering stars he sings in joy.'

Art. IX.—A RELIGION OF MURDER.

1. *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the peculiar Language used by the Thugs.* [By W. H. Sleeman.] Two vols. Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1836.
2. *The Thugs or Phansigars of India.* Compiled from original documents published by Captain W. H. Sleeman. Two vols. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1839.
3. *Report on the Depredations committed by the Thug Gangs of Upper and Central India.* By Major Sleeman. Calcutta: Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1840.
4. *Reports on the working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department of the Indian Government*, 1860–1898.

FROM India there comes every year a thin pale-blue book called the 'Report of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department,' which is duly received, docketed and forgotten; it contains, however, one truth worth remembering, namely, that Thagi (or Thuggee), the only religion that preaches murder, is not yet extinct. It appears, in fact, of late years, to have been actually on the increase. In the Punjab we find two cases of murders by Thugs as late as 1896; while in Rajputana, Central India and Hyderabad the increase in the last three or four years is startling. In 1895 there were only three persons concerned in Thuggee poisoning; in 1896 there were ten, of whom two were convicted; while in 1897 there were no less than twenty-five Thugs concerned, though there was only one conviction. In 1898 there was a slight falling-off. Five cases were reported. Eight persons were poisoned, of whom one died. Nine persons were concerned in these cases, of whom seven were caught, but none were convicted. The report for 1899 is not yet available.

These wretches are but a miserable remnant of an ancient and powerful religion; yet they inherit an undoubted sense of continuity from it; and it is, after all, only some seventy years since two young English officials agreed that the day of retribution was come for the followers of the great goddess Kali. There were, at that time, at least ten thousand Thugs, wandering unmolested over the surface of India, who earned a livelihood by murdering their fellow-men; they lived in this way partly because it was their religion, and partly because they

preferred murdering to either working or begging. It may seem to us inconceivable that the people themselves should have tolerated such a state of things, but we never hear of a village rising to hunt down the murderer; the innocent villagers died of strangling then, as they now die of cholera or the plague, in a silent, hopeless belief that it is wrong to struggle against the visitation of the gods. Thus the murders were never traced or heard of. As each Thug killed, on an average, three men per annum, we get the unexampled fact of some thirty thousand people, mostly under British rule or protection, vanishing into the earth every year without any enquiry whatsoever being made, or any notice taken of their disappearance. Such figures seem incredible, and yet we are told by officials of the time that they are probably under the mark.

In the midst of this reign of terror and utter lawlessness, a saviour suddenly appeared in the person of Captain (afterwards Sir William) Sleeman, who was then a comparatively junior official in the service of the East India Company, and held a civil appointment in the Sagar district. He was already well spoken of for his energy and acuteness; but such a reputation was not entirely in his favour, for the Directors of the East India Company showed no desire that their officers should be either energetic or acute in bringing to light the plague-spots for whose cure they were responsible. They were a commercial, rather than a governing, corporation, and dreaded the expense of putting down so powerful an organisation as Thuggee; besides which, they had for so many years represented India to the British public as a paradise of law and order under their benevolent government, that the idea of armed bands of fifty or a hundred professional murderers going about the country unchallenged was not even to be whispered in their presence. Knowing that the breath of truth may blow a chartered company to atoms, they had refused to recognise the existence of the evil; and so bold had the Thugs at last become that in some parts of India they fearlessly left the bodies of their victims lying unburied on the high-road. To apprehend a gang of stranglers was a grave mistake for a young official, and was met by a prompt reprimand. The case of Pringle is perhaps the best known.

This energetic officer had arrested a band of Thugs who had murdered two men in the district of Chupra. The evidence against them, both direct and circumstantial, was overwhelming, while their defence was a mere denial which they could not sustain by any lucid account of their daily employment, or of the plunder in their possession; but the judgment given will remain a monument of company government for all time. The prisoners were released; the witnesses were punished for perjury and the police for oppression; while Mr Pringle, who had reported the case, was severely reprimanded for his action.

Such wilful blindness, however, could not possibly last for ever. In 1823 the first glaring fact was brought to light by Mr Molony, an Irishman, at that time agent to the Governor-general, who succeeded in capturing a roving band of 115 Thugs. In 1826 another considerable gang was apprehended; and in 1830 young Sleeman, working energetically in conjunction with a fellow official, Mr F. C. Smith, began to supply his chiefs with facts which they could no longer overlook. The result was that Lord William Bentinck, who was then at the head of affairs, created a new post called 'The General Superintendent of Operations against Thuggee,' which title he conferred on Sleeman, refusing, however, to relieve him of any of his ordinary civil duties or to make any increase in his pay. Such was our early government in India.

It is from this time (1830) onwards that we begin to learn the extraordinary facts about Thuggee which have since surprised the world. At first Sleeman and his friend Smith stood practically alone.

'In 1830,' he says, 'Mr George Swinton, who was then Chief Secretary to the Supreme Government of India, and our best support in the cause which Mr F. C. Smith and I had undertaken, wrote to him (Smith) to say that he feared success must be considered as altogether unattainable; for he had been given to understand by those who appeared well informed upon the subject that the evil had taken deep root in all parts of India, and extended itself to almost every village community. There were certainly at that time very few districts in India without their resident gangs of Thugs . . . while there was not one district free from their depredations.'

In view of these contemporary opinions, the estimate of ten thousand Thugs does not seem at all too high; and

subsequent disclosures showed that their *beyls*, or chosen murdering and burying grounds, were thickly dotted along every highroad in the country. In one well-known place near Lucknow there were no less than fifteen *beyls* on a stretch of road twenty-five miles long, at each of which parties of travellers, numbering from one to twenty people, had been strangled and buried.

It was to unravel this secret network and lay hands on the assassins that Sleeman now set himself during his spare moments. He found few weapons to his hand, and no allies. The Government was apathetic; the people, partly from fear and partly from superstition, refused to give evidence against the murderers; and so perfect was the Thug system that they were practically never caught red-handed. Yet in the next five years Sleeman had broken the back of his self-imposed task; he had arrested over two thousand murderers, and had proved his charges against them so successfully that only twenty-one were acquitted; while all who read the evidence will agree with a contemporary writer that 'there was no crime on which a man could decide with so safe a conscience.' The fact was that he had, half accidentally, laid his hand on the weak spot of their system, namely, the growing unbelief and irreligion which was so loudly bewailed by the older Thugs; they no longer dreaded the wrath of the goddess Kali nor obeyed her wise rules; they believed neither in her nor in each other, and were ready to betray their leaders shamelessly.

At the very beginning of his career, Sleeman had the good fortune to capture the great Thug leader, Feringeea, who was betrayed to him for a reward of five hundred rupees. He gives the following account of his dealings with this extraordinary criminal:—

'He told me that if his life were spared he could secure the arrest of several large gangs. . . . Seeing me disposed to doubt his authority upon a point of so much importance, he requested me to put him to the proof—to take him through the village of Selohda . . . and he would show me his ability and inclination to give me correct information. I did so, and my tents were pitched, where tents usually are, in a small mango grove. . . . When I got up in the morning he pointed out three places in which he and his gang had deposited, at different intervals, the bodies of three parties of travellers. A

Pundit and six attendants, murdered in 1818, lay among the ropes of my sleeping tent; a Havildar and four Sipahaes, murdered in 1824, lay under my horses; and four carriers of Ganges water, and a woman murdered soon after the Pundit, lay within my sleeping tent. The sward had grown over the whole, and not the slightest sign of its ever having been broken was to be seen. The thing seemed to me incredible; but . . . he declared himself prepared to stake his life on the accuracy of his information. My wife was still sleeping over the grave of the water-carriers, unconscious of what was doing or to be done. I assembled the people of the surrounding villages and the Thanadar and his police, and put the people to work over the grave of the Havildar. They dug down five feet without perceiving the slightest signs of the bodies or of a grave, . . . but there was a calm and quiet confidence about him (Feringeea) that made me insist on their going on; and at last we came upon the bodies of the whole five laid out precisely as he had described.'

Sleeman afterwards tells us how the other two graves were also found to be genuine, and how Feringeea offered to point out others in the neighbouring groves; but 'I was sick of the horrid work'; so they dug up no more. His wife, who had slept over the dead water-carriers, often afterwards declared that she never had a night of such horrid dreams, which seemed to prove that, while asleep, 'her soul had become conscious of the dreadful crimes that had been perpetrated.' It is easy to imagine the feelings of man and wife who have slept over no less than seventeen murdered travellers; but Feringeea was now proved to be trustworthy, and with his help the work soon increased to such an extent that, in 1835, Sleeman was finally relieved of his routine civil duties, and was enabled to devote his whole energies to crushing out Thuggee.

What he was attacking was not merely an organised gang of man-killers; it was a religion, a profession, a hereditary custom. The Thug was simply a practical God-fearing man; he would set out on his business with the quiet earnestness of one who is merely doing his duty and bringing up his son to a good professional connexion; he would brutally murder twenty to thirty victims, not only with an easy conscience, but with the calm self-approval of a successful practitioner; and if, after years

of business-like activity, he fell into the meddling grasp of British law, he would go to his death with the cheerful smile of a religious man who had lived well and entertained no doubts of being munificently rewarded hereafter. Nor was he at all grasping in his dealings. The celebrated Thug Shumsherah deposed that 'eight annas (a shilling) is a very good remuneration for murdering a man. We often strangle a victim who is suspected of having two pice (three farthings).' Their motto was evidently small profits and quick returns.

There is more to be said about Thuggee as a religion—for a very genuine religion it was. Sleeman says that 'no one of them doubts the divine origin of Thuggee; they consider the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to their goddess.' This lady, Kali (or Deve or Bhowanee, as she was indifferently called), the patroness of Thuggee, was originally the goddess of small-pox. She had not only instituted the religion, but even undertaken to hide the bodies of the slain, on condition that no man looked at her while she was doing so. For a long time this condition was kept; but one day a neophyte glanced over his shoulder and saw the goddess, entirely destitute of clothing, in the act of swallowing a corpse. Being naturally overcome with modesty, and incensed at such a breach of faith, Kali refused any longer actively to assist the Thugs. She still continued to watch over them and direct them by means of omens; but the change was always regretted by the Thugs, the more so perhaps because the features of the goddess, so hideous that no one durst gaze upon them, appeared to render her modesty superfluous.

Be this as it may, there are certain rules of hers that no Thug will break. For instance, before starting on an expedition there must be a meeting of all the Thugs to consecrate the sacred pick-axe (originally one of Kali's teeth), to evoke her aid, and to eat the sacred *goor* (coarse sugar). If a Thug swears by the sacred pick-axe he will keep his oath, even though he were a man to perjure himself on the Koran. When two Thugs, named Sahib and Nasir, were questioned by Captain Sleeman on this point, they said:—

'"If any man swears to a falsehood upon a pick-axe properly consecrated, we will consent to be hung if he survives the time

appointed.' Appoint one, two or three days when he swears, and we pledge ourselves that he does not live a moment beyond the time. He will die a horrid death; his head will turn round, his face towards the back, and he will writhe in tortures till he dies."

'"And all this you have seen?"

'"Yes, we have all seen it."'

From the rest of their evidence, there is no doubt that these men believed what they said. One is puzzled to know whether they had seen a man in some kind of fit, or whether some poor deluded creature had actually hypnotised himself into the death that he feared.

The system of Thuggee was found in India, by an adventurous European traveller, so early as the seventeenth century; but its previous history is unknown. Some believe that it dates back to the days of Alexander or even Xerxes; but more probably it originated with the wild camp-followers and plunderers who followed the Mohammedan armies of conquest. Whatever the true source may be, it is beyond all doubt the work of a man of genius; no ordinary brain could have fenced and regulated it by so elaborate a code of rules—rules which the Thugs deem to be of divine origin, but in each of which we can trace a shrewd, practical purpose.

Their organisation was perfect in every detail; each gang was under the command of a *jemadar*, whose orders they seem to have obeyed with a wonderful sense of discipline. Their mode of procedure was as follows. They would divide their band into several contingents, which moved along the road at a short distance from one another, with scouts thrown out in front and behind to secure them; they thus presented the appearance of small parties of travellers, each of which kept up the pretence of being entirely unknown to the others. On meeting a suitable quarry the *jemadar* would decide if he was worth attacking. If this seemed to be the case, he would send forward a skilled specialist to choose the place of attack; meanwhile he would give orders to the inveigler—also a specialist in his line—who would accost the victim in the most friendly manner, either asking a favour or doing some small civility in order to ingratiate himself. So skilful were these inveiglers that they seldom failed to find out the destination of the unfortunate traveller, with

all other necessary details; and then the gang would follow him patiently, sometimes for days or even weeks, often journeying with him on the most friendly terms, until their opportunity occurred. If, however, as occasionally happened, the inveigler were not successful, and saw he had aroused suspicion, he would communicate in the secret Thug language with his friends, and presently two or three more of the band would approach with a fresh inveigler. On seeing these, the first accomplice would at once feign uneasiness, make some excuse, and decamp hastily; while the second inveigler, dressed perhaps as a sepoy, or in some other clever disguise, would come up and, after enquiring about the appearance of the man who had just left them, would declare that he had long known him for a bad character, and heartily congratulate the traveller on his escape. The victim having thus been thrown off his guard, things usually went without a hitch. On reaching the chosen spot, the word of command was given, and each man went to his post; then, at a secret signal, one of the band, who had completed his course of education under a *gooroo*, or professor of strangling, would slip the fatal noose round the victim's throat, while an accomplice held his hands and kicked him as brutally as possible to put a stop to his struggles. As soon as he fell to the ground, another accomplice would pull his legs, and death, of course, was a matter of a very few moments. If any of the victims escaped, they were met by an outer cordon of Thugs, who cut them down with swords or shot them; if they made a noise, the Thugs would drown it by loud shouts, as if they were driving horses or singing or playing some game.

So well-conceived a system, backed by a comprehensive secret language, and by all the force of religion, made murder the safest of sports; but there were, in addition to these precautions, a good many wise rules handed down from father to son for generations. The principal one—founded presumably on the theory that dead men tell no tales—was never to rob without murdering. Another shrewd maxim was never to let anyone of a party escape. 'Kill one, kill all,' was the rule, even to a traveller's dog, lest some faithful beast should scent out its master's grave. Above all things, there were to be at least two men to every victim; though we are told that if a man, in a case

of emergency, was so skilled as to pull a traveller from his horse and strangle him single-handed, his family was honoured for several generations. For further safety there were strict regulations as to the disposal of bodies; and it was a golden rule never to murder near home. So far, the object of each command is easily detected; but in several of their maxims it is more difficult to see the underlying purpose. By one of these it was declared unlucky to kill men of certain classes and trades, as, for instance, an oil-vendor. Whether these occupations were those originally practised by the Thug tribes, or whether they had been considered the most convenient disguises to assume, we do not know. By another rule it was forbidden to kill maimed persons or women; but this regulation was frequently broken. As regards women, there was often a difficulty; if they were with a party, it was difficult to separate them, but, on the other hand, it was dangerous to kill the men in their presence and let the women go free. It was, however, one of the most established rules of Kali that women were not to be killed, and it was to her anger at breaches of this law that many of the older Thugs attributed their downfall; whence it is obvious that in this profession, as in many others, women were often in the way.

Thuggee, as we have said, was a religion; its most extraordinary characteristic was the genuine faith of its votaries, and the fact that it was held by good men. Sleeman gives page upon page of remarkable evidence proving both these points. One man actually told him that, if a Thug committed a murder, he would never be blessed any more. 'What do you account a murder?' asked Sleeman. 'Murdering another Thug, or killing any man outside Thuggee,' was the reply. This seems to us a novel and somewhat restricted definition of the crime; but Sleeman's informers considered its validity proved up to the hilt when they pointed out to him 'that, if a man commits a murder, we know well that he and his family will die out; while, as for the Thugs, we see them flourishing generation after generation.' On another occasion, having asked an informer whether he thought the Company's officials would be able to annihilate Thuggee, he received the scornful reply, 'How can the hand of man do away with the work of God?' He describes a still

more striking instance as follows. A Thug leader of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day whether he felt compunction in murdering innocent people, replied with a smile, 'Does any man feel compunction in following his trade? And are not all our trades assigned to us by Providence?' On being asked how many people he had killed, he replied, 'I have killed none. Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him? Are we not mere instruments in the hands of God?'

So these calm fatalists kept up their average of three murders a year per man; yet they were good fathers and husbands; they included even men of position, merchants or tax collectors, men like Ramzan, who held an official position and was waited on by two sepoys, a scribe, and a village guard; or like Feringeea the Subadar. The inherited belief was too strong for them. Feringeea allowed that they sometimes felt pity; but—

> 'the *goor* of the Tuponee changes our nature. . . . Let any man once taste of that *goor* and he will be a Thug, though he know all the trades and have all the wealth in the world. . . . I have been high in office . . . yet I was miserable while absent from my gang. . . . My father made me taste of that fatal *goor* when I was yet a mere boy, and if I were to live a thousand years I should never be able to follow any other trade.'

These men, when questioned by British officers, would describe the murder of 'a weak, lonely old man' with all the glee of a sportsman over his first stag; but, on the other hand, they were never known to insult a woman, even when they captured the most beautiful of the sex. Mr McLeod writes in 1833 of a family of Thugs: 'I feel interested, too, for the whole of Laek's family, among whom I do not think there is naturally any vice, shocking as their proceedings would appear at home.' Mr Wilson, in 1835, writes of another Thug, 'He is one of the best men I have ever known.' It is obvious therefore that, when men of such position and character became Thugs, it was not from depravity but from misguided belief.

Sleeman's report is largely composed of evidence taken from prisoners who were willing to turn approver. Now in England there are many people who revel in the story of a murder or a highway robbery, but if any one of these

persons wishes to be cured of his somewhat morbid taste he has only to plod steadily through the Thug records. He will find himself wading, so to speak, knee-deep in murder, toiling through page after page, chapter after chapter, of the most matter-of-fact and business-like accounts, each of which is totalled up at the end with the number of people strangled. 'A total of five men murdered in this expedition,' 'A total of two men murdered in this expedition'—such is the invariable ending of the tale.

There is a great sameness about these reports; they are merely business statements; but, as an example of Thug methods of action and thought, we may quote in full one story from Captain Sleeman's book. It is descriptive of the murder of a party of eighteen men, seven women and two boys. A Thug named Inaent, after telling us how his party, numbering 125, had sent on two men to choose the right place for the deed, continues thus:—

'We contrived to make the party move off about midnight, persuading them that it was near morning; on reaching the place appointed, they were advised to sit down and rest themselves. All our parties pretended to be as much deceived as themselves with regard to the time; but not more than half of the travellers could be prevailed upon to sit down and rest in such a solitude. The signal was given, and all, except the two boys, were seized and strangled by the people who had been appointed for the purpose, and were now at their posts ready for action. The boys were taken by Jowahir and Kehree, who intended to adopt them as their sons; and the bodies of the twenty-five persons were all thrown into a ditch and covered with earth and bushes. On seeing the bodies thrown into the ditch, Jowahir's boy began to cry bitterly; and finding it impossible to pacify him or to keep him quiet, Jowahir took him by the legs and dashed out his brains against a stone, and left him lying on the ground, while the rest were busily occupied in collecting the booty. Going on to Powae, we purchased five rupees' worth of sugar to celebrate this event.'

We need quote no more such narratives; but it would be undesirable to close our account of this strange profession or religion without making some personal mention of its leading men. In the year 1838 Captain James Paton, first Assistant Resident at Lucknow, drew a map which he

enclosed in the report—one of the most extraordinary maps in the world. It is a chart of the *beyls*, or chosen murdering spots in Oude, and is drawn up from the information of twenty chief Thugs, who corroborated each other in a remarkable manner, leaving no doubt of the truth of their evidence. It shows, amongst other details, that there were 274 *beyls* in Oude, or one for every five or six square miles; almost every *beyl* was proved by the confession of one of the twenty witnesses; and, as each confession was independently supported by outside evidence, there is no doubt that they are genuine. Thus, by adding up the recorded murders at each spot, Captain Paton was able to get the total record of each of his Thug leaders; we can give, therefore, in full, his list of the twenty leading men in Thuggee.

Futty Khan	has been concerned in	508	cases of	murder.
Buhram	,,	,,	931	,,	,,
Dhoosoo	,,	,,	350	,,	,,
Alayar	,,	,,	377	,,	,,
Ramzan	,,	,,	604	,,	,,
Sheeoodeen	,,	,,	119	,,	,,
Sirdar	,,	,,	42	,,	,,
Teja	,,	,,	103	,,	,,
Muckdoomee	,,	,,	264	,,	,,
Salar	,,	,,	203	,,	,,
Danial	,,	,,	195	,,	,,
Bukthour	,,	,,	294	,,	,,
Khunjun	,,	,,	117	,,	,,
Hyder	,,	,,	322	,,	,,
Imambux the Black	,,	,,	340	,,	,,
Rambux	,,	,,	28	,,	,,
Imambux the Tall	,,	,,	65	,,	,,
Bught	,,	,,	81	,,	,,
Adhar	,,	,,	153	,,	,,
Ungnoo	,,	,,	24	,,	,,

The total amounts to 5120 murders, divided amongst twenty men, giving an average of 256 to each individual. Futty Khan is rightly at the head of the list, as he spent only twenty years in murdering 508 people, whereas Buhram had been for forty years a strangler. Futty was undoubtedly the most successful murderer of whom we have any knowledge in all time. Probably Buhram, as a young man, was quite his equal, but he spoilt his record by continuing too long in the profession; however they average about two men a month during their working life—the difference is unimportant. It was no wonder

that the British officers looked on them as little better than tigers; and, curiously enough, the Thugs themselves had a kind of fraternal feeling for the tiger. They would never on any pretence kill one, and they believed that no tiger would attack them. If any of their number were mauled by a tiger, they always excused this breach of comradeship on the grounds that the man was not yet initiated, or else was a breaker of their rules.

Such was the system which pervaded every district of India and every class of society, Hindoo or Mohammedan, only sixty years ago. All members of the organisation had full powers to initiate new associates; and yet to-day there is scarcely a tangible relic of it in existence. By 1840 there had been no less than 3655 trials, of which only 97 resulted in acquittals, and the followers of Kali had been terrorised all over India. The Thugs of our time are only a miserable remnant, whose very name is almost a misnomer; they are known merely by a few attempts at poisoning for the sake of plunder; the fatal noose is practically unheard of, and the power of their religion has passed away.

In 1860 it was estimated by Major Hervey that there were probably 910 Phansigar or strangling Thugs in India, but, as he explains, few of these were professionals; they were for the most part simply common malefactors, such as might be found in other parts of the world, who observed none of the ancient rules about burying bodies, etc., worked on no regular system, and received no professional training. In 1877, according to a good authority, there were some 148 Punjabi and 138 Hindustani Phansigars at large, who were guilty of murder by strangling, and would consequently have been treated as Thugs if captured; but the rise of the modern Whatoorea, a poisoning class of Thugs, shows how far they had departed from the original customs of Kali. Thuggee has now practically died out; but, owing to its hereditary character, the Government are still afraid of it, and before allowing a Thug to return, after his twenty years on the Andaman Islands, make many enquiries as to whether they can safely permit him to settle down again in his old haunts.

Sir William Sleeman has been practically forgotten, but he ought surely to be reckoned amongst the great

men of the Empire. How many of the best administrators of this century have accomplished anything like his work in so short a time? What other man has so quickly and decisively put his heel on a religion of crime and crushed it into insignificance? Our admiration and sympathy should be given to this lonely Englishman, surrounded by forms of treachery and deception almost inconceivable to us, baffled by subsidised rajahs and discouraged by the apathy of his own government, but nevertheless voluntarily focussing on himself the hatred of thousands of secret murderers. The policeman under his orders, the sepoy who assisted him, the village official, or even the very cook who prepared his food, might, any of them, be a Thug. He willingly gave up long days and weeks to be rewarded only by the results of his toil; and he was content with this reward. He has described to us how he saw in his court old men, with tears running down their cheeks, as they identified the clothes or ornaments of a son or grandson who had gone into a far-off town to win bread for the family, whose home-coming had been anxiously looked forward to for months, but who had never returned. In 1836 he writes: 'The blood of hundreds of miserable victims, shed where no pitying eye or succouring hand was nigh to rescue, calls out of the ground for retribution.' And when, in an incredibly short space of time, he had earned a success beyond his most sanguine dreams, so far from assuming a tone of exultation or of ambitious demand, he simply says:—

'No *man* could have calculated upon those many extraordinary combinations of circumstances upon which our success has chiefly depended, combinations which it behoves us gratefully to acknowledge as providential interpositions for the benefit of the people entrusted to our rule—interpositions which these people themselves firmly believe will never be wanting to rulers whose measures are honestly intended, and wisely designed, for the good of their subjects.'

Art. X.—CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE.

1. *The Novels and Tales of Charlotte M. Yonge.* London: Macmillan.
2. *Scenes and Characters; or eighteen months at Beechcroft.* By the author of 'Abbeychurch; or Self-control and Self-conceit.' London: Burns, 1847.
3. *Modern Broods; or Developments unlooked for.* By Charlotte Mary Yonge. London: Macmillan, 1900.

ABOUT the middle of the last century a demand sprang up for a class of fiction of which, before that date, few examples were to be found in the language. Until a short time previous to the date we have in mind, what may be called 'week-day religion' was confined—among the laity at all events almost exclusively, and to some extent among the clergy—to members of the Low Church or Evangelical school. At Cambridge, in the thirties, any religious man was called a 'sim,' i.e. a disciple of Mr Simeon. To these all fiction was an object of suspicion, save, perhaps, as the merest vehicle for obvious and avowed religious teaching; the true novel ranked with the ball-room and the theatre as a snare for souls.

Not the least of the services rendered by the Tractarian movement was the emancipation of many pious consciences from this rigid subjection to self-imposed restrictions, and its recognition of the difference between use and abuse. The religion which that movement encouraged was, in the words used by Lord Blachford when speaking of his Oriel days—

> 'religion with a discouragement of anything like gushing profession; . . . also a religion which was fervent and reforming in essentials, with a due reverence for existing authorities and habits and traditions; . . . a religion which did not reject, but aspired to embody in itself any form of art and literature, poetry, philosophy, and even science, which could be pressed into the service of Christianity.'

This is not the place to trace the history of the movement on its domestic side—its influence, that is, on family life in country parsonages and other quiet homes—otherwise than as it affected the literature of recreation. Of this there was, as has been said, a certain dearth, especially

for girls and young women. Great novelists were of course not lacking. Dickens and Bulwer, to name no others, were in their prime; but Dickens has never possessed much attraction for women, nor Bulwer for any persons of cultivated taste in literature. Nor was either precisely 'churchy.' Besides, the feeling that novels, by that name, were not quite fit reading for those who took a serious view of life and its responsibilities, still lingered in some quarters—even in quarters where conduct was based on a less sombre form of piety. We can well remember the annoyance which was caused to some of Miss Yonge's friends, about the time when her position as a writer was becoming established, by an article in some review, headed, in all innocence, 'Miss Yonge's Novels.' She herself, though by no means averse to novels as such, advised against indiscriminate novel-reading.

Scott, of course, there always was; some indeed have, with justice, traced to his influence a good deal of the revived interest in mediævalism which undoubtedly helped to popularise the revival in the Church. Newman, we know from his own statement, 'had a devotion to Walter Scott.' But after all, Scott, though a host in himself, could hardly be expected to supply all requirements in the way of light literature. De la Motte Fouqué was pressed into the service, and several of his romantic tales were translated by a group of ladies in full sympathy with the movement. We do not think that Miss Yonge took any part in this work, but she was the intimate friend of several who did; and many allusions to Fouqué will be found in her earlier books. His romances, with the possible exceptions of 'Sintram' and 'Undine,' are pretty much forgotten now; at best they were an attempt, and a not very well-informed attempt, to read the emotions of a self-conscious age into the ways of a highly matter-of-fact one. Albert Dürer's robber knight would have been not a little surprised could he have foreseen the halo of religious sentiment which was destined to adorn him in the character of the Norse hero, Sintram. Nevertheless, Fouqué's stories in their English form were not unpopular with young people fifty years ago.

But the field was still open for native talent; and the talent was maturing in a quiet Hampshire village. In 1822 Mr William Yonge, a retired officer of the 52nd Regi-

ment, *post bella quietus*, married the daughter of a lady living at Otterbourne, near Winchester, and settled there. Their daughter, Charlotte Mary, was born on August 11th, 1823. She died on the 24th of March, 1901. Of her early education we know very little. Both her parents were cultivated and intelligent people; and in those days the standard of girls' education was higher than some of our modern lights are perhaps aware. Of 'accomplishments' in the ordinary acceptation of the term, she possessed few. She never, we think, drew a line; and, if she learnt any music in her youth, she soon gave up the practice of it. Her voice, indeed, was curiously unmusical; and this quality was heightened by the absence of anything like shyness or nervousness, so that strangers often carried away an exaggerated impression of it. On the other hand her features, in early womanhood somewhat too keen—one might almost say hawk-like—for beauty, became strikingly handsome as she approached middle age, and the early-silvering hair gave distinction to the face. A photograph of her at the age of about forty-five is before us as we write. The forehead is broad and high, the eyes open and alert, the brows well-shaped, the lips rather full, with a pleasant suggestion of a smile about their corners, the jaw strong, the head well set on the strong, well-turned throat.

When she was twelve years old the author of the 'Christian Year' became incumbent of Hursley and Otterbourne. Charlotte Yonge grew up under his influence, and from him acquired the cast of thought in matters of conduct and religion which gives its tone to her work. When she began to write is not recorded; probably as soon as she had acquired the art of penmanship. The preface to the reprint (1886) of her early work, 'Scenes and Characters,' gives some information on this point:—

'It was my second actual publication, and I believe I was of age before it appeared. . . . An almost solitary child'—she had, in fact, only one brother, seven years younger than herself—'with periodical visits to the elysium of a large family, it was natural to dream of other children and their ways and sports till they became almost realities. They took shape when my French master set me to write letters for him. The letters gradually became conversation and narrative, and the adventures of the family sweetened the toils of French com-

position. . . . The tale was actually printed for private sale, as a link between translations of short stories.'

The reference here seems to be to what she elsewhere calls her 'first book, "The Château de Melville," which people were good enough to buy, though it only consisted of French exercises and translations.' This was sold, the author being then a girl of fifteen, to raise funds for the enlargement of Otterbourne school—an earnest of the munificent uses to which in after years the fruit of her talents was to be devoted. She continues—we make no scruple about quoting freely from this preface, for it is one of her few bits of autobiography:—

'This process only stifled the family in my imagination for a time. They awoke once more with new names, but substantially the same, and were my companions in many a solitary walk, the results of which were scribbled down in leisure moments to be poured into my mother's ever patient and sympathetic ears. . . . The skill of a Jane Austen or a Mrs Gaskell is required to produce a perfect plot without doing violence to the ordinary events of an every-day life. It is all a matter of arrangement; . . . and of arranging my materials, so as to build up a story, I was quite incapable. It is still my great deficiency; but in those days I did not even understand that the attempt was desirable. . . . Yet with all its faults, the children, who had been real to me, caught, by the youthful sense of fun and enjoyment, the attention of other children; and the curious semi-belief one has in the phantoms of one's own brain made me dwell on their after-life and share my discoveries with my friends.'

There is good criticism here, and good self-criticism. Several points occur to be noted in connexion with it. In the first place, Miss Yonge's people are real creations of her own brain—types, not transcripts. In her stories, as in Scott's, as in Miss Austen's, as in those of all novelists worth the name, you will find no trace of that crude and inartistic method of composition, dear to vulgar curiosity, which takes portraits, more or less accurate, of actual persons, and plants them amid the circumstances of a fictitious narrative. She had opportunities enough for doing this; many men who made a mark on their time were known to her; but we defy the reader to detect any of them among her characters. Another point is the pro-

minent part which children play in Miss Yonge's imaginary world. Except Miss Edgeworth, we can recall no writer before that time who had made any study whatever of child-character; and Miss Edgeworth usually has her moral lesson too obviously in view to do justice to its finer shades. As Miss Yonge says, her stories, though 'gems in their own line,' are apt to be 'illustrations of various truths worked out upon the same personages.' Miss Austen's children are of even less account than those of Medea in the play. Miss Sewell, an older contemporary of Miss Yonge, who is still among us, an honoured veteran, wrote, indeed, of children for children; but with her, again, the moral purpose is somewhat too apparent; and besides, as a reader of her books once put it to us, 'Miss Sewell's good children die; Miss Yonge's don't.'

'Good children,' in the ordinary acceptation of the term, youthful prodigies, that is, of 'misunderstood' sensitiveness and precocious piety, are as little to be found in Miss Yonge's school-rooms as the vulgar and ill-bred little monsters who seem to represent child-life for some lady novelists. If we were to select the two of her little girls whom she herself regarded with especial affection, we should probably not be far wrong in fixing upon Phyllis Mohun and 'Countess Kate.' She was the last to undervalue maidenly refinement and modesty, qualities which she thought ran some risk of being impaired by the 'free and easy' manners of the present day. She has some wise words on the subject in her book, 'Womankind,' which all girls would do well to read and perpend. But the one doctrine which she sets herself to teach above all others is the supreme importance of absolute sincerity in thought and word, as the only foundation upon which a sound and wholesome character could be formed; and she knew that the healthy, high-spirited 'tomboy,' though she might be at times a trouble to nurses or an anxiety to parents and guardians, was in less danger of erring in the opposite direction than the pattern 'good child' of the conventional type. Want of straightforwardness is especially difficult to deal with when it springs from self-conceit; those who have read that excellent study of child-life, 'The Stokesley Secret,' will remember the case of Henry Merrifield. On the other hand, Tom May is an example of what bracing treatment will do to

effect a cure, when the fault is due to timidity, a physical rather than a moral weakness. It is true that in these cases, even when the disease has been extirpated, a certain reserve, not always easily distinguishable from priggishness, is apt to remain.

These last two instances remind us that Miss Yonge did not confine her study of child-nature to her own sex. No woman probably will ever quite enter into the mind of the boy, or, perhaps we should say, appreciate his way of expressing it. To say that Miss Yonge has succeeded better than Miss Edgeworth is not indeed high praise, for, next to Disraeli's, Miss Edgeworth's are perhaps the most hopelessly impossible public-school boys in fiction. The main fault of Miss Yonge's boys is that they are one and all too apt to take life seriously, or rather, perhaps, to let their female relatives know that they do so. Their conduct is usually natural enough; their motives, so far as we can divine them, not unlike those which in old days actuated ourselves and our friends; but a good deal of their conversation is impossible to accept. There have been plenty of schoolboys as intelligent and as high-principled as Norman May; but we do not believe that any of them ever talked, even to the most sympathetic and like-minded of sisters, as Norman talks at times to Ethel. Whether it would be better if they did, we cannot say; but, as a matter of fact, they do not.

'Scenes and Characters,' though not actually the first of Miss Yonge's books—it was preceded by one named 'Abbeychurch,' published in 1844—is the earliest of those which she thought fit to preserve, and we have for that reason coupled its name with that of her last book. She need not have apologised for allowing it to be reprinted some forty years after its first appearance. Apart from its intrinsic merits as a clever picture of family life, drawn with an eye for character and an accuracy of touch rare in so young an author, it has also an interest as showing the school in which she had learned the technique of her art. The opening sentence is enough to show where she found her model:—

'Eleanor Mohun was the eldest child of a gentleman of old family and good property, who had married the sister of his friend and neighbour, the Marquis of Rotherwood. The first years of her life were marked by few events. She was a

quiet, steady, useful girl, finding her chief pleasure in nursing and teaching her brothers and sisters, and her chief annoyance in her mamma's attempts to make her a fine lady; but before she had reached her nineteenth year she had learnt to know real anxiety and sorrow.'

Readers of 'Emma,' of 'Mansfield Park,' of 'Northanger Abbey,' will have no difficulty in recognising the pedigree of this opening, with its abrupt introduction of a chief personage in the story. Miss Yonge had, as we have seen, a profound admiration for the genius of her predecessor; and stray allusions here and there show how thoroughly familiar she was with her writings. Curiously enough, these allusions are chiefly found where she is speaking in her own person. We do not at this moment recollect an instance in which one of her characters betrays any knowledge of Miss Austen; though as a rule it is pretty easy to make out who were their favourite authors. May not this have been due to her perception of the fact that young people were not reading Miss Austen much in the fifties and sixties? That such was the case we are fairly certain, at any rate in families where the influence of the revived activity in Church matters prevailed. Perhaps there was a feeling that, as Newman in a letter of 1837 rather priggishly puts it, 'she [Jane Austen] has not a dream of the high Catnolic ἦθος'; and certainly the Eltons and Collinses are a little shocking to a young person who has been brought up to take a high and solemn view of the priestly office; but we suspect that it had more to do with the lack of romance in her stories. Her heroines are romantic enough. Think of Anne Elliot. 'Her early impressions were incurable. She prized the frank, the open-hearted, the eager character beyond all others. Warmth and enthusiasm did captivate her still.' Was the romantic nature ever better touched off? But Jane Austen herself was the detached, critical observer of her own creations. We cannot conceive them as being her 'life-long companions,' or herself as 'dwelling on their after-life.' In her letters to her sister there is no allusion to any of them. To be sure, she had flesh-and-blood kinsfolk enough to make these imaginary companions unnecessary. She had, no doubt, clear ideas of her people's appearance; but every capable author, we presume, has that. She does once express a liking for Elizabeth

Bennet; but the context leaves it possible to understand this rather as the craftsman's delight in a good piece of work than as a quasi-personal affection.

No one, it may safely be said, ever felt his eyes moisten over any page of Miss Austen. She is as much inferior to Miss Yonge in pathos as she excels her in satire. For satire indeed Miss Yonge had no gift; nor is it perhaps compatible with the active personal religion which looks upon misconduct as none the less sinful for being ridiculous, and considers the moral disorder more than its outward symptoms. She could draw an odious character well enough; witness Philip Morville. But Philip's self-righteous pedantries are based, unknown at first to himself, on envy and malice, deadly sins, and must be purged by contrition, not merely shown up with lambent sarcasm. A Sir Walter Elliot, a Lady Catherine de Burgh, are as much outside of Miss Yonge's range (though as a reader she could thoroughly enjoy them) as a Lancelot Underwood or a Christina Sorel would have been outside Miss Austen's. One method appeals to the emotions, the other to the intellect. We are not going to say that either is the more excellent way; the best taste is that which can enjoy both. But there can be no doubt which touches the romantic chord; and in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the girl of seventeen was, for better or worse, a more romantic—perhaps we should say sentimental—person than her hockey-playing, cycle-riding daughter or niece at Newnham or Holloway. Miss Yonge's books at once suited and stimulated the romantic mood.

Her great literary activity began in 1851. In that year, with the aid of some friends, she started the 'Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church'—to give its full title to the magazine which for half a century was the delight of many schoolrooms. She conducted it herself for over forty years; and much of her best work appeared originally in its pages. We need only name 'The Little Duke,' 'The Daisy Chain,' 'The Pillars of the House,' 'The Lances of Lynwood.' The student of culture and manners will one day find the volumes of this magazine a useful 'document,' especially as regards the phases of female education. Miss Yonge was too well educated herself to

feel any apprehension of the facilities now afforded to girls for getting as good teaching as their brothers. It will be remembered that Ethel May kept abreast of her clever brother in alcaics and algebra till she was called on to take up her work in life; and there is no hint that she did this any worse for the somewhat abnormal form that her early studies had taken. So long as a girl learnt thoroughly and in a scholarly fashion what she did learn, one line of study was as good as another. University examinations she welcomed as a test of sound attainments. All through her editorship of the 'Monthly Packet' she was trying to interest her readers in solid subjects of study, and to teach them to think for themselves; and it is curious to trace the advance from the very elementary lessons in history or science of the early fifties to the searching questions, chiefly in history and literature, set for the benefit of studious readers in more recent days.

The year 1853 saw the publication of 'The Heir of Redclyffe'; and with it Charlotte Yonge leapt into fame. Everybody has read the book. In eighteen years it went through as many editions, and it has been reprinted almost every year since. Even those who are least in sympathy with its line, or indeed any line, of religious thought, have been enthralled by it. How it struck one young man of exceptional attainments may be seen in a letter written by the late Professor Hort, scholar, theologian and man of science.

'One book,' he writes, 'I have lately read with the most thorough delight, the "Heir of Redclyffe." I don't think anything has so stirred me since I read "Yeast" in "Fraser." Yet the contrast is most singular. It is a most convincing sign of the thorough depth and geniality of the Catholic movement in England; its main deficiency (if so it may be called) is the absolute ignoring of all the perplexing questions in theology and morals which are now being stirred—in short, it is bread without yeast. But the perfectly Christian and noble *Théodicée*—the true poetical justice—is beyond all praise.'

In ignoring perplexing questions of theology and morals Miss Yonge's artistic instinct was probably not at fault. Since that time we have seen more than one attempt to deal with these in fiction, and remarkably poor novels have been the result. We do not say they have

not sold well. Popular theology, with a dash of the heterodox, will sell a book as well as the one other topic in which everybody is supposed to take an interest; and indeed there is nothing to hinder the offer of both attractions in the same book. But we do say that as novels, as studies of life and character, as representations of what Aristotle would call *τὸ καθόλου*, they altogether miss the mark. Miss Yonge studied life under certain conditions familiar to herself, one of which was the influence of a particular school of religious thought, with all the views on theology and morals adopted by that school. To enter into 'questions' respecting them would have been as much beside her purpose as a discussion of disputed points in the ethnology of France or Italy would be in a story dealing with life and manners in those countries. The only demand that the reader can fairly make upon the author is that, given certain motives for action and certain surroundings, the personages shall behave and the characters shall develope as, under the influence of those motives and those surroundings, a man of experience and commonsense would feel to be plausible. If, in addition to this, there is a fair proportion of striking incident well described, the conditions which Horace recognised as entitling a story to lasting popularity seem to be fulfilled—'Speciosa locis morataque recte Fabula.' Nor need we boggle at the rest of the line. If 'Venus' is to be understood as some continental novelists and their half-hearted English imitators understand it, the countrymen of Scott and Miss Austen, of the Brontës and Thackeray, of Dickens and George Eliot, can get on well enough without it; while as for 'pondus et ars,' they may safely be left, the first to the writers who treat 'questions of morals and theology' as suitable topics for novels, the second to our modern Osrics, who conceal their poverty of invention under ill-treatment of the language.

Absolute as was Miss Yonge's own religious conviction, and penetrated as are her books with the religious spirit, the 'goody-goody' tone is conspicuously absent from them. She delights in all that is manly and high-spirited. Guy leading his boat's crew to the rescue of the shipwrecked sailors—an admirable piece of description, by the way, especially for a woman; Leonard Ward climbing round the church tower to save the fallen child—these are no

namby-pamby young pietists. Guy would, we feel sure, except perhaps as a bruiser, have held his own at any manly sport with a namesake of his, who enjoyed a considerable vogue about the same time (does anybody now read 'Guy Livingstone'?), and would have behaved himself in all circumstances as a gentleman should. It is the same with her women. Healthy and active herself, Miss Yonge could be compassionate enough towards genuine infirmity—for many of the best years of her life she would hardly leave her home, where she was devoting herself to the care, amid all her work, of an invalid friend; but she had a wholesome distrust of anything like valetudinarianism or 'nerves.' 'It is a very suspicious circumstance,' she says somewhere, 'when an ailment makes a duty seem intolerable, but shrinks into nothing on the announcement of a pleasure.'

But in truth the *malade imaginaire* has as little chance in the bright and bracing atmosphere in which her people live as a bacillus in sunshine. Here too, as elsewhere, she is not good at depicting the meaner and more contemptible failings, at all events in persons above the age of childhood; nor indeed does she often attempt it. Possibly her kindly and optimistic nature made her somewhat underrate the extent to which they exist in many people who are 'old enough to know better,' as the saying is; possibly she was aware that such faults are best treated with the weapon of irony, and recognised that, as we have remarked above, her strength did not lie in that direction. The only instance that we can recall in which she ventures to make one of her heroines a little ridiculous for any lengthened period, is in the case of Rachel, in 'The Clever Woman of the Family.' No one can say that this story, which earned the warm praise of no less a man than Whewell,* is not

* As several versions of what Whewell said about the book have been given, some of them palpably exaggerated, it may be as well to quote from Mrs Stair Douglas's 'Life' what he actually wrote to her a few weeks before his fatal accident. He says: 'I had your copy of Miss Yonge's "Clever Woman," and cannot rejoice sufficiently that you gave it me to read. The being engaged upon such a book gives one the feeling of being in good and interesting society day by day; so I do not gobble up the story, but protract the pleasure, and even yet have not finished. The story is charmingly told, and the characters revealed in the most natural and lively manner.' If he ever said, as was alleged, that it was the best novel in the English language, this can only have been one of his bluff, offhand remarks, not meant for a considered judgment.

full of ability, or that Rachel's character is anything but cleverly worked out; but the book stands somewhat apart from her other works, and she never returned to just the same *genre* again.

Miss Yonge has been charged with sacerdotalism, whatever precisely that term may denote. No doubt, as a devoted churchwoman, she accepted the view of the clerical office taken by the High Church school and supported, it may be said, by the Prayer-book. But it is remarkable that clergymen bear a very small part in her stories. For one parson among her *dramatis personæ* we shall certainly find two soldiers. It may be that some such respect for 'the cloth' as that which, until the last few years, forbade the introduction of a clergyman in modern clerical costume on the stage, made her shrink from putting one in a position where he would have to be criticised and appraised like any other character. She would not draw an incompetent or unsatisfactory parson, and she knew that readers could easily have too much of a flawless hero. It would puzzle many fairly attentive readers of 'The Heir of Redclyffe' to name the spiritual pastor of the Edmonstone family. Norman May almost disappears from the story from the moment of his taking orders; stray notices of an archdeacon and a bishop are all that the reader has to gratify his curiosity as to the future career of the brilliant schoolboy. Clement Underwood, in 'The Pillars of the House,' is the only clergyman in either of the two great family chronicles who can be said to play at all a prominent part, and he, it will be noted, is a case of the development of a weak character under stress of responsibility into a strong one. Nothing, one would say, is more remarkable in Miss Yonge than her wide sympathy with every form of religion, provided only that it be sincere and find its issue in conduct. Take a passage in which Clement Underwood is in some perplexity about a flighty sister who, at a moment of domestic trouble, has attached herself suddenly to some spinsters of extreme evangelical views. He is in consultation with an older clergyman who has had a good deal to do with both his and her religious training. The latter is speaking:—

'"I don't say that I see what ought to have been done, if we could begin over again; but I do see that she has found out her unreality in the time of distress, and concludes

that the fault is in what we taught her. To use another metaphor, she thinks that because the Cross has been decked with flowers it has been no Cross at all; but I trust she is learning the way thither."

'"By casting aside the means?" said Clement.

'"Because to her they had not been means, but mirages. If I understand rightly, this is her first true awakening."

'"But is it to be a regular case of conversion?"

'"I hope so. I pray so."

'"Is she to be left to these women, to learn contempt for the Sacraments and the Church?"

'"Are they Churchwomen?"

'"After a fashion! I don't believe they hold a single Catholic doctrine."

'"They never say the Creed—eh?"

'Clement looked abashed.'

And so on, till the elder man sums up the situation :—

'"It is exceedingly mortifying to see one's child going over to a rival battalion, which disesteems our ensigns and war-cries; but by your own account it is no worse—the army is all one."'

Surely not very desperate 'sacerdotalism' this. For the later developments of what is called Ritualism, Miss Yonge had the distaste of all the early Tractarians, and she viewed with suspicion all notions of either religious duty or mental culture which conflicted with the primary parental claims or obligations of family affection. The plea of 'corban' was to her no justification for wilful or insubordinate action. On the other hand, no one had a clearer perception of the fact that in unessential matters the old order is bound to give place to the new; no one had a larger-hearted tolerance for changes that she saw to be inevitable. One is often astonished in reading her later stories to see how, in her secluded life, she contrived to keep abreast of the thoughts, the demeanour, even the colloquialisms, of the latest generation. Doubtless, like all people whose affections are strong and whose memory is retentive of bygone moods, she was at times disposed to think 'the old is better'; but she never lost hope or suffered any abatement of the genial interest in younger folk which was one of her most charming characteristics. There is a remarkable passage in one of her latest books,

'The Long Vacation,' which is plainly autobiographical, and throws so much light on her attitude towards questions of present interest, that we may be excused for quoting it at some length. The interlocutors are Lady Merrifield, the Lilias Mohun of 'Scenes and Characters,' and Geraldine Grinstead, *née* Underwood, whom we knew in 'The Pillars of the House'; standing respectively, one may take it, for the author's own generation and that which succeeded it. After some talk of modern amusements the conversation takes a more general turn. The elder woman has been speaking of the change in girls' ideals since her own younger days. The younger rejoins:—

'"Please tell me. I see it a little, and I have been thinking about it."

'"Well, perhaps you will laugh, but my ideal work was Sunday-schools."

'"Are they not Miss Mohun's ideal still?"

'"Oh, yes, infinitely developed. . . . But the young ones think them behind the times. I remember when every girl believed her children the prettiest and cleverest in nature, showed off her Sunday-school as her pride and treasure, and composed small pink books about them, where the catastrophe was either being killed by accident or going to live in the clergyman's nursery. Now those that teach do so simply as a duty and not a romance."

'"And the difficulty is to find those who will teach," said Geraldine. "One thing is that the children really require better teaching."

'"That is quite true. . . . But all the excitement of the matter has gone off."

'"I know. . . . I suppose an enthusiasm cannot be expected to last above a generation and perhaps a half."

'"Very likely. A more indifferent thing; you will laugh, but my enthusiasm was for chivalry, Christian chivalry, half symbolic. History was delightful to me for the search for true knights. I had lists of them, drawings if possible, but I could never indoctrinate anybody with my affection. Either history is only a lesson, or they know a great deal too much, and will prove to you that the Cid was a ruffian, and the Black Prince not much better."

'"And are you allowed the 'Idylls of the King?'"

'"Under protest. Now that the Mouse-trap has adopted Browning for weekly reading and discussion, Tennyson is

almost put on the same shelf with Scott, whom I love better than ever. Is it progress?"

'"Well, I suppose it is, in a way."

'"But is it the right way?"

'"That's what I want to see."

'"Now listen. When our young men, my brothers, . . . were at Oxford, they got raised into a higher atmosphere, and came home with beautiful plans and hopes for the Church, and drew us up with them; but now the University seems just an ordeal for faith to go through."

'"I should think there was less of outward temptation, but more of subtle trial. And then the whole system has altered since the times you are speaking of, when the old rules prevailed, and the great giants of Church renewal were there," said Geraldine. . . .

'But is not each generation a *terra incognita* to the last? A question which those feel most decidedly who stand on the borderland of both, with love and sympathy divided between the old and the new, clinging to the one, and fearing to alienate the other.'

We do not know how far girls of the generation now growing up have inherited their mothers' admiration for Miss Yonge, though we have come across instances, in rather unexpected quarters, which seem to show that she still retains her power of enthralling the youthful mind; but we are sure that the words which we have quoted, and which represent the spirit that informs all her work, are worth the consideration alike of the most omniscient among them and of their elders. No writer ever more steadily inculcated the truth that 'charity never faileth.'

It would be out of place here to enumerate the list of Miss Yonge's works. For more than fifty years that amazingly industrious pen never rested. More than two hundred titles in the British Museum catalogue testify to its inexhaustible and varied fertility. The 'Heir of Redclyffe' was followed, in rapid succession, by 'Heartsease,' 'Dynevor Terrace,' 'Hopes and Fears.' She had, we believe, at one time, an idea of treating this group as representative of the four 'seasons' of human life, with some reminiscence of Fouqué's four stories grouped under that name. But the idea, if it was ever entertained, can hardly be traced beyond the first two of the series. We have sometimes thought that if these four books, and

possibly one or two more, including the 'Clever Woman,' had represented the whole of Miss Yonge's 'literary baggage,' her reputation, as a novelist, would have stood higher. Admirable as her 'family chronicles,' the 'Daisy Chain' and the 'Pillars of the House,' with all their ramifications, are in the eyes of all who value clever and sympathetic studies of the small comedies and tragedies incidental to domestic life, acute insight into character and motive, and appreciation of all that is pure, honest, and of good report, it cannot be denied that they are not every man's affair, or that many readers, even among those who do not demand strong sensations in fiction, making their first acquaintance with Miss Yonge through one of these stories, might be disposed to set her down as a mere writer for school-girls.

The 'semi-belief one has in the phantoms of one's own brain' was one which Miss Yonge shared with such writers as Balzac and Thackeray; but except perhaps the former of these, we doubt if anyone ever possessed it of so vivid a quality. The changes on Mays, Underwoods, Merrifields, Mohuns, and their innumerable connexions by birth or marriage, are rung through a series of volumes with astounding consistency of characterisation and fidelity to previous history. We should be very sorry to see this series of stories used for the purposes of examinations, but it would serve such purposes extremely well. The student who could draw out a correct family-tree of any of the houses above-named would give evidence of a memory and an accuracy far beyond the average.

We have left ourselves but little space to speak of Miss Yonge's literary work other than fiction. Yet this was in bulk hardly less considerable than that by which she is best known. She was an indefatigable student of history; and though her extraordinary productiveness was sometimes a cause of overhaste and insufficient revision, her historical knowledge was by no means contemptible. She was selected by the late Professor Freeman to write the history of France in the 'Historical Course' which he edited; and her 'Cameos' have done as much as most books to interest young people in history. But her chief service to historical study is to be found in her many stories, large and small, dealing with historical events and personages. She had a wonderful power of

calling up bygone times and people, and throwing a human interest over them. Edward I, in 'The Prince and the Page,' is a really subtle study of character; and so, in his way, is Maximilian, in 'The Dove in the Eagle's Nest.' No doubt she put a little too much rose-colour into her portraits both of these and of other heroes of past time, though she does not altogether blink their less estimable sides. But she makes her readers feel that these were real live men, to be loved or hated, not merely names in a lesson-book; and we can fancy nothing more stimulating to a fairly intelligent child. 'Hated,' we said; but here, too, her kindly and charitable nature comes out. There are few people in whom she will not see some good points. She has in one of her stories a genial picture of Franklin, who, in religion and politics, represents all that was most opposed to her 'Church and King' predilections; and her Roundhead colonel, in the 'Pigeon Pie,' is as good a specimen of a courteous gentleman as one need wish to see. At times her intimate knowledge of historical details is used with telling effect. There is a striking instance in 'A Reputed Changeling,' of which the scene is laid somewhere in the reign of William III. The hero is charged, on his own confession, with homicide. Bail is allowed, and he is leaving the court with his father through a knot of country gentlemen, his neighbours, when

> 'the gentle old face of Mr Cromwell, of Hursley, was raised to poor old Sir Philip's with the words, spoken with a remnant of the authority of the Protector, "Your son has spoken like a brave man, sir. God bless you, and bring you well through it."'

Does not a touch like this tell more of Richard Cromwell than a page of formal history?

Philology was another favourite subject of Miss Yonge's. She did not, of course, go very deep into it, but she took abundant pains to make her knowledge accurate so far as it went. Her 'History of Christian Names' is no doubt capable of much improvement in detail, but it contains a great deal of interesting information, much of which will always stand. For a writer who thought in such prolific families a copious supply of Christian names was indispensable, and no doubt this need had something to do with her interest in the subject. Natural history

was a passion with her. Many allusions in her stories testify to her knowledge of, and delight in flowers, both garden and wild, but more especially the latter, of which she was an indefatigable hunter. A letter of hers is before us, written in her seventieth year, in which she speaks, as quite a feasible plan, of a trip to the New Forest in search of a rare gentian. She studied the ways of the birds and other living things that haunted her garden, with a perseverance and accuracy of observation worthy of Gilbert White, and gave the results in that charming book, 'An Old Woman's Outlook,' which is worth a score of such books as the success of Richard Jefferies has of late years made popular. One of her latest books, 'John Keble's Parishes,' is not far from being a model parochial history.

Still, it is as a novelist, in the wider sense of the term, that Charlotte Yonge's name will endure. Whether her works will live and be read by future generations is perhaps part of the wider question, which the present century may solve, whether the novel is destined to be a permanent form of literature. As we know it, it has hardly been in existence long enough for us to say how this will be. At present the indications are rather unfavourable. The novelists of the eighteenth century are, we suspect, a good deal more talked about than read. Scott still holds his own with young people of the educated classes, and publishers seem to find it worth while to bring out new editions of him; yet somehow, if one finds anyone reading one of the Waverley novels, it is usually in one of the older editions. The romance may stay; but the manners of one generation so soon become obsolete to its successors that the novel of manners quickly becomes difficult reading. Those will probably last longest which are based on the broadest and healthiest views of human nature, rather than on studies of its more morbid conditions or strained points of casuistry.

We hear in these days a good deal about the 'problem' novel. In most compositions of this class the problem, when stated in its simplest terms, comes to this—how to act when passion or self-indulgence urges in one direction, and the accepted laws of good behaviour point in the other. Semiramis, an *Uebermensch* of the earlier world, solved it in one way, 'Libito fe' licito in sua legge.' Another

way is that once indicated by a worthy French dragoon officer, when discussing some point of conduct with a relative of the present writer: 'Je trouve ça tout simple; c'était son devoir.' Somehow this latter solution does not, as a rule, commend itself to the heroes and heroines of much, and that perhaps the most popular, modern fiction. Goethe's 'Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren' is wholly out of date.

Miss Yonge belonged to an earlier school. The generation which was in its prime during the first quarter of the nineteenth century regarded life—and it is no wonder—both seriously and strenuously, and brought up its children to do the same. It had, no doubt, the faults natural to a military age, but it had the virtues also; and not least among these was a strong and operative conception of the idea of duty. Nelson's last signal was no new invention, it was merely a reminder of what was always present to the thought of his contemporaries. It would be interesting, if this were the place, to consider how far this habit of mind contributed to shape the special form of piety, austere yet practical, which distinguished the early Tractarians. Miss Yonge, at any rate, as the daughter of an old Peninsula and Waterloo officer, grew up under its full influence. Duty and discipline were ever before her eyes, and the stamp of them is upon every line that she wrote.

Art. XI.—THE PLAGUE.

1. *The Plague in India*, 1896, 1897. Compiled by R. Nathan. Four vols. Simla: Government Printing Office, 1898.
2. *Report on Sanitary Measures in India.* Vols. XXX, XXXI, XXXII. For 1896–7, 1897–8, 1898–9.
3. *Minutes of Evidence taken by the Indian Plague Commission.* Three volumes. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1900.
4. *Report of Indian Plague Commission.* Chapters IV and VI (all published).
5. *Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Reports of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board for* 1898–99, *and* 1899–1900. Published 1899 and 1901.
6. *Report of the Outbreak of Plague at Sydney*, 1900. By the Chief Medical Officer of the Government (Dr J. Ashburton Thompson). Sydney, 1900.
7. *La Peste d'Alexandrie en* 1899. Par le Dr A. Valassopoulo. Paris: Maloine, 1901.

With various Reports from India and elsewhere, and other works.

1. *Earlier History of the Disease.*

It was said by an eccentric historian that geography and chronology are the two keys of history, and that without a knowledge of these all other historical knowledge is vain. If a medical professor should assert that geography and chronology are the keys to a knowledge of epidemic diseases he might be regarded as still more paradoxical. Nevertheless it is reasonable to say, with respect to certain diseases, that anyone regarding them with the broad view of the geographer or the historian, and noting their distribution over the world and their successive appearances in a prominent form, might learn much respecting their nature, even without entering into the minute details which are studied by the physician and the pathologist; provided only that he knew enough of these details to discriminate the objects under discussion, and to avoid the mistake of speaking of one thing when he meant another. Granted then that the disease called 'Plague' or 'Bubonic Plague' is a definite thing, recognisable by certain characters, we may first, before enquiring what

these characters are, consider its general distribution in time and space, and by this means exhibit certain laws which govern its occurrence, its growth and its decline.

In speaking of plague we do not refer to pestilences in general, but to the definite disease now called 'Bubonic Plague,' a disease with such clearly marked characters as to be discernible even in the descriptions of lay writers, and in the obscure annals of antiquity. The history of plague is, like other histories, dim in its commencement; but the first actual records show that a fatal disease, producing pestilential buboes, prevailed about the third century B.C. in Egypt, Libya, and Syria, countries which, centuries later, were regarded as the native home of the plague. There are no distinct references to it in the writings of Hippocrates and the older Greek physicians; and as the medical history of the Far East, India, and China in those days is, for our purposes, a blank, it is impossible to say whether plague was or was not known in those countries. Of succeeding records, the next important one is that of the great plague in the reign of Justinian, described by Gibbon (cap. xliii) with much picturesqueness, but with little understanding of medical terms. This great pestilence spread from the East into Europe, Italy and Gaul being specially affected; and from Egypt it traversed the northern coast of Africa, involving in fact the whole Roman world. It lasted about fifty years, and caused an enormous mortality. In the early Middle Ages we meet with records of great pestilences, such as those recorded by Bede in the seventh century, which may or may not have been true plague.

In the fourteenth century the terrible malady appeared again in Europe, this time in an unmistakeable shape, as the epidemic, or rather series of epidemics, known as the 'Great Sickness' or 'the Death,' but now generally called 'the Black Death.'* This most destructive of all recorded epidemics did not invade Europe from the old seats of plague in Egypt and the Levant, but from the East—from India, Tartary, or perhaps China. Its destructive march into Europe can be clearly traced, following as

* The title 'Der Schwarze Tod' may have been used in Germany in the fourteenth century, but the term does not seem to have been current in England before Hecker's work on the subject was translated into English in 1833.

it did the course of the great trade routes which existed between Europe and the East.

Italian merchants encountered the pestilence on the shores of the Black Sea, where the commerce of the East, passing through Tartary, was brought into connexion with the Mediterranean. Thence it was but one stage to Genoa, whither the pestilence was carried by Italian ships, and where it caused enormous mortality in 1347. Sicily seems to have been invaded still earlier. Once landed on the shores of Europe, the plague spread, though not rapidly, over the continent. The south of France was infected in the same year as Italy, and in the next year northern France, Germany, and Spain, and northern Europe generally, including England. The pestilence seems to have reached our shores early in 1348, and by the end of the year was in London. Somewhat later, Scotland, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries were infected, apparently from England. It cannot be said that any part of Europe escaped the scourge.

Although it is convenient to speak of the Black Death as one invasion of pestilence, there were in reality three successive epidemics, of which the first was the most destructive, the intervals being, however, by no means free from the plague. In England the three epidemics, known as the first, second, and third pestilences, occurred in 1348–9, 1361 and 1368. Some writers have doubted whether this, the most fatal of all known epidemics, was really the true plague; but more careful research has shown that it was the same, though marked, especially in the first epidemic, by unexampled virulence, and by some peculiar features, in which modern experience enables us to recognise a very fatal and highly contagious form of the disease, known as the pneumonic type of plague.

The destruction caused by this terrible visitation, and its important social and political consequences, are well known to all students of medieval history. In some European countries, England among them, it has been calculated that as much as two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole population perished.* What, however, is of

* See especially Mr F. Seebohm's and Prof. Thorold Rogers' articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, vol. ii, pp. 149, 268; vol. iii, p. 191; vol. iv, p. 87; Gasquet's 'The Great Pestilence'; and Cunningham's 'English Industry and Commerce,' vol. i, pp. 303 seq.

special interest in connexion with modern experience is that the great epidemic originated in the Far East, whether in India or China we do not know, and that Europe thence derived the infection.

In the three centuries following the Great Pestilence, Europe, speaking broadly, was never quite free from plague. Terrible epidemics recurred during the fifteenth century, though none were so destructive as those of the fourteenth. In the sixteenth century plague was on the whole less widely spread; but, when epidemics occurred, they were not less formidable. The plagues of London in Elizabeth's reign, though eclipsed by the Great Plague of 1665, were sometimes hardly less destructive in proportion to the smaller population. For instance, in the epidemic of 1563–4, a thousand persons died weekly in London.* During the seventeenth century it gradually declined.

The distribution of plague in Europe in the seventeenth century has given occasion to a controversy, hardly yet settled, between two schools of writers on the plague, one of which, commonly called the 'Localists,' attributed the epidemics to local conditions, atmospheric changes, uncleanliness, and so forth; while the other, or 'Contagionist,' school believed that the successive outbreaks were due to the spread of contagion from one country to another, and that the contagion originated in the old centres of plague in the East, i.e. Egypt and the Levant. The general trend of the epidemic wave from south to north and from east to west gave the contagionist views much force; and modern science, enquiring into these matters by more accurate methods, and with the advantage of knowing the definite cause of the disease, is distinctly on the same side. Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century there were so many *foci* of plague still remaining even in northern Europe as to make it hazardous to assert that all plague came from the East.

---

* All the English pestilences are minutely recorded in Dr Charles Creighton's 'History of Epidemics in Britain,' a work unique in its kind, unrivalled for fulness of material, and for the minute research displayed in its investigation. It should be referred to by all who wish to know the history of these diseases in our country, though it may be observed in passing that Dr Creighton's views of the origin and causes of plague differ from those of most modern epidemiologists.

There were several epidemics in England in the seventeenth century—in 1603, 1625 and 1647—besides minor outbreaks; but it is remarkable that, from 1647 to 1664, London seems to have been virtually free from plague. In 1663–4 there broke out a great epidemic of plague in Amsterdam. It is now known that a good many cases of a mild form of plague occurred in London towards the end of the year 1664, and even earlier; but, as there were few deaths, they made no mark in the bills of mortality. The cold of winter, as usual in northern climes, stayed or suppressed the disease for the time; but in the spring of 1665 the old pestilence lifted up its head again and gave rise to the ever memorable 'Great Plague of London.'

So much has been written about the Great Plague of 1665 that it need not be minutely described. The mortality was enormous. More than 68,000 deaths were recorded in a population estimated at 460,000; but this number is doubtless much too low, and instead of one seventh it is probable that a sixth, or even possibly a fifth, of the population died. It spread to various parts of the country, especially towards the north and the midlands, the west of England being notably free. The eastern coast, as in previous epidemics, was severely visited, but did not necessarily receive its infection from London. As is well known, the plague passed away from London finally within a few years, and even earlier from other parts of England. The causes of its disappearance cannot here be discussed.

Plague prevailed in many parts of the Continent about the same time as the Great Plague of London; and it disappeared from Holland, Spain, and France about 1680, recurring in France, however, at one special focus in 1720. In Italy it was virtually extinct by the end of the seventeenth century. But in eastern Germany and along the eastern frontier of the Austrian dominions the plague was still not infrequent in the first quarter or first half of the eighteenth century. We see that it was still receding towards the east, though the cause of this eastward recession is not perfectly clear. Probably the conditions of European cities were becoming unfavourable to its continued existence.

But while plague died out generally in Europe, it remained for some time longer in places favourable to it

and immediately connected with the East. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was still extremely prevalent in Turkey and Egypt, and from time to time invaded the Danubian countries and the eastern frontier of the Austrian dominions. At this time the disease was so manifestly connected with importation from the eastern Mediterranean that it received the name, long preserved, of the 'Levantine Plague.' An elaborate system of quarantine was kept up in European harbours on the Mediterranean, which has only quite recently been abolished. It finally disappeared, however, from Constantinople in 1841, and four years later from Egypt.

Taking a broad view of the rise, decline and extinction of the plague, we see that it is very difficult to account for it by merely local causes. From the time of the first great visitation known as the Black Death, the plague had colonised Europe. After being established there for three hundred years, it began to recede, leaving Western Europe first. Its persistence for another century in Eastern Europe was attributed, with great probability, to fresh importations from the East; and its further history in the eighteenth century lends much support to this view. Its whole history indicates that it was not a European disease.

By the middle of the nineteenth century it was generally believed that this old enemy of the human race had ceased to be a source of danger, at all events to Europe. But some authorities entertained grave doubts on the subject; and these doubts were confirmed by subsequent events. In the latter half of the nineteenth century a wide extension of the plague occurred, mostly in places where its existence was not suspected, at least by European authorities, and, to some extent, in its old haunts.

In the year 1853 the Sanitary Board in Constantinople was informed of the occurrence of the disease among the scattered Arab tribes who live on a high plateau in Western Arabia, the Asir country. It had occurred in the same district before, and has been heard of occasionally since, but has not spread widely. A few years later came news of the plague in a distant and quite separate part of the Turkish empire, on the northern coast of Africa, at Benghazi in the province of Tripoli, where it

had probably existed before. These local outbreaks have had apparently no connexion with the further extension of the disease, and are only important as showing that the plague-virus still existed in an endemic form in widely separated localities.

The next occurrences of plague were reported in Persia (which had formerly boasted of its exemption, when the disease was prevalent in Asia Minor and the Levant) and in Mesopotamia or Turkish Arabia, including the populous city of Baghdad. There were many epidemics in Persia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia during the years 1850 to 1880, which clearly show the existence of an important endemic centre of plague in the highlands of Persia and Kurdistan, as well as in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, which lie further east than its old Levantine home. The most important feature of these epidemics was the extension of plague to the northern shores of the Caspian—especially to the town of Resht, where it was well known in former years—and thus to the basin of the Caspian Sea. In some way the plague travelled across the Caspian to Astrakhan, and, though of the mild form, and not fatal in that city itself, it extended up the river Volga to some of its riparian villages, notably to the little village of Vetlianka, where an epidemic broke out in the autumn of 1879, which, as touching European soil, caused a panic through Europe.*

The general conclusion derived from the whole history of plague is that there are certain places where the disease is at home or *endemic*, and that it may be thence transmitted to other parts where it maintains its vitality for a longer or shorter period. Further, that in its endemic centres the smouldering *foci* of disease may from time to time burst forth into the acute outbreaks called *epidemics*.

---

* This little epidemic was extremely fatal in the villages which it affected, and led to commissions being sent out by most European governments to study the plague on the spot. These commissions arrived too late to see the actual epidemic, which died out in January 1880. Its extinction must be ascribed, not so much to the measures of quarantine and exclusion, as to the extremely thorough methods of disinfection and destruction carried out on the spot under the vigorous administration of General Loris Melikoff. Nothing was heard of the plague again in these parts till 1899 and 1900, when outbreaks were reported in Vladimirovka and other villages on the Volga in the Government of Astrakhan. The subsequent history of this epidemic is not yet written.

2. *Nature, Symptoms, and Dissemination.*

Before further pursuing the chronology and distribution of the disease, it may be well to give some account of the plague itself, its cause, and the means by which it is transmitted. There is no doubt that the disease is caused by the growth and multiplication in the human body of the 'Bacillus pestis,' discovered by Kitasato at Hong Kong in 1894, and shortly afterwards by Yersin. It would be difficult to describe it accurately without entering into technical details. Briefly we may say that it is a short rod, about $\frac{1}{25,000}$ to $\frac{1}{12,500}$ of an inch long, and two or three times as long as broad. It is easily coloured with certain aniline dyes, and its reaction to these colours, though not sufficient absolutely to identify the species, will sometimes serve to distinguish it from other species. Bacteriologists do not, however, rely on these characters alone to identify the plague bacillus. It has further to be 'cultivated,' that is to say, artificially grown in certain prepared media, such as broth, gelatine, etc., in which it produces appearances which are, speaking broadly, characteristic, so that any bacillus derived from a sick person with suspicious symptoms, which should present all the characters described by Yersin, Haffkine, Hankin, Leumann, and others, might with very great probability, or even certainty, be identified as the plague bacillus. Among these characters are not only the forms assumed by the growths of bacilli, but the range of temperature through which growth takes place. The bacillus is not killed even by the severest cold of a Russian winter, several degrees below zero, Fahr. On the other hand, its growth is checked by heat; it is killed in ten to thirty minutes by exposure to a temperature of 140° Fahr., and in one to four hours by a temperature of 122° Fahr. These results are of great importance in relation to the production and duration of plague epidemics.

Sometimes cultivation experiments alone do not give satisfactory results; and in such cases, or indeed in all where the decision is of fundamental importance, recourse is had to the inoculation of animals. A very small portion of any secretion or animal fluid containing the bacillus, if inoculated beneath the skin of a small rodent,

or, in the case of rats, merely applied to the surface of the eye or the nostril, will produce a severe illness with all the characters of plague, generally causing death in from one to four days. The body of the animal thus affected is found to contain an enormous number of plague bacilli. Considering the enormous human interests which may be at stake in the decision whether a particular case is one of plague or not, we cannot condemn, though we may regret, the sacrifice of these humble martyrs of science.

That this minute organism is actually the cause of plague has been proved with the utmost certainty. It has been found in, and cultivated from, the bodies of plague patients in every part of the world, not only where the disease is constantly prevalent or endemic, but in distant countries to which it has been accidentally or purposely carried. It has never been found in the human body, or in the lower animals, otherwise than in cases of plague. If any doubt should still remain, final proof has been afforded by lamentable accidents which have resulted from infection due to lack of caution. In 1897 Dr Müller, of the University of Vienna, who was sent by the Austrian Government to study plague in Bombay, brought home with him cultures of the bacillus, that is, small quantities of the living organism in glass vessels. Experiments were made with these in the laboratory at Vienna to study the modes by which infection is produced, and to discover some method of procuring immunity. A year later, in October 1898, a servant in the laboratory was attacked by an illness which was at first taken for pneumonia, but turned out to be the most virulent form of the disease—pneumonic plague. He was isolated in a hospital, but a nurse who attended him caught the disease; and finally, Dr Müller himself, who had medical charge of the patient, and who, at first, notwithstanding his experience in Bombay, did not recognise the disease, was infected. All three patients died; and, had it not been for rigorous precautions to avert the spread of contagion, an epidemic might have resulted. Again, in January 1900, an assistant in the bacteriological institute at Cracow lost his life in the same way through infection acquired in studying cultures of the plague bacillus. Whence these cultures were derived is not stated.

The changes and reactions set up in the body by the entrance of the bacillus constitute the disease called plague. Of these, in a non-medical publication, only a short account can be given. The virus enters the body, generally speaking, through the skin, and in doing so may produce only a very slight, or no appreciable, injury at the point of entrance. This fact has been verified experimentally in transmitting the disease to monkeys, in whom the symptoms are more precisely like those of the human subject than in other animals. From the point of entrance the microbes make their way to the nearest group of lymphatic glands, which become swollen, producing the lumps or buboes which are the most characteristic feature in the ordinary form of plague. The lymphatic glands act to a certain extent as filters, and delay the penetration of the bacilli into other organs and into the blood. But this barrier is soon overcome, and the disease becomes generalised, the bacilli entering the blood and becoming thus widely disseminated through the body. It is generally, though not always, possible to recognise the bacillus in the blood at some period of the disease, especially towards its termination.

Although infection through the external surface is the most usual mode of entrance, it has been shown that the infection may be received by the respiratory channels, and also, according to some observers, by the organs of digestion. This last mode of entrance, though its possibility has been demonstrated experimentally in animals, is not generally recognised as a means by which human beings acquire plague. It is also possible to convey the infection to animals through the mucous membrane of the nostrils, and by the *conjunctiva* or external surface of the eye. These modes of infection are very rare in the human disease; but one case occurred in Bombay, where a nurse became fatally infected by receiving in her eye a particle of expectoration coughed up by a patient affected with pneumonic plague.

In whatever way received, the infection is soon made manifest by the production of the symptoms of plague; but, as in other similar diseases, there is a period of latency or incubation before the attack supervenes. This period may be as short as two days, or even thirty-six hours, or as long as eight or possibly ten days; but is

generally less than five days. The actual attack begins like an acute fever with shiverings followed by heat, thirst, severe headache, pains in internal organs and muscles, sometimes vomiting. The temperature rises rapidly, reaching 104° or more the first day, and its maximum, two or three degrees higher, on the second day, with remission in the mornings. The face is usually pale and void of expression, or with a frightened look, and the eyes often red and injected. The patient may be giddy and stagger like a drunken man.

Concurrently with these symptoms, or immediately after, occur the well-known buboes. These swellings are found in about three-fourths of the cases, most frequently in the inguinal and femoral regions, next in the armpits, more rarely in the neck or under the jaw. The swollen glands are not usually larger than an almond or a walnut, but may equal an egg or small orange in size. Often they are the seat of acute and sudden pain, so that sufferers in the great plague of Constantinople in the fifth century imagined they were smitten by an arrow from the bow of an invisible demon; but they are sometimes painless. If a small quantity of serum be extracted from the swelling by a hypodermic syringe, it will be found to contain the plague bacillus, at least in the early stages.

Another classical sign of plague, much spoken of in old times, though apparently rarer in recent epidemics, may be mentioned here—the so-called 'carbuncles.' This word was not used in the strict sense in which it is now employed, but meant a boil or patch of gangrene on the skin. Such patches are observed, but not very commonly, and have no special importance unless they indicate, as some observers think, points where the plague virus has penetrated the skin.

Lastly, an ominous appearance, much dwelt upon in old books, is that of 'tokens,' i.e. tokens of death; purple or livid patches on the skin, due, as we should now say, to ecchymoses or petechiæ. Since Mr Colvill, from his experience in Baghdad, says they appear generally only a few hours before death, the old name is appropriate enough. Dr Cabiadis states that the skin is sometimes so much covered with these spots as to become of a dark livid hue after death, recalling the name 'Black Death.' Indeed the older and more recent accounts of the malady

show a remarkable agreement. Hardly anything has been added, though some symptoms are now more clearly explained.*

It should be said that, while the above account refers to the ordinary or classical type of plague, there are varieties of the disease which depart considerably from this type. First there is the so-called 'pneumonic plague,' in which the symptoms are chiefly those of inflammation of the lungs with high fever and great weakness, buboes being mostly inconspicuous. This is a particularly deadly form and highly contagious. Not having the obvious characters of ordinary plague, it has frequently been mistaken for ordinary pneumonia, even by those who had seen true plague, and sometimes with disastrous consequences, as was the case at Vetlianka in 1879. This form was not seen in the first epidemic at Hong Kong, but was recognised in Bombay by Dr Childe, who found that many deaths thus occasioned were registered as pneumonia, not as plague.

Another form of plague called 'Pestis minor,' as being less fatal than the ordinary form, is characterised by the occurrence of buboes containing bacilli, with slight fever but no severe symptoms, and is rarely fatal. A disease of this kind has often been found to prevail in countries where severe plague also prevails, usually preceding an epidemic of the latter, for instance in Baghdad and its neighbourhood, and in Persia; and it was observed in the city of Astrakhan the year before the epidemic which in 1879 attacked the villages on the Volga. Cases recognised as such were observed by Dr Simpson and Dr Cobb in Calcutta in 1896, though the diagnosis was not accepted officially. Considering the subsequent occurrence of severe plague in Calcutta, and the numerous instances in which a similar sequence of diseases has been observed, one cannot help suspecting that the original diagnosis was right. The importance of this form of disease is that

---

* A convenient popular summary of the characters of plague is given in a paper issued by the Local Government Board for the use of ship-captains and others, entitled 'How to Know Plague.' See Report of Medical Officer of Local Government Board; Twenty-ninth Annual Report, 1899–1900, p. 354. A good general account of the signs of plague, written by Dr Cantlie, has also been issued by the London County Council, and is published by King and Son, Great Smith Street, price 3*d*.

it forms a link between successive epidemics of severe plague, and explains, perhaps, the continued vitality of the virus in the interval.

Plague is the most fatal of all diseases which attack large numbers of people. The mortality among those attacked has varied from thirty or forty per cent. to ninety-five, or nearly a hundred. The lowest figures (taking trustworthy records only) were noted in Egypt, in the years 1830–40, just before the final extinction of plague in that country; the highest have been recorded in the recent epidemics. It is a lamentable fact that the case-mortality in Hong Kong has been higher than has ever been recorded in large epidemics, viz. over ninety-five per cent.* In Bombay the case-mortality was over eighty per cent., while in former epidemics in Baghdad, according to Colvill and Cabiadis, it was only fifty-five per cent. The difference is partly a matter of race, for the Chinese have been shown to be more susceptible to plague and to have less power of resistance than other Asiatics, and far less than Europeans. The latter are not only less liable to take plague but have a much better chance of recovery; the rate of mortality among them being apparently thirty per cent. or less. Plague is also very rapidly fatal, more so than almost any disease except cholera. Some cases are fatal within twenty-four hours; more than half the fatal cases die on the third day; five-sixths on the fifth day; while those who live longer usually recover. These facts are sufficient to explain the terror which this fearful malady inspires in those who have watched its effects.

No question is more certain to be asked than this—whether plague is contagious; and none has been more keenly debated. In old times contagion was greatly dreaded, and the whole system of quarantine was founded on this belief. But in the early part of the nineteenth century the French physicians who studied the plague in Egypt boldly denied the reality of contagion and exposed themselves freely to its risks. Bulard wore clothes fresh from the body of one who had died of plague, and Clot

---

* When cases of plague are concealed, the number of *deaths* in proportion to cases may convey an exaggerated impression, since those cases in which recovery takes place are likely never to be recorded at all. Hence, perhaps, the recorded case-mortality is too high.

Bey inoculated himself with matter from a bubo. Both escaped; but on the other hand an English physician, Dr Whyte, died in 1802 from an inoculation performed by himself.

As regards contagion in the ordinary sense, apart from inoculation, recent experience shows that in hospitals or healthy houses the disease seldom passes from the sick person to those around him. On the other hand in dirty and ill-ventilated houses, the disease generally passes through most part of the household, if not interfered with; and in such places doctors and attendants have sometimes caught the disease. The house itself, without its inhabitants, may convey the infection, as was shown in the case of the British soldiers in Hong Kong who caught plague while cleaning out the filthy houses recently occupied by plague patients. But the contagiosity of the disease varies much in different epidemics.

There is also evidence that infection may be conveyed by the clothing, bedding, etc., of affected persons. However, generally speaking, the infectivity of such objects is soon lost, as the bacillus is killed by rapid drying, especially at a high temperature such as 80°-90°, when it does not survive more than four to six days. At a lower temperature, e.g. 60°, it may survive longer. Direct sunlight kills the bacillus in an hour or less. On the other hand, infected clothing, packed up while damp and secluded from light and air, may retain the infection for a much longer time, as has been more than once noted in the history of the plague. There is, moreover, great reason to believe that vermin from the body or clothes may convey infection.

It is also certain that the infection of plague may be conveyed by the dead body; and there are well-attested instances of those concerned in burial or in post-mortem examinations having contracted the disease. But this very rarely occurs, and there is nothing to support the theory that cadaveric infection is an important means of transmitting or keeping alive the disease. The bacilli in dead bodies lose their vitality after fourteen days or less.

The general conclusion is that while plague is not a highly contagious disease in the ordinary sense, it is sometimes capable of passing directly from person to person;

hence it would be very dangerous to treat it as if it were non-contagious.

The ways and means already mentioned by which plague is spread must be regarded as personal contagion, direct or indirect. But there is reason to believe that the disease may be spread, and possibly kept alive in an endemic form, without affecting human beings at all. It has long been felt by some pathologists that personal contagion is inadequate to explain the transmission of plague in certain circumstances, or its continued existence in certain places, between the epidemics of human disease. Hence several writers (e.g. Liebermeister in 'Ziemssen's Cyclopædia,' Payne in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' Creighton in his 'History of Epidemics in Britain') suggested that the infection or miasma of plague must reside in the soil, like that of malaria, as well as in the bodies of infected persons. If we take the expression 'soil' in a wide sense, meaning external nature, outside the human body, this belief has been confirmed since the discovery of the bacillus, for it is certain that it has a mode of existence quite independent of man, in animals living underground, especially in rats. Just as ague, which used to be regarded as a soil-disease, has turned out to be conveyed by insects which have their habitat in water, so it may turn out that plague is a soil-disease only in so far as it affects certain animals living in the soil. There is no positive proof that the bacillus actually lives in the earth like that of tetanus; but on the other hand there is no proof that this is not the case, and there are many circumstances which make it probable.

That rats and some other animals of similar habits die in considerable numbers during an epidemic of plague, was observed long ago and distinctly stated by Arabian writers. In the later European and Egyptian epidemics, as also in Mesopotamia and Persia, where the plague has been carefully studied, these things do not seem to be mentioned. But it has been known for nearly half a century that in the endemic centres of plague in northern India and—as more lately observed—in Yunnan, the death of rats is a constant phenomenon in plague epidemics, usually, if not always, preceding the outbreak among human beings. The late Dr C. R. Francis, who, with Dr Pearson examined an epidemic in Kumaun in 1853,

clearly recognised the mortality among rats, and inferred that the poison of plague resided in the soil.* Rats would come out of their holes, looking dazed and ill, and die above ground. Dr Francis examined a dead rat and found it had suffered from a sort of pneumonia. Snakes also died, probably from eating the rats. The villagers regarded these occurrences as signs of an impending plague. In Yunnan similar observations regarding rats have been made. A similar striking mortality among rats, and also among mice, has been observed in every plague epidemic in China and India, as well as in almost all the recent epidemics in other countries presumably derived thence, even so far off as Australia and South Africa. Koch made similar observations in Central Africa.

The connection of rats with plague is so general as to be evidently not accidental. It is found on examination that the disease they die of is actually plague, and that their bodies are swarming with plague bacilli. They have been found dead in warehouses, especially granaries; in the rooms of houses where people have died of plague; and, what is very important, in the holds of ships among cargo of various kinds. There is no doubt that human beings may acquire plague from rats. Men have caught it from handling dead rats, or from going to live in houses where rats had died, as in certain Indian villages; and occasionally, it is thought, through the intermediate link of cats. But there is still another way, which some think the commonest, by which the rat plague may pass to men, namely, by fleas. These pests abound on the bodies of rats, which, as is the custom of parasites, they desert after the death of their hosts. It has been shown by Dr Simond that fleas can carry the infection from rat to rat. The infection of man by this means is therefore clearly possible, and has, in some instances, been distinctly traced. At all events, though the method of transmission may be uncertain, it is perfectly clear that the rat disease does somehow spread to man. There is also evidence that rats carry the infection from one part to another of the same town. When there has been a great mortality of rats in one district, the survivors desert that

* Francis and Pearson, 'Indian Annals of Medical Science,' vol. i (1854). The statements were repeated by Dr Francis in the 'Transactions of the Epidemiological Society,' London, vol. iv, p. 401. See also evidence given before the Indian Plague Commission.

part entirely and appear in another part, where a similar mortality among them occurs, as was clearly proved in Bombay. This explains the seemingly capricious manner in which the infection of plague spreads through a city, not following the lines of human intercourse, or being determined by purely physical conditions. The rate of diffusion of plague has always been noticed to be very slow, unlike that of a disease conveyed by direct contagion among men.

Outside cities, on land, diffusion by means of rats is evidently only possible within narrow limits; but the question has naturally been raised whether infected rats may not, as well as infected persons, carry the infection from one country to another by means of ships. All ships contain rats, which have many opportunities of passing from the ship to land, in harbours and docks, just as they pass from land to the ship. The Indian Plague Commission came to the conclusion that 'although, theoretically, it is possible that plague-infected rats might carry the disease from one country to another, there is absolutely no evidence that infection has ever been carried in this manner.' But, since the Commission left India in 1899, much fresh evidence on this point has come to light. Perhaps the most striking is that of the outbreak of plague in Sydney, New South Wales, in 1900, on which an admirable report has been published by Dr Ashburton Thompson. This epidemic began in certain wharves on Darley Harbour, where the death of rats was observed a week or two before the first case of plague—that of a wharf carman, taken ill on January 19th, 1900—occurred. Ships from Hong Kong and from Numea, New Caledonia (where plague was then epidemic), had been lying at the wharves for some weeks; but the precise source whence infected rats might have come was not discovered. Dr Thompson came to the conclusion that the disease was not directly communicated from the sick to the healthy, but was spread about the city by the epizöotic plague affecting rats, which came to an end about the same time as the human epidemic ceased.*

---

* In the present year a ship came to the port of Bristol with plague-infected rats; the event is thus reported by Dr D. S. Davies, the energetic medical officer of health for Bristol:—

'In January 1901 a grain-boat, fifteen days out from Smyrna, arrived in

There is therefore abundant evidence that rats suffer from a disease identical with human plague; that their epidemics for the most part immediately precede human epidemics; that they can transmit the disease to mankind; and that they can carry the infection about, within certain limits, on land, and also by ships from one country to another. There is no proof that rats do actually receive the disease from men, though this is shown by experiment to be perfectly possible. In China rats as well as pigs have been found devouring the corpses of men dead of plague; and the infection of the soil by human beings is an obvious means of transmission. All these facts lead to a hypothesis which must have been crystallising in many minds during the last few years, namely, that the plague is primarily a disease of rats, and only secondarily a human disease.

This striking hypothesis was publicly stated by Dr Koch at the recent Congress on Tuberculosis, but had been previously enunciated by Dr Manson, and probably by others. We have similar instances in the diseases anthrax, glanders, and rabies, belonging to cattle, horses, and dogs respectively, which affect man only as derived by infection from those animals; and in some other so-called 'epizöotics,' which, though occasionally infecting man, are not primarily human diseases. It seems clear that an epidemic of plague in one of its endemic centres,

---

the central harbour of the city, within a stone's throw of the Public Health Offices, with a history of no illness on the voyage, and therefore not "infected" under the regulations, and not legally liable to any detention or supervision. For some months however special precautions as to off-mooring of vessels from the quay-side, disc-guarding of ropes, uplifting of gangways, and day-and-night watchmen, had been enforced as stringently as the absence of special powers would permit; and as infected rats had been carried to the port of Hamburg in the previous week, a careful watch was kept.

'Thirteen rats were found dead in the forehold, and Professor Klein confirmed the death of certain of these from plague, but not until the cargo of grain had been partly discharged and distributed. Thereupon the ship was dealt with as an "infected" ship, and as no plague resulted, the measures of precaution and disinfection may be taken to have been in this instance successful.' (*British Medical Journal*, August 10th, 1901.)

Owing to the precautions (far in advance of official regulations, but afterwards approved by the Local Government Board) and energetic measures taken by the Bristol health authorities, no infection of the port followed; but the danger was evidently very great. As Dr Davies remarks, the risk is for the quay-labourers who unload the cargo, not for the ship's crew; and it would not have been surprising had some of the former become infected.

and often in its secondary *foci*, is at first as much an epizöotic as the cattle-plague; but when once transmitted to man, the disease may be kept up, at least for a time, by human intercourse alone, and may be carried from one country to another without the intermediation of rats.

It might be thought that the infection carried by ships was connected with the cargo and not with rats; but this is clearly not the case. It has been shown that merchandise in the ordinary sense, such as corn, cotton, wool, etc., does not carry infection; but rags, that is, portions of cast-off clothing, come under another category, and are a very dangerous article of merchandise when coming from an infected country.

Much has still to be discovered about the plague in rats. We do not know whether they derive the bacillus from the soil or only from each other. The causes of the virulent outbreaks or epidemics among them are unknown; and it has yet to be made out whether any particular species of rats are, especially or exclusively, liable to the disease.

3. *Recent Outbreaks in the East.*

We have now to speak of the more recent history of plague, and more especially of its occurrence in British possessions. During the greater part of the British occupation of India, plague had a very partial and limited distribution, so that it had become a saying that there was no plague east of the Indus. But early in the nineteenth century, from 1815 to 1821, severe epidemics occurred in the western provinces north of Bombay, Gujarat, Kattywar, and Cutch, and in 1836 at Pali in Rajputana. The origin of these outbreaks was not clearly traced, but it was suspected that the disease had been introduced from Persia or Mesopotamia. It was thought till lately that these were the earliest records of plague in India, but recent researches have brought to light accounts of epidemics in the seventeenth century, for instance, at Agra, Lahore, and Delhi in 1616–17, and at other places, including Bombay, from 1689 to 1702. The malady seems, however, to have died out in India gener-

ally about the same time as it became extinct in England and Western Europe, since there are no distinct records of its existence in the eighteenth century.

On the slopes of the Himalayas there has been known for something like a century, and has existed probably for several centuries, a disease called *mahamari*. This has now been clearly shown to be nothing else than plague in a very virulent form. The districts of Kumaun and Gurhwal are the special seat of this disease, which has recurred frequently in groups of mountain villages at an altitude of 7000 feet or more, the same places and even the same houses being affected year after year. Here it was first clearly established in modern times that animals living underground, especially rats, are subject to the disease, and usually take it before the human inhabitants—a fact of vast importance in relation to the causation and continuance of plague. This region is undoubtedly one of the original homes of plague, and probably one of the oldest now known. There is much plausibility in the belief that it was the starting-point of the 'Black Death' of the fourteenth century.

Following the Himalayan range eastward, we find no known seats of plague, putting aside some vague and unconfirmed reports of its occurrence in Kashmir and Nepaul. But an elevated region in Southern China, in the province of Yunnan, south-east from the Himalayas, is also an original seat of plague, not at present connected with any other endemic centre. The Yunnan country is mountainous, and plague is said to occur only at elevated situations from 1200 to 7200 feet above the sea. Underground animals are affected, especially rats, which leave their holes and are found dead above ground. Though the records of epidemics in this part of the world do not go farther back than 1850, it is probable that Yunnan is an original and an ancient seat of plague. The disease is said to spread from this district to the neighbouring parts; but till lately the only other place in southern China definitely known to be subject to epidemics of plague was the seaport of Pakhoi on the Tonkin Gulf. Here the epidemics have recurred apparently with less frequency than in Yunnan; but there is known to have been one in 1893, and a neighbouring district was affected in 1891.

This Chinese centre of plague has become of the gravest importance, since in 1894 it became the starting-point of the enormous extension of plague in the last seven years, during which time the pestilence has visited many parts of the world which never knew it before, and has re-visited some of its ancient haunts in Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The seats of plague existing before the year 1894 were (*a*) Benghazi in the province of Tripoli, and the Asir country in Arabia, both of only local importance; (*b*) an important endemic seat in eastern Asia, having its centre in the mountains of Turkish and Persian Kurdistan, with extension southward to Baghdad and the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, eastward to Persia and northward to the Caspian Sea, to Astrakhan and the lower Volga; (*c*) the mountain districts Gurhwal and Kumaun in the Himalayas, from which no extension has been traced; (*d*) the districts in southern China mentioned above. These localities are shown in the first map.

These centres were apparently independent, no connexion being traceable between them; and, before 1894, plague was not known to exist in any other part of the world, though recent investigations make it probable that some other parts of northern Africa, and also some parts of Central Asia, harboured the pestilence.

It was the focus in southern China which communicated the disease to what has turned out to be the most important centre for its distribution in modern times, namely, that of Hong Kong. It seems clear that the outbreak in Canton preceded that of Hong Kong; and the constant communication between the two places easily explains how the island became infected. It is not so clear how the plague got to Canton; but communication by land in 1893 from Yunnan to the town of Liao Tchou and other places in the province of Kwang Si appears to have been clearly established. Thence it seems to have gone down the Canton river to Canton, where the disease was recognised in an epidemic form in February 1894. Probably there was a much wider diffusion of plague in southern China than has ever been officially admitted. In the populous and insanitary city of Canton an enormous mortality resulted, but the actual numbers cannot be

accurately known.* The epidemic in Hong Kong, officially recognised in May 1894, was also exceedingly destructive. Full accounts appeared in the papers at the time, but it is now hardly necessary to do more than call attention to certain aspects of the visitation.

In the first place the disease raged especially among the Chinese—who form of course the great majority of the population—and in a degree out of proportion to their numerical preponderance. Foreigners other than Chinese were less frequently attacked, and Europeans (English) hardly at all, except that some deaths occurred among English soldiers engaged in works of disinfection. Moreover, among Chinese attacked, the case-mortality (i.e. the proportion of deaths to cases) was higher than among other races, being over 90 per cent., a rate of mortality very rarely known, even in plague.†

The insanitary habits and the prejudices of the Chinese population contributed to the spread of the disease. In the Chinese quarter (a part having constant relations with Canton), where the greatest mortality occurred, the houses are mostly small and ill-built; and, even when they are sufficiently roomy, the advantage is destroyed by enor-

---

* One remarkable feature may here be mentioned. There is in Canton a large population, estimated at 250,000, who live habitually on the water, in boats and barges. This aquatic population is said to have been entirely exempt from plague. A tradition that a similar immunity from plague was enjoyed by the inhabitants of barges and vessels on the Thames in the Great Plague of London in 1665 has been preserved by Defoe; and the same limitation was afterwards observed in Bombay.

† In the latest epidemics at Hong Kong the same proportions are maintained. The following table shows the mortality of different years:—

Years . . .	1894	1896	1898	1899	1900	1901 (incomplete)
Cases . . .	2,679	1,204	1,320	1,486	1,082	1,606
Deaths . . .	2,552	1,078	1,175	1,428	1,034	1,533
Percentage of deaths	92·7	89·5	89·0	96·1	95·5	95·5

In the year 1900 the case-mortality among the Chinese was 96·6 per cent., but among the non-Chinese population only 53·6 per cent., of those attacked. The population of Hong Kong in 1898 was 254,500, of whom 240,000 were Chinese, the white residents, including the garrison, numbering about 14,000.

mous over-crowding. It is the practice to convert one storey into two by horizontal partitions or false floors, the low dwellings thus formed being sometimes without windows. Into these narrow spaces are crowded whole families, with their appurtenances, clean or unclean, sanitary or insanitary. Again, the customs of the Chinese lead them to deny the fact of illness, and to conceal their sick; while dead bodies are often exposed in the streets.* Against these hostile influences it is no wonder that sanitary measures, in the European sense, were not very successful. The plague was almost absent in 1895, but recurred in 1896 and subsequent years, in spite of the most energetic measures of disinfection and attempts at isolation. It should be stated that a great mortality among rats was observed in Hong Kong, as elsewhere; and those animals were found to be dying of the plague. They have been vigorously destroyed. In 1900 no less than 43,000 dead rats were burnt in Hong Kong.

The most important result, in a scientific sense, of the Hong Kong epidemic was the discovery of the plague bacillus. This important discovery was made on June 14th, 1894, by Dr Kitasato, a Japanese *savant*, one of a Commission sent over by the enlightened zeal of the Japanese Government. Shortly afterwards the result was confirmed by the independent investigations of M. Yersin, of the Pasteur Institute, Saigon. The existence of such a bacillus was indeed foreseen, and, in a sense, inferred; but the credit of this momentous discovery belongs to Dr Kitasato and almost equally to M. Yersin, who was a close second in the race. We may regret that, in a British possession, the laurel was not won by a British investigator; but it should be remembered that the time of the local medical staff is in such epidemics necessarily occupied with official duties, while foreign investigators can give their whole time to research.

The further consequences of the firm footing obtained by plague in Canton and Hong Kong have been very disastrous. The infection, which before had lurked in mountain villages, inland towns, or minor seaports, with

---

* No less than 412 out of the 1082 dead in 1900 were cases of persons found dead in the streets. (Hong Kong Official Report for 1900.)

a limited means of dissemination, was now raging in great centres of trade, having communication by sea with many parts of the world. That plague can be carried about by ships is, as we have seen, a well ascertained fact, though the precise mode of transmission may not be in every case clear. From Canton and Hong Kong it was natural that the nearest Chinese ports should be first infected. Accordingly the plague passed to Amoy, later to Macao, and probably other places on the coast of China.* It spread also to the neighbouring island of Formosa, where it produced a considerable epidemic; it even reached the shores of Japan, but there it was rapidly stamped out by the energetic action of the Japanese Government. In later epidemics, however, the disease obtained a footing in that country.

The most important outbreak of the epidemic which is probably—though not certainly—traceable to communication with Hong Kong, is that of Bombay. Ancient records show that the plague had prevailed in Bombay at the end of the seventeenth century; but down to the present time the disease was not known to exist in India, except in the few localities already referred to; and five years ago it was not epidemic even in the mountain districts on the slopes of the Himalayas, where it still lingered. Therefore when, in the summer of 1896, the plague appeared in Bombay, it was virtually a new disease.

On the 23rd of September the first case was officially reported. But, as generally happens, it was soon found that previous cases had occurred which had not been recognised or not reported, and that one death had actually been registered as from plague on August 31st. It appeared on enquiry that in July and August several cases of fever with glandular swellings, and also cases of fever with pneumonia had occurred, which must, in the light of subsequent events, be regarded as cases of plague.

---

* The plague did not pass to Macao immediately. Not a single case of plague occurred in Macao in May 1894, when it was raging in Hong Kong, notwithstanding the frequent communication between the ports, and the immigration into Macao of thousands from Hong Kong. This singular exemption of a place in communication with a plague centre has often been noticed. Formerly, when the plague prevailed in Egypt, Cairo might be affected and not Alexandria, or *vice versa*, though communication was perfectly open.

Afterwards native doctors, who were the chief medical attendants of the poorer class of natives, stated that since May they had seen many cases of 'fever,' attended by a very high mortality. The registered death-rate from 'fever,' and also from 'lung diseases,' had during this period been much above the average. Now these two classes of disease are precisely those with which plague is most often confounded, so that the reference of the first cases of plague to a date as early as May is not improbable, more especially as in Indian climates the extreme heat of the summer months always checks, without actually stopping the plague. Thus an epidemic which began in May might not have become prominent till September. But all this is obscure; and, to quote the words of Mr Nathan, 'no certain information has been gathered as to when the outbreak in the city of Bombay commenced, what was the immediate cause of the outbreak, or even in what part of the city the first cases occurred.'

When once observed, however, the Mandvi quarter—a crowded and insanitary district lying along the harbour, full of large granaries where ships discharge their grain—was the first part affected; and until the end of September the epidemic was almost confined to this quarter. This is a business part of the city, much frequented during the day by people who sleep elsewhere. After the beginning of October, however, cases were reported from many quarters, and the disease spread over the city in a manner for which no distinct law could be discovered. The first onset in any district was rarely rapid. Isolated cases occurred at first, from which an endemic centre was formed, and the spread was then more rapid. These are features which have been observed in the spread of plague epidemics through many cities. Boghurst, writing in his *Λοιμογραφία* (1666) of the Great Plague of London, says—

'The disease spread not altogether by contagion at first, nor began only at one place and spread further and further as an eating sore doth all over the body, but fell upon several places of city and suburbs like rain';

which may be taken to mean that many apparently independent centres appeared, the connexion of which with

others could not be traced. Simultaneously with the deaths from plague in Mandvi, or even before, a number of dead rats were observed in the district. The same phenomenon was observed in the quarters of the city successively affected; and most careful observers in Bombay have recognised that the migration of rats was the chief instrument in the dissemination of the disease.*

The rapid progress of the epidemic may be judged from the fact that, in October 1896, 406 deaths from plague were recorded; in December, 1600; in January 1897, 2300; in February, 3000; after which the numbers gradually declined, till in June and July they were 186 and 62 respectively, after which there was a slight recrudescence. The above numbers cannot be taken as absolutely correct, owing to the difficulty of obtaining information, and to many deaths having been uncertificated. Doubtless, also, there would have been a higher mortality had the whole population remained in the city. An immense number left in a panic, and sought refuge in other places, to which they in many instances communicated the contagion. In October it is estimated that only about 20,000 people went away; but in November, December, and January the number of fugitives was enormous; in February comparatively small. Altogether it is calculated that 400,000 persons acted on the old rule that the best way to meet the plague is to run away from it. Many are said to have returned in March and April; but according to statistics the population did not reach its usual numbers till May 1897. The population of Bombay was estimated in 1896 as 846,000, having been 821,764 at the latest census in 1891; so that nearly one half the inhabitants must have fled, and the great mortality of the winter months occurred in little more than half the normal population.

---

* The *Times of India*, September 30th, 1896, contains the following:—'It was known *more than a month ago* to all the people of Mandvi, and to all the municipal sweepers in the district, that the rats were dying in thousands all over the district. They were found dead and dying almost everywhere, and in places where dead rats were never found before. The children amused themselves every morning by throwing them from the staircases into the streets and gulleys. The great rat mortality only became known recently; and yet what a volume of information was it capable of conveying if it had only been rightly used.'

The latest available statistics are as follows * :—

CASES OF, AND DEATHS FROM PLAGUE IN THE CITY OF BOMBAY.

Year.	Plague Cases Reported.	Plague Deaths Certified.	Case-mortality per cent.
1896 . . .	2,530	1,801	71·1
1897 . . .	11,963	10,232	85·7
1898 . . .	19,863	18,160	91·2
1899 . . .	19,484	15,830	81·3
Totals . .	53,840	46,023	85·4

Thus the plague in Bombay made 46,000 victims in three years and a quarter, and it increased the general death-rate by nearly 50 per cent. Terribly high as these figures are, they are much lower than those recorded in several other epidemics. In the whole Presidency (including the city) the plague-mortality, during the same period, is reported as amounting to 252,000 persons.

With regard to the parts of the city affected, the disease prevailed most in the poorer and more insanitary quarters; but the densely populated central districts suffered less than some outer suburbs where the sanitary conditions were bad, such as Middle and Lower Colaba—districts inhabited by labourers who worked in the cotton godowns of Mandvi—and some distant suburbs, e.g. Mahim and Sion; while the quarters where most of the Europeans live (Esplanade and Fort Southern) were but slightly affected, and least of all the 'Water Division,' that is, the floating population, amounting to 22,000 persons, living in ships and boats, of whom only a small fraction died.

The many races and castes found among the population of Bombay showed very different degrees of susceptibility. The highest mortality was among the small body of 'Jains'; next came Hindoos of low or high caste; Mussulmans and Eurasians suffered much less; while among Europeans the mortality was very small, only 22 deaths from plague being recorded in the first epidemic.

We have next to consider what special circumstances, if any, affected the city of Bombay in 1896. First of all, it

* Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, 1899-1900, p. 327.

was an exceedingly hot year, the second hottest for 51 years. Then, the rainfall was abnormal in its distribution, being so heavy in June, July, and August as to cause great floods in the lower part of the city, which choked the drains and stopped the outfall of sewage. These conditions were no doubt bad; and great plague epidemics have often been observed in very hot years, as in London in 1665; but such conditions could at most aggravate, not produce the epidemic. Bombay had previously been regarded as the healthiest of Indian, and probably of all Oriental cities. The one unfavourable feature is over-crowding.

This over-crowding occurs especially in the so-called 'chawls,' in which a large part of the native population lives. These are large buildings, from five to seven storeys high, arranged in flats, each flat containing a long corridor with rooms, measuring some eight feet by twelve, opening into it on either side. Each room is usually let to a family, and may be occupied by six or eight persons, or even more. Light and air are most inadequately admitted, sanitary arrangements are defective, and the breaches of sanitary laws indescribable. Such buildings are erected back to back, or with only a narrow space between, which becomes a receptacle for filth. A single 'chawl' may contain 500 or 1000 inhabitants. The over-crowding must be terrible; and we can understand that there is a greater density of population in these quarters of Bombay than in any other city in the world. It is said that 70 per cent. of the native population live in such dwellings. These conditions have a constant tendency to grow worse; they are not the result of poverty so much as of prosperity, being closely connected with the growth of manufactures, and the increased value of land, which leads to the building of taller houses.

Doubtless no conditions could be more favourable to plague, or more antagonistic to measures intended to extirpate it. The late Sir R. Thorne-Thorne, who represented the British Government at the Sanitary Conference at Venice, declared that no statement made a deeper impression on the Conference than an account of the insanitary quarters of Bombay given by Dr Cleghorn. The authorities, municipal and other, have been severely blamed—whether justly or not, we need not decide. But Mr Acworth (late Municipal Commissioner of Bombay)

has publicly declared * 'it was utterly untrue to say that Bombay was a grossly insanitary town. Judged by any standard hitherto found attainable in the East, it was a very sanitary one, the best, he was sure, in India.' †

The authorities, municipal and other, did not spare their efforts to control the epidemic. On September 29th, 1896, the Government of Bombay, on receiving a report from their Surgeon-General, Dr Cooke, appointed a Committee of Enquiry, of which the Municipal Commissioner was President, and the Executive Engineer of Bombay, the Sanitary Commissioner, and some leading physicians, were members. At the same time a scientific Committee was appointed, composed of Dr Manser (who died of the plague), Professor Childe, M. Haffkine, Mr Hankin and Dr Surveyor. On October 6th the Municipal Commission assumed legal powers to enable them 'to enter and disinfect buildings, to remove goods therefrom, to remove to hospitals persons suffering from plague, and to isolate houses in which cases of plague had occurred.' The attempt, however, to enforce these regulations met with such violent opposition from the native inhabitants, and produced such an excited state of popular feeling that they could not be carried out. The people concealed cases of plague as much as possible, resented passionately

---

* Discussion at the Society of Arts. 'Journal,' February 25th, 1898.

† In corroboration of Mr Acworth's view, we may quote part of a letter, dated February 17th, 1898, addressed to the *Times* by the Rev. Arthur H. Bowman, a parish incumbent and Government chaplain in Bombay:—

'We were told of the large amount of sympathy a certain Surgeon-General from India had awakened at the Venice Conference by stating that in Bombay the poor lived in "chawls"—i.e. large lodging-houses—to the number of one thousand and upwards in each chawl, and that the light of day could not enter. Surely the Surgeon-General could never have made such a statement. Such an idea is monstrous. I have known the streets and lanes of Bombay intimately for the last five years, and I state, without any fear of contradiction, that such places do not exist. Last November I visited, as one of the plague-searching party to find out concealed cases, a number of these chawls, and in only one did I find a single room where the sun could not enter, as there was no window, and that was on the ground floor; and no one need have lived there. No doubt there is room for improvement in many of the chawls, but some are very well built for light and air. It must be remembered that in Bombay the difficulties are very great. We have to face there the largest population per square mile of any city in the world. As regards one's personal comfort, having visited for seven years the lowest poor in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta, I prefer doing so to visiting the same class in the large cities of England.' ('Journal of Society of Arts,' February 25th, 1898.)

the searching of their houses, and objected to compulsory removal to hospital, seeing (as no doubt was the case) that most of those who entered the hospitals died. Wild rumours were circulated to the effect that the doctors in hospitals killed or ill-treated their patients. The municipal hospital at Arthur Road was in October attacked by a mob of one thousand men, and had to be carefully guarded. Many thousands of those who fled from Bombay were impelled by fear of the hospitals as much as by fear of the plague itself. The measures adopted by the municipal authorities were therefore restricted to the following :—

'Infected houses were, from the beginning, treated practically as if they were on fire, and were flushed from flushing-pumps and fire-engines with water charged with disinfectants. Sulphur was burnt inside houses, particular parts of which were also limewashed. Drainage pipes were specially disinfected, and when in bad order were removed or cleaned. Disinfectants were freely used, not only in infected houses, but in the adjoining houses, and were freely distributed. All obstructions to the entrance of light and air were removed as far as possible. In every part of the city tiles were taken off the roofs of houses [to admit sunlight]; thousands of persons were removed from infected buildings; and all domestic refuse and articles likely to be infected were burnt, exposed to the sun, or disinfected. . . . General measures were also taken to destroy and burn dead rats.' *

Admirable as these measures were in themselves, they could not be expected to stop a great epidemic of plague, and did not do so, though it may fairly be claimed that much good was effected, and the epidemic perhaps kept within bounds. Various measures were tried; but at length, the epidemic still continuing, the Government took the matter into its own hands. It appointed a committee, with General Gatacre as chairman, the objects of which were: the discovery of all plague cases, the treatment of all cases in hospital, and the segregation of persons who had lived with plague patients, generally known as 'contacts.'

Had it been possible to carry out these measures com-

* H. M. Birdwood, in the 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' February 1898, p. 323.

pletely, much might have been effected; but the difficulties were enormous, and could not be entirely overcome even by the tact, resource, and never-failing energy with which General Gatacre and his committee conducted the operations. Hospitals, which were at first deficient, were rapidly erected, chiefly by private benevolence. In the middle of May 1897 there were as many as forty-one plague-hospitals in working order. At this time the epidemic was rapidly declining, and in June it virtually ceased for a time. Such a cessation might have been expected from seasonal decline, and the habitual exhaustion of an epidemic. What share sanitary measures had in producing this result, it would be hard to say. But unfortunately these measures did nothing towards preventing a return of the disease, which has recurred nearly every year with great virulence, till the authorities have apparently ceased to try to arrest its progress, and have limited their efforts to alleviating the suffering caused by it. In November 1898 a Commission was sent out by the Home Government, composed of Professor T. R. Fraser (chairman), Professor A. E. Wright, Dr M. A. Ruffer, Mr J. P. Hewett, and Mr A. Cumine. The Commission collected a large amount of evidence, and left India in March 1899. Their final report has not yet appeared, but two chapters have been allowed to become public.

It is natural to ask whence and by what means the plague was introduced into Bombay: but the question is not easily answered. It is impossible to believe that it originated on the spot. There were, speaking broadly, only two possible sources; viz., the indigenous plague of Kumaun and Gurhwal on the one hand, and the over-sea traffic from China on the other. No conclusive evidence for either possibility has been produced; but, considering the long railway journey from the Himalayan districts and the absence of any intermediate infection, the first hypothesis is very improbable. The possibilities of importation by shipping, either by persons affected with the mild form of plague or by rats, or (though less likely) by contaminated objects from Hong Kong, were almost infinite; and no special precautions were taken in the year 1896 against Chinese ports. But it cannot be said that the origin is actually known.

As may be imagined, the epidemic of 1896 was not

limited to the city of Bombay. It spread widely in every direction, along the coast northwards to Surat and part of Baroda, inland to the west and centre of the Deccan districts. It was perhaps by sea that it passed to Gujarat and the island of Cutch, and to Kurrachee, which suffered severely, as did other parts of Sind. Southward the epidemic spread to Poona, and further to the Nizam's dominions and Mysore. From Mysore it was imported at ninety-six separate localities into the Presidency of Madras; and at least twelve separate cases were imported into the city of Madras itself, which, however, has not suffered from an actual epidemic. It would be impossible to trace here the further extension of the disease over a large part of Central and Southern India. Reference must, however, be made to the occurrence of plague in Calcutta. Some suspicious cases were observed in 1896, but it was not till April, 1898, that a case of plague was officially recognised, having been preceded by mortality among rats. In that year about 200 people died of the pestilence; in 1899 the reported cases were 3005 and the deaths 2745; and in 1900 there was a great mortality, 7449 deaths having occurred in the first six months of the year. During 1901 the epidemic has continued, so that Calcutta, though apparently less liable to severe epidemics of plague than Bombay, is by no means exempt.

4. *Extension of Plague since* 1896.

Besides spreading through India itself, the plague, since the year 1896, has been conveyed from the new seats in India and China to many parts of the world, so as to constitute what has been called a 'pandemic.' The new *foci* of plague have almost always arisen in seaports; but fresh activity has also been displayed in some endemic haunts of the disease, like the eruptions of a slumbering volcano. This diffusion will be here traced chronologically, and is shown geographically on map II; but we do not claim perfect accuracy or completeness in either respect.

In the year 1896, a fresh outbreak of plague was reported in the Asir country, Arabia, where for at least fifty years there have been occasional epidemics. Reports of plague came also from Kandahar and Merv, which

could not be connected with Bombay, and probably indicate what has long been suspected, the existence of endemic centres of plague in Central Asia. In 1897 plague was recognised at Jeddah on the Red Sea, the port of debarkation for pilgrims to Mecca, where also some cases occurred. In the same year plague appeared in the German East African Territory. This epidemic was thought to be traceable to Uganda and the neighbourhood of the Victoria Nyanza, where enquiry showed that outbreaks of plague had occurred at intervals for years before. Although Uganda has had of late years much communication with India, this would not explain the epidemics, since they are known to have occurred before the European occupation of that country. Hence Central Africa must be pronounced an endemic centre of plague. These outbreaks were always connected with mortality among rats.

In 1898 another Central Asian epidemic was reported from Samarkand, giving further probability to the belief that it is endemic in those regions. But the most remarkable fact as to plague in that year is that, for the first time in its known history, it crossed the equator and established itself in the southern hemisphere. The first place, apparently, to become affected was the port of Tamatave in Madagascar, where plague was recognised in November 1898, but must have been present some months before. It was natural to suppose that the infection might have come from Bombay, but no distinct evidence was produced; and, at this time, all ships leaving Bombay were carefully inspected. There is, however, a large traffic by coasting vessels, subject to no inspection, from Cutch and other ports of the Indian Ocean. Lorenzo Marques had in the same year some plague cases brought by a French steamer from Madagascar; and though no epidemic was then reported, plague broke out in the following year in the adjacent parts of Mozambique. In the same year, or early in 1899, plague appeared at Port Louis in Mauritius, where it has continued ever since. The authorities in Mauritius thought it was derived from Tamatave.

The year 1899 was memorable for the most remarkable extension of plague throughout the world ever known, of which, however, only a brief outline can here be given. In the far East, two ports, which had previously escaped,

Penang in the Straits of Malacca and Manila in the Philippines, suffered from plague. Singapore, a port strikingly exposed to infection, escaped, owing, it is claimed, to the careful isolation of imported cases, and a rigid system of quarantine. In the southern seas, Numea in New Caledonia, and even the distant Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands, were affected; nor did the pestilence spare our Australian colonies. Sydney had a very distinct, though fortunately limited, epidemic, clearly traceable to infection by rats, presumably from ships. Whether the plague came from Hong Kong, or from the much nearer Numea, appears uncertain; but the latter source was suspected by the Sydney authorities. Queensland had plague in an epidemic form; while at Melbourne, Adelaide, and Perth, though cases of plague were imported, there was no definite epidemic. The infection brought to Auckland in New Zealand was arrested on the threshold.

Passing over less important extensions in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, we find the plague, after an interval of nearly two centuries, causing serious epidemics in Western Europe. Portugal was the country, Oporto and Lisbon the cities, thus visited. In Oporto the disease was, as usual, at first not recognised, and perhaps concealed, but was officially declared in the summer of 1899. Some think that cases had occurred in the year before, or even in 1897. The origin was not traced, but the connection between these ports and the Portuguese possessions in India, China, and Africa (Goa, Lower Daman, Macao, Mozambique), where plague was epidemic, suggest a possible means of conveyance.* Some hundreds of people suffered from the disease, but the numbers are not precisely known. Lisbon was affected later in the year, but less severely.

From Portugal, the plague seems to have taken its longest flight in modern times, and landed in the western hemisphere, hitherto virgin soil for the pestilence. Asuncion in Paraguay, six hundred miles up the River Plate, but in direct communication with Europe, was perhaps the first American city to be affected (September 1899), the infection being traced to sailors suffering from

---

* On the other hand, it is right to state that Oporto has no direct trade with Asia or Africa, the products of the East arriving there, if at all, from other European ports.

plague, who landed from a steamer coming from Oporto. At Santos in Brazil the plague was announced a little later, but possibly it existed there before. At Rosario on the River Plate, and in Buenos Ayres, the pestilence appeared by the end of the year 1899, and in Rio de Janeiro a little later. Whether these places derived the infection direct from Oporto, or from one another, need not be here discussed. But it is singular that the distant port of Rosario transmitted the plague, not only to England, but to South Africa.

Besides certain isolated epidemics on African soil, namely at Grand Bassam on the west coast, and in Algeria (somewhat doubtful), plague again returned to its old home in Egypt, appearing at Alexandria in April (or perhaps earlier) 1899. Its beginning and spread were closely connected with fatal disease among rats, especially those in groceries and similar stores. The source of infection was not clearly made out; but, considering that Egypt is on the highway between Asia and Europe, closely connected with the shores of the Red Sea, and an old seat of plague, its reappearance in that country is not surprising.

The year 1900 was not remarkable for so wide an extension of plague as previous years, but there was an appearance or reappearance of the disease in Asiatic Turkey, at Trebizond on the Black Sea, and at Smyrna. At the end of the year 1900, or the beginning of 1901, Constantinople was infected; in the same year plague appeared in Port Said and other parts of Egypt. That cases occurred in Cairo was first asserted and then denied.

The introduction of plague into Cape Town appears to have been due to the ship 'Kilburn,' which arrived March 5th, 1900, from Rosario, with cases of plague on board. Notwithstanding strict quarantine precautions, cases afterwards occurred in the town, especially among the native population; and the disease spread to Port Elizabeth. At present (September 1901) the epidemic is reported as extinct, at least for the season. In the autumn of last year there occurred in Glasgow the first epidemic of plague that has taken place in Britain for upwards of two centuries; and this was a very small one. It broke out in a family not immediately connected with the port, and was spread by personal communication. Energetic measures taken by the Glasgow Sanitary Authorities limited the

outbreak, which affected only about thirty persons, of whom eight died. There was no traceable affection of rats. The speedy extinction of the epidemic confirms the opinion of those who have held that plague in a clean city ought to be an easy disease to deal with. But had the infection gone underground and attacked the rats in all the sewers of Glasgow, it might have been much more difficult to stamp out.

The single case which occurred at Cardiff should also be mentioned. A ship, the 'South Garth,' left Rosario about August 20th, 1900, and arrived at King's Lynn, where she discharged a cargo of maize on September 12th. When the unloading was finished two men were taken ill. One of them landed at South Shields, crossed England by rail to his home near Cardiff, where he arrived September 27th, and, being found to have plague, was removed to a hospital, where he died. The disease did not spread. This man could not have been infected when he left South America, as the voyage was much too long; but he must have become so while unloading the cargo, in which many dead rats were found. It is instructive to observe that in a long railway journey, and during his illness at home, this patient did not communicate the plague to any one.

In the present year 1901 there is no important extension of plague to record, but the disease still rages in its older seats with undiminished virulence, and has established its footing in some of the newer. In Hong Kong there has been, during this season, the severest epidemic since 1894. In Bombay the plague was very destructive in the early part of the year, and was increasing again in August. It has been prevalent, though less fatal, in Calcutta, and also in other parts of India. In Egypt the disease has obtained a foothold, though it has not caused great mortality. In Cape Colony it has lately declined. The reports of its presence in Constantinople are confirmed. On the whole the prospects of a disappearance of the great pandemic of plague are not favourable.

5. *Treatment and Protective Measures.*

Although the subject is technical, a word may be said about the treatment of plague. This is extremely unsatisfactory. Patients have the best chance of recovery in

large, well-ventilated rooms, with a superabundance of fresh air. Ordinary drugs are of little avail. Recently a method of treatment resembling the 'serum treatment' so useful in diphtheria, has been introduced by M. Yersin. Without entering into details, we may say that it consists in preparing from horses, inoculated with the plague bacillus, a pure serum incapable of communicating the disease, but containing substances which hinder or diminish the deleterious effects of the bacillus. A small quantity of this serum injected into a patient will, in some cases, especially if used at the beginning of the attack, cure or greatly alleviate the disease, giving a much better chance of recovery. The first results obtained by Yersin with this treatment in China were strikingly successful; but in Bombay, though fairly tried by English and foreign physicians, it greatly disappointed expectations. M. Calmette and M. Salimberi claim to have had considerable success at Oporto with a serum prepared in the Pasteur Institute. Dr Lustig, by a somewhat different process, obtained a serum said to give better results; but it was not found strikingly successful at Bombay. One advantage of the injection of serum is that it gives to healthy persons a high degree of immunity against the plague, but this immunity does not appear to last more than fourteen days; and it can be better obtained by another method—that introduced by Haffkine.

Haffkine's method, like his well known preventive treatment for cholera, is not intended for the treatment of those already affected with plague, but is a prophylactic, rendering the individual much less susceptible of plague. It corresponds, in fact, so far as its effects are concerned, with vaccination for small-pox; though the substance itself and its method of preparation are totally dissimilar. Haffkine's treatment does not require the use of any intermediate animal, such as a horse or calf. The bacillus is cultivated in large flasks of *bouillon*. At the end of a month the clear liquid is separated, and, after careful examination, is placed in small tubes and heated to a temperature sufficient to destroy any remaining bacilli. The liquid is then incapable of communicating plague, but, if injected under the skin, it puts the individual thus treated (broadly speaking), in the position of one who has just passed through an attack of the disease. Hence he

acquires a partial immunity, which, though not perpetual, will last, in most cases, through the duration of an epidemic. It does not give absolute protection, but, if the subject should catch the plague, he has it much less severely.

The utility of Haffkine's method was shown on a large scale in some Indian communities. For instance, in the Portuguese town of Lower Damaun, where the operations were carefully watched by members of the German Plague Commission, 2197 persons were inoculated with Haffkine's fluid, while 6033 were not inoculated. Of the latter, 1482 died of plague, giving a death rate of 24·6 per cent.; while, out of the inoculated, only 36 died of plague, giving a death rate of 1·6 per cent. The difference was not in all cases so clearly marked; but in prisons, where there is little room for fallacy, the results were very striking. In the Umarkhadi gaol, the numbers of inoculated and uninoculated persons were very nearly equal, but among the latter were nine cases with five deaths, among the former three cases and no death. In another gaol no case of plague was fatal in an inoculated person. In the village of Undhera, where more than half the population was inoculated, the proportion of cases of plague was four times as many, the proportion of deaths ten times as many, among the uninoculated as among the protected population. Taking these numbers as correct, it is fair to infer that had inoculation been universal, there would have been only one-tenth as many deaths as there actually were; which is what M. Haffkine means when he says that the reduction of mortality due to inoculation was nearly ninety per cent. compared with what it would have been. This calculation was criticised by the Indian Plague Commission, though as it appears to us, on inadequate grounds.*

The general rules for dealing with an epidemic of plague are clear enough, though their application is in some cases extremely difficult, and in some impossible. They comprise,

---

* Though the complete report of the Commissioners has not yet appeared, they have sanctioned the preliminary publication of a portion referring to M. Haffkine's method. This portion contains an elaborate and valuable critical survey of the subject in its bacteriological, statistical and practical aspects. The Commissioners come to the conclusion that, with certain safeguards, inoculation should be encouraged wherever possible, and in particular among the disinfecting staffs and the attendants of plague hospitals.

1. Early notification and recognition of every case.
2. Removal to a hospital, or, in exceptional cases, rigid isolation of the patients.
3. Segregation and observation, for an adequate time, of all 'contacts'; fresh cases among them being at once removed.
4. Evacuation and complete disinfection of the dwellings, clothes and effects of plague patients, before they are allowed to return home. To be efficient, these measures should be extended to a certain area around the infected houses.
5. Destruction, as far as possible, of rats, and, in some circumstances, mice, within the infected area.
6. Inoculation with Haffkine's prophylactic of as many of the population as will consent.

Such measures as the removal of the sick and segregation of the healthy are of course excessively repugnant to the feelings of the people of India and of Orientals generally. It is not surprising that the most energetic efforts of the political and medical officers in Bombay were unable to secure the effective execution of either of these measures. When this objection has not stood in the way, as, for instance, in cities like Sydney and Glasgow, it has been found possible to check an epidemic at the beginning; but when the epidemic has become established, the difficulty is immensely greater.

In villages and small communities the most effectual means is complete evacuation, and the removal of the whole population to temporary camps, while their houses are disinfected. This plan was indeed adopted by the inhabitants of the Himalayan villages of their own accord, and has been successfully carried out in many places, as by Captain James, I.M.S., in the Punjab. He says: 'In evacuation of villages we have a means of quickly and certainly stamping out plague. In not a single village could it be said to have failed.' Numerous other testimonies are to the same effect; and the policy of evacuation is decidedly approved by the Commissioners; but it is evident that it could not be carried out in a great city. The problem of disinfection as applied to houses is a very difficult one, and cannot be here discussed. It seems very doubtful whether it can be efficiently carried out in the conditions presented by Oriental cities, especially

where there are clay or earth floors; and that much of the benefit ascribed to it is due to natural agents, sunlight and fresh air.

In addition to the above-mentioned measures, which have so completely failed to control the plague in Indian cities, there is one equally, or perhaps more, important, namely, the destruction of rats. We have seen that rats often bring the infection and start an epidemic of plague. There is also reason to think that they may maintain the disease between one epidemic and another, while, if it were confined to men, it would either die out spontaneously or be easily controlled. This question has become more urgent in the last two or three years, and must be considered, in a sense, the key to the whole position. Efforts have, of course, been made to reach the rats. Thousands have been killed in Hong Kong, Bombay and elsewhere, but the destruction, being necessarily incomplete, has had little effect on the epidemic. In Sydney a general crusade was set on foot against healthy and sick rats alike, about 100,000 being destroyed. But, as Dr Ashburton Thompson remarks in his report, it is even more important to keep the rats out of houses, by stopping defective drains and rat-holes and preventing the accumulation of rubbish-heaps, by the inspection of granaries or other places where rats abound, and similar measures. It is also important to prevent, if possible, the infection of rats by human dejecta, rubbish, etc., or by access to dead bodies.

In order to guard against the importation of plague from an infected country, systematic precautions have been, and still are, taken. The older system was that of quarantine, of which, without explaining it fully, we may say that it consists essentially in subjecting all persons, sick or well, coming from an infected country, with their belongings, to disinfection, with detention for a fixed period in a special place. The modern system, authorised by the International Sanitary Conferences of Venice (1892) and Dresden (1893), which applies to cholera and yellow fever as well as plague, enjoins 'medical inspection' of all ships and persons coming from an infected port. If the ship is infected or suspected, any persons ill, or with suspicious symptoms, are detained and isolated. The rest of the passengers and crew are kept under observation for five

days. This 'observation,' according to British regulations, may be carried out at the place of destination of the travellers, which they are obliged to communicate.

These regulations have proved sufficient to keep this country free from cholera during several dangerous epidemics, and have, up till now, worked well with regard to plague, though at Glasgow the infection somehow slipped through. The only additional precaution which seems required is greater care in guarding against the introduction of rats, which may be the carriers of plague; but this point has, we understand, not escaped the attention of the Local Government Board. Equally, if not more important, are the precautions taken at an infected port to prevent the embarkation of infected persons or things. In this respect the Bombay authorities deserve the highest praise for the thoroughness with which they carried through a colossal task. Between January 1st, 1897, and March 15th, 1899, more than 100,000 ships and small vessels, outward bound, were inspected, and their crews and passengers, amounting to not far short of two million persons, examined, under the direction of Major Crimmin, I.M.S., Port Medical Officer. As the result, some thousands of suspicious cases were detained, and 243 actual cases of plague prevented from embarking. It must be chiefly due to these precautions that no more serious importation of plague into Europe or any intermediate country has taken place.

Notwithstanding all these precautions and safeguards, the public must not be surprised if a few cases of plague may again force the barrier. It is to be hoped that there will be no outcry for a revival of the antiquated system of quarantine. Our chief reliance should be not on trying to keep out the germs of disease by defences so easily pierced, but on maintaining such conditions of national health that the germ may be extinguished as soon as it enters, like a spark on a wet blanket. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that *great and destructive epidemics of plague do not occur except in the midst of filth, overcrowding, poverty, and all those conditions which we term insanitary.* These conditions may be found as well in small villages as in great cities.

With regard to our own country there is no ground for alarm, though there is great need for unceasing

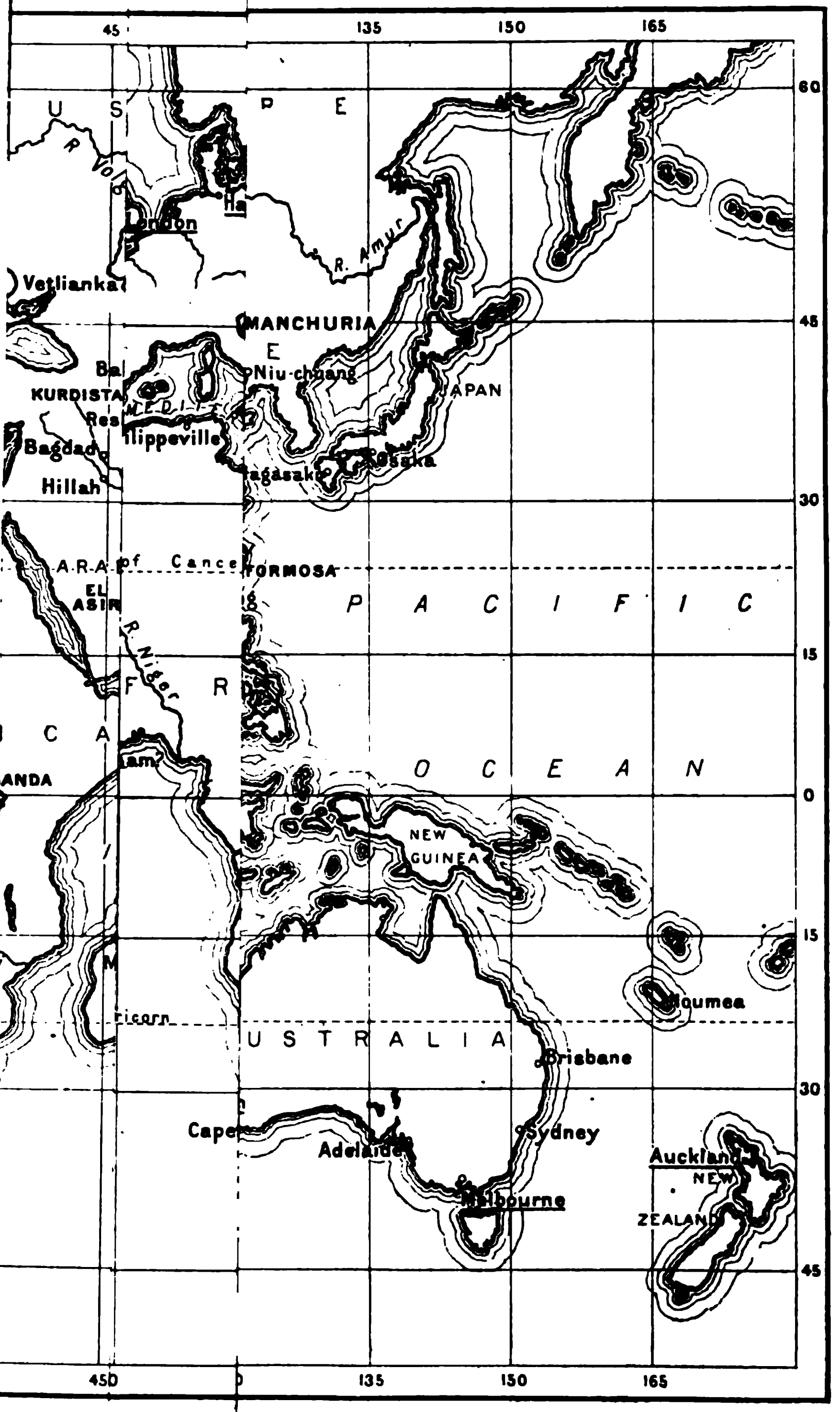
vigilance and scientific precautions. But with regard to India and the East, where the conditions of life are such as to paralyse all the agencies of sanitation, the prospect is far less favourable. The Indian Plague Commissioners spare no praise for the energy and resource displayed by the local governments, especially that of Bombay, as well as for the devotion and zeal of the civil, medical and military officials, and of many voluntary helpers. But they observe that the staff and funds necessary to carry out a thorough-going policy in a widespread epidemic of plague in India would be enormous, and, indeed, beyond what the power of Government can command.

'It appears certain' (they say), 'that the resources of Government would be insufficient to provide establishments for the area already infected in India, even if the whole army, civil, medical and police establishments were employed solely on plague duties';

and they come to this disheartening conclusion:—

'The fact must be faced that there are no means of stamping out the present epidemic of plague in India; that even with the best measures most rigidly applied, a certain amount of danger subsists, and all that can be done is to lessen the danger as much as possible.'

The history of plague in India since 1899 has only added force to these grave words.


45
135
150
165
60
45
30
15
0
15
30
45
U S S R
E
MANCHURIA
JAPAN
KURDISTA
Res
Bagdad
Hillah
EL ASIR
FORMOSA
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
Sydney
Adelaide
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
R. Amur
R. Niger

! *To face p.* 580.

Art. XII.—THE ORIGINS OF MODERN SCOTLAND.

1. *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century.* By H. G. Graham. Two vols. London: Black, 1899. (Third edition, in one volume, 1901.)
2. *A Century of Scottish History.* By Sir Henry Craik. Two vols. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1901.
3. *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature.* By Hugh Walker. Two vols. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1893.
4. *Memorabilia Domestica.* By Rev. Donald Sage. Second edition. Wick: Rae, 1899.
5. *Life in Scotland a hundred years ago.* By James Murray. Paisley: Gardner, 1900.
6. *Gideon Guthrie.* (Written 1712 to 1730.) Edited by C. E. Guthrie Wright. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1900.
7. *Lord Monboddo and some of his Contemporaries.* By William Knight, LL.D. London: Murray, 1900.
8. *Francis Hutcheson.* By W. R. Scott. Cambridge University Press, 1900.
9. *A History of the Church in Scotland.* By John Macpherson. Paisley: Gardner, 1901.

And other works.

AMONG the many books on our list, which is by no means exhaustive, we may select the works of Sir Henry Craik and Mr Henry Grey Graham as the most valuable of recent additions to the history of Scotland. Mr Graham is a laborious investigator, an accurate chronicler, and a most interesting and vivacious writer. It is not easy to see how he could have made more of his materials, although neither he nor Sir Henry Craik appears to have paid quite enough attention to the Scottish journalism of the eighteenth century. Possessed of a most effective but sometimes perilous power of sarcasm, Mr Graham uses it rather too mercilessly to the prejudice of a country and a time in which 'it was a dangerous thing to be ill, an expensive thing to die, and often a ruinous thing to be buried.' There is a little too much shade and not enough light in his picture. His book would have been improved by a flavour of 'comparative history.' The England of 'Tom Jones' was almost as brutal, as sensual, and as drunken as the Scotland of 'gardyloo' and the 'cutty-stool,' which, all through Mr Graham's volumes, seems to

be swimming on a sea of alcohol from appalling dirt and poverty to comparative dignity and positive wealth.

Sir Henry Craik's work is not without faults and blemishes. His list of authorities cannot be regarded as adequate. He repeats narrative, and still more characterisation, in a way that is always embarrassing, and sometimes inexplicable. He makes certain unaccountable mistakes, as when he misdates the year of the first Secession, and includes Lord Eldon among Scotsmen who have won distinction at the English Bar. But he writes lucidly and with weight; he has a faculty for selecting salient points and broad principles. He has done justice to men like Henry Dundas, and parties like the Moderates in the Church of Scotland, who have of late been too frequently extinguished with a grin or a howl of indignation. In his pages Scottish Jacobitism, Scottish Jacobinism and the Scottish Philosophy, the 'Select Society' of Edinburgh and the 'Tobacco Lords' of Glasgow, the Rebellion of 1745 and the Disruption of 1843, the Porteous Mob and the foundation of the 'Edinburgh Review' and 'Blackwood's Magazine,' Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations' and Thomas Chalmers's attempts to solve the problem of urban poverty, receive for the first time their proper place in historical evolution and consecutive narrative. Nor is Sir Henry's book injured—rather one's pleasure in reading it is heightened—by the old-fashioned and hearty Scottish Conservatism which permeates it, and finds expression in such asides as 'that inherent Toryism which is engrained in the average Englishman,' or the sweeping declaration that in 1874 the Patronage Act of 1712 was repealed 'in one of those strange moods of compliance which sacrifice principle to popularity in a vain attempt to conciliate irreconcileable opponents.'

When Sir Henry Craik, almost at the beginning of his book, says that 'all the strongest forces of the nation—its growing prosperity, its best intelligence, and its essential prudence and moderation'—were on the Hanoverian side, he explains in advance the true causes of the failure of Jacobitism in 1715 and 1745, and strikes the keynote of modern Scottish history. He admits that a General Election in 1706 'would in Scotland have produced a Parliament almost unanimous against the Union'; and

it is not at all improbable that, had the Jacobite party, even after the accomplishment of the Union, possessed a political leader of sagacity, knowledge of his countrymen, and capacity for seizing opportunities—such a man as, on the other side, was Duncan Forbes of Culloden—he might have succeeded in making the '15 a genuine revival of the War of Independence. Sir Henry Craik seems to us, however, to go too far when he says that 'the Lowlanders of Scotland, if remotely akin to the English race, were marked off from that race by the indelible brand of centuries of inveterate hostility and by a difference both in constitutional and civil law.' The kinship of Englishmen with the Scotsmen of the Lothians, if not also of the west, was by no means remote; and it should be remembered that in the struggles between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and between Charles I and his subjects, which succeeded the 'centuries of inveterate hostility,' Englishmen and Scotsmen had learned, not only to think alike, but to fight side by side.

No doubt the very class that would most naturally have favoured, even for selfish reasons, co-operation with England, had, during the dismal 'King William's years,' been hard hit in pride and pocket by the Darien Expedition, which cost Scotland 2700 lives, and 300,000*l*. But the Jacobite attempt in 1715, when the name of 'Darien' might still have acted as a rallying cry, was a miserable failure. By 1745 the advantages of the Union were being felt, and 'all the best forces in the nation' declared against the venture of Charles Edward. Edinburgh and Glasgow represented at that time the 'best intellect,' and the 'growing commercial prosperity' of Scotland. It was said at the time that two thirds of the men in Edinburgh were Whigs, and two thirds of the women were Jacobites —a conclusive proof that devotion to the Stuarts was even then fading from a reality of politics into a romantic sentiment. William Robertson and Alexander Carlyle were literally in arms for the House of Hanover. Glasgow gave the Pretender no recruits; and when, on his return from Derby, he demanded a subvention for the support of his troops, she beat him down from 15,000*l*. to 5500*l*., and, as the minute of her Town Council proves, only gave him the smaller sum because 'necessity knows no law.'

The pages of Sir Henry Craik, and even more those

of Mr Graham, render it perfectly clear that the battle of Culloden, and the atrocities which followed, shattering the hopes of the Jacobites and breaking up the clan system, were to Scotland, even more than to England, a blessing in disguise. They converted the Union from a name into a reality. They at once opened up the Highlands, and they rendered the Lowlands secure against the raids of the Gael. The great problem with the average Scotsman at the beginning of the eighteenth century was, as the most melancholy and the most readable of Mr Graham's chapters too amply demonstrates, not so much how to live well as to how to live at all. Scotland, from peer and laird to cotter and farm-servant, was miserably poor. She had no trade. Her methods of agriculture were hopelessly antiquated. She had but a glimmering of the possibilities involved in banking. She was ignorant of her own mineral wealth. Yet she must eat, and above all, apparently, she must drink. The Union left her very much in the position of Fitzjames at the termination of his combat with Roderick Dhu. 'Unwounded from the dreadful close but breathless all,' she arose to face the problem of making her living with the help of her neighbour, and no longer in spite of him. This task would doubtless have been accomplished even had there been no '45. But the total collapse of Jacobitism permitted Scotland to advance along essentially English lines with ease and rapidity.

Sir Henry Craik gives an admirable epitome of the condition of Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

'About the time of the Union the population of Scotland may be roughly estimated at about one million souls. That of England at the same period was about five millions and a half; so that in this respect Scotland not only bore a better proportion to her southern neighbour than in any other particular, but a considerably larger proportion than her population at the present day bears to that of England and Wales. But the distribution of that population was far different from that of the present day. The leading towns, which now embrace nearly a half of the population, were then insignificant aggregates—sometimes little more than would nowadays be accounted overgrown villages. Edinburgh—clustered entirely in the long and narrow High Street that ran along the ridge of rising ground

ascending from Holyrood to the Castle, and in a few dingy lanes and alleys that lay beneath its slopes—was hardly changed from what it had been for two centuries. Its lofty tenements, where the aristocracy and the leading professional men were huddled together in obscure and noisome wynds, were still the same that had seen the struggles of the days of Queen Mary, and had sheltered the courtiers of the later Stuart reigns. Her whole population was scarcely twenty thousand. . . . Glasgow was only a petty township of some thirteen thousand souls, gathered in unpretentious streets that straggled into green fields from the feet of her ancient cathedral and university. The little, scarcely-navigable stream that a century later was to begin to carry forth her fleets of merchantmen, and to bring to her argosies from every part of the globe, then gave no presage of her future place amongst the great ports of the realm. . . . Far in the recesses of the Highlands, Inverness claimed the dignity of a northern capital, but that dignity was enhanced by no outward signs; and the town consisted only of a few houses little better than hovels—so wretched indeed that, at the period of the Rebellion of 1745, there was only one house which contained a room without a bed—the house that served as lodging, within a space of a few months, both to the younger Chevalier and to his successful rival and antagonist, the Duke of Cumberland.'

The difference which a century was to make is indicated by Mr Graham in a striking passage.

'On comparing Scotland at the beginning of the century with what it was at the close, the contrast is startling—a change from social stagnation to general energy, from abject poverty to wide-spread wealth. Villages had grown to towns, mean towns had developed to centres of industry, ports from which a few small vessels set sail with meagre cargoes of coarse home-produce, sent forth fleets of heavy burthen, conveying merchandise to every shore. One may realise the transformation by learning that by the end of the century the revenue had increased by fifty-one times since its beginning, while the population had only increased from about 1,100,000 to 1,600,000.'

The advance was all along the line. In nothing did the Scotland of 1700 seem so hopelessly behind England as in agriculture. Yet so rapidly did an energetic people avail itself of the opportunities afforded by the establishment of a lasting peace, that by the end of the century

the tables were turned. In 1790 an eminent Scottish agriculturist commented on 'the languor and indolence which almost everywhere prevail in England;' while in the next century, 'instead of ploughmen coming from Dorset to teach Scots farmers to work, East Lothian stewards and ploughmen were taken to instruct English yokels to farm.' Mr Graham dilates almost too much on the dismal pictures of Scotland and Scottish scenery drawn by English travellers. The 'hideous naked rocks' that offended the æsthetic taste of Burt, and even 'intercepted the prospect' of Goldsmith, helped to make the fortune of Thomson in England, and moved Gray to almost Wordsworthian ecstasy. But the Johnsonian reproach of 'treelessness' was felt by the people of Scotland to be a just one. So tree-planting became a passion—a passion illustrated by the Scottish farmer's remark to his minister: 'When I hear you preach, I am planting trees; but during the whole of Mr Whitefield's sermon I have not time to plant one.'

In some directions the new national energy assumed a perilous form. The Ayrshire lairds, who tried in the second half of the eighteenth century to make fortunes by founding the Douglas and Heron Bank, and conducted its operations with unscrupulous recklessness, involved many more than themselves in ruin. Yet there is a certain grandeur, and an indication of national advance, in the very extent of the concern's liabilities. Amounting to 1,250,000*l.*, they proved, to modify Adam Smith's phrase, that there was four times more '.ruin in the nation' than there was at the time of the Darien Expedition.

The Scottish 'Select Society,' the Scottish School of Philosophy, and the Scottish School of Poetry, have long been familiar to English and European students of history and literature; but in the works of Mr Knight, Mr Scott, and Mr Walker, mentioned at the head of this article, as well as in the lively chapters of Mr Graham and the graver narrative of Sir Henry Craik, they take their proper places in the evolution of Scotland. With the contemporary and rapid progress of the country in trade, agriculture, and wealth, they represent a real, though not deliberately formulated or openly avowed determination on the part of the energetic section of a

poor nation to beat 'the auld enemy' at the weapons of peace. The attempt was wonderfully successful. Mr Graham lingers with something like 'sweet reluctant amorous delay' on the insanitary environment and repellent features of what Sir Henry Craik, with more good nature, describes as 'that homely, dirty, unwholesome, but withal sprightly, vivacious, and intensely social life' of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. As a democracy compounded of gaiety and poverty, the Edinburgh society of this period has no parallel in history. Countesses and professors, ministers and judges, could not help meeting on a footing of equality.

'The Principal of Edinburgh College,' notes Mr Graham, 'had his income raised in 1703 from 41*l.* to 90*l.*, which was the remuneration given to Principal Carstares; but the Principal at Glasgow was obliged to be content with 60*l.* and his "board at the common table." His four regents had 500 merks (25*l.*) each, "with their share of the table," while the supernumerary professors of Latin and Greek received only 15*l.*, with a small fee from a few pupils who chose to attend their classes. . . .

'The common rent of a gentleman's dwelling (in Edinburgh) in the first half of the century was 8*l.* or 10*l.* a year. Lord President Dundas used to say that, even when his income was 20,000 merks (1000*l.*), he lived in a house at 100*l.* Scots (8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) and had only two roasts a week. But living was then plain, for incomes were small. A minister in his city charge, in the middle of the century, and a professor in the university were thought well off with 100*l.* or 130*l.* a year, while a lord of Session had a salary of 500*l.*'

There was certainly nothing in the London of the period to match the *cercle intime* of this social life, the appropriately named 'Select Society,' which was founded in 1754 by Allan Ramsay the painter, son of the better-known poet.

'It numbered,' says Professor Knight, 'fifteen members who then were or became peers; and eighteen who were or became judges in the Court of Session. They included such men as Sir Gilbert Elliot, Alexander Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Loughborough), Andrew Pringle (afterwards Lord Alemoor), Professor Hugh Blair, Professor William Wilkie (author of "The Epigoniad"), Lord Kames, Lord Hailes, Lord Elibank, Charles Townshend, Sir John Dalrymple, Dr Robertson the historian, afterwards Principal of the University of

Edinburgh, David Hume, Adam Smith, and Fergusson the poet. . . . In 1759 there were one hundred and thirty members enrolled.'

But the members of the 'Select Society' were animated by no spirit of provincial patriotism. Some of them might at home, or in their hours of ease in taverns, revel in what, at a later period, was spoken of apologetically and inaccurately as 'the broad Doric.' But they wrote the purest English they could command; they felt no humiliation in hiring Thomas Sheridan to enable them to speak correctly; Monboddo's correspondence, as published by Mr Knight, shows that they were extremely sensitive to charges of having fallen into solecisms and Scotticisms.

The foundation of a 'Scottish School of Philosophy'—comprehensive enough, by the way, to include thinkers so divergent as David Hume and Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown, apparently even Sir William Hamilton and James Mill—was no more and no less a manifestation of national patriotism than the 'Select Society,' with which, indeed, it was closely associated. Sir Henry Craik reminds us that of the three founders of the school, the first was not born in Scotland, the second spent a large part of his life in France, and the third was an alumnus of Oxford. The members of the school were probably far more desirous that their views should prevail in England and on the Continent than that they should dominate in Scotland.

Of late there has been a revival of interest in Francis Hutcheson, who, in 1729, became Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and was declared by Dugald Stewart to have been the pioneer of the Scottish philosophy, although it would be almost as accurate to say that he was the pioneer of English utilitarianism. Hutcheson was a man of much force of character, and of an engaging personality, whose popularity was largely due to his having become, only half consciously, the leader of the revolt against the 'clumsy theocracy'—as Mr Graham styles the dominant party in the Church, which then sought to form the opinions as well as the social habits of Scotsmen. Upon Hutcheson's position in philosophy, Mr Scott has some very sensible remarks to make.

'The importance of the outcome of the "Scottish Enlighten-

ment" movement should not be risked by provincialising the basis on which it rests; and to represent Hutcheson's Enlightenment as exclusively Scottish is to cut off all its results from their continuity with past history. A "kailyard" school of fiction, within reasonable limits, is an addition to contemporary literature; but a "kailyard" philosophy verges perilously near a contradiction in terms. Further, while Hutcheson introduced outside ideas into Scotland, his influence by no means remained there. The British Enlightenment takes chronological precedence of those in Germany and France; and therefore Hutcheson became a powerful force in the German movement, which began about the middle of last century. From this date until the recognition of the importance of Kant's system his influence in Germany was very marked.'

What is true of Hutcheson is at least as true of Adam Smith—who succeeded him in the Glasgow Chair—of David Hume, and, in fact, of all the members of the Scottish School, whose reputation and works have survived to the present day. It has been said that Smith wrote 'The Wealth of Nations' to prove 'how a man, from being a savage, may become a Scotsman.' This is, however, but a piquant rendering of the undoubted fact that the recluse of Kirkcaldy could scarcely have become the prophet and advocate of free trade had he not lived for a time in Glasgow—then a commercial community of moderate size and in the first flush of its vigour. It was not as a Scot but as a cosmopolitan observer of human nature that he wrote his 'Theory of the Moral Sentiments.'

The appearance towards the middle and end of the eighteenth century of a number of poets who deliberately preferred the vernacular to English as their artistic medium seems at first sight a protest against the movement for converting the Union between two Parliaments into a fusion of two peoples. But, as Mr Walker reminds us—

'When they attempted English, the Scottish poets were not only writing a strange language, but trying to think strange thoughts as well. . . . So far as mere command of language goes, Fergusson and Ramsay were capable of writing English verse much superior to anything in that language which they have left. When they write English, however, not the language only, but the sentiments and versification also are foreign to them. The time they devote to the English muse is to these

men a species of poetic Sabbath; for six days of their week they "bask in Nature's smile," on the seventh their features must be twisted to express emotions they never felt, and to ape graces they do not possess. And, as mere occasional imitators who must have a precedent lest they transgress they know not what, they are more frigid than the frigid school they followed.'

There is truth in these remarks, but they must not be taken altogether without reservation. The Scottish poets felt more at home in 'the vernacular,' or, if we would be strictly accurate, in the 'northern Inglis' of Dunbar and Lyndsay, than in the 'southern Inglis' of the English poets and the Hanoverian Court. The use of southern English was inconsistent with the adequate discharge of 'the duty which lay nearest them,' of realistically reproducing that Scottish life with which they were familiar; but they saw nothing unpatriotic in its use.

Burns, who was at once the greatest and the most fervidly Scottish of them all, had no compunction in both studying and writing the 'southern Inglis.' It was a 'Collection of Letters,' written by 'the wits of Queen Anne's reign,' that inspired him, while a boy of eleven, to excel in prose composition. His own letters are written in English, often ambitious, but pure, if occasionally stilted. It was with the help of a 'Select Collection of English Songs,' which he pored over while 'driving his cart or walking to labour, and carefully noting the true, tender or sublime from affectation and fustian,' that he mastered the technique of his art. When in his verse he rose from the local to the world-wide, from the particular to the universal, as in the chorus of 'The Jolly Beggars,' in the highest passages of 'Tam o' Shanter,' 'The Vision' and 'The Cotter's Saturday Night,' and in practically the whole of 'A Bard's Epitaph' and 'Macpherson's Farewell,' he glided from the Ayrshire dialect into the English language. Nor should it be forgotten that, in seeking a market for their wares, the Scottish poets had to compete with two sets of rivals. They competed not only with the English poets, who were naturally favoured by a Scottish society bent on thinking as well as speaking in English, but also with the irreconcileably patriotic rhymesters who flooded with the broadest Scots and the crudest naturalism the chap-books that were circulated by the thousand in

the villages and smaller towns by pedlars like Dugald Graham, the famous bellman of Glasgow—that 'Boccaccio of the byre,' as Mr Graham terms him. In these efforts they were not always successful. Like Francis Jeffrey in a later day, they 'lost the broad Scots and only gained the narrow English.' But on the whole the compromise they effected in sentiment and in language alike was found equal to the demands of an age of transition.

A very large portion—probably half—of the literature dealt with in this article is concerned with the religious life and the ecclesiastical struggles of Scotland between 1688 and 1843. The most successful and convincing chapters of Sir Henry Craik's work are those in which he does justice to the latterly much maligned 'Moderate' party in the Church of Scotland, and to the remarkable relations between it and Thomas Chalmers, the founder of the Free Church, and beyond doubt the first of Scottish ecclesiastics and social reformers in the nineteenth century. No portion of Mr Graham's book is marked by more patient and profitable research than that in which he illustrates the grim possibilities of the Calvinistic theology, when interpreted with unflinching resolution and rigid literality, by the attempt to make Scotland a 'clumsy theocracy.'

Both these writers make good their leading contentions. Sir Henry Craik demonstrates that Moderatism—the Moderatism at least of William Robertson and Alexander Carlyle—although it cannot be said to have been 'broad-based upon the people's will,' since its professors were all appointed under the patronage system, did indeed gratify some of the strongest aspirations of Scotland in at least two decades of the eighteenth century, by means of its pronounced latitudinarianism, and still more perhaps in virtue of 'the free and happy atmosphere which it created.' The Church of England during the same period can show no group of ecclesiastics at once so broad-minded and so influential as the Moderates. Burns was a democrat of the democrats, whether he was in a Jacobite or a Jacobin mood; but he was a strenuous partisan of the 'New Light'; he even scouted the notion of the 'sheep' having any right to choose their 'herds.' The Moderates had the upper hand for a time, but they fell, in the sense of

ceasing to be the clerical leaders of the people, because they placed undue emphasis on the worst portions of their creed, polity, and practice. Had they resolutely sought to modify the Confession of Faith in accordance with their own 'New Light' they would probably have carried the whole intelligence of Scotland with them; but they failed at the crucial moment. Moreover, they threw themselves too heartily into the work of enforcing the Patronage Act of 1712 in the interests of lords and lairds, very many, if not the majority, of whom were members of the detested and 'alien' Episcopal Church. Their 'riding committees' were quite defensible from the standpoint of ecclesiastical law, but they were a mistake in tactics. Finally, while all the leading Moderates were, like Burns's 'Da'rymple mild,' pure in life as in heart, too many of the rank and file, especially in the rural districts, were not; the laxness of their life and conversation did infinitely more mischief than the 'cauld morality' of their sermons.

Yet, in spite of their blunders, the Moderates have had a more lasting influence on the history of Scotland and of its Church than any other ecclesiastical party. They were the inheritors of the tradition of William Carstares—one of the wisest ecclesiastical leaders that Scotland has produced—and of the comparatively tolerant form of Presbytery which he induced William III reluctantly to establish. Thanks to them, their literary friends and their political associates, the English mind learned to know and to respect another 'typical Scot' than the grotesque compound of Lowland Macsycophant and Highland cateran who figured in the ferocious caricatures of Wilkes, Churchill, and Junius. And it is the inheritors of their tradition in turn that have enabled the Church of Scotland to recover from the great schism of 1843, and to confront the 'reunited' Presbyterian Dissent of to-day with a powerful and theologically comprehensive organisation to which a majority of the people of Scotland adhere.

The opponents of the Moderates, who, as 'Highflyers' in ecclesiastical politics, and supporters of the 'Old Light' in theology, endeavoured to establish 'a clumsy theocracy' in every city and village, and made the various Secessions that culminated in 1843, receive ample justice

from Mr Graham. Their power over the national head—never over the national heart—was due to two facts. They perpetuated the patriotic tradition of the martyred Covenanters and 'Hillmen,' who undoubtedly upheld the cause of political freedom as well as of religious fanaticism during a stormy period. Thus it was that the country, as a whole, looked on unconcerned if not actively sympathetic, while they 'rabbled' the curates and persecuted good men like Gideon Guthrie, who, when the Presbyterian clergy fled from their posts in the rising of 1715, went to the rescue of religion. In the second place, while, as Mr Graham clearly shows, the theology which they preached was quite as appallingly grim and obscurantist as it appears in 'Holy Willie's Prayer' and in 'The Holy Fair,' they were perfectly sincere. It is for these reasons that Scottish seriousness, though not Scottish intelligence, stood by them for many years, when, through their vigilance committees, 'seizers' and kirk-session censures, they enforced the terrors of their law alike upon prosperous city merchants, easy-living lairds, and peasants who had strayed into the squalid Venusberg sung by the 'Boccaccios of the byre.'

These considerations support Mr Graham in his contention that 'a people-ridden clergy' represents much more truly the strength of the Scottish 'theocracy' than 'a priest-ridden people.' The gentle Reuben Butlers did not govern the douce Davie Deanses; they followed rather than directed their resolute flock. The paradise of 'theocracy' was realised in some Scottish parishes, as in some New England townships, when people and priest were at one in doctrine and practice; when 'black-bonnet' in the pew gloated over the fuliginous rhetoric of 'black Russel' in the pulpit; when a happier Old Mortality was 'privileged' to inscribe the ecstasy of his melancholy creed and ardent hero-worship on a tombstone.

> 'A faithful minister here lies hid,
> One of a thousand, Mr Peter Kid;
> Firm as a stone, but of a heart contrite,
> A wrestling, praying, weeping Israelite.'

For a time—until Francis Hutcheson migrated from Belfast to Glasgow, and brought the Scottish Enlightenment with him—the poorly-endowed and miserably-

equipped Scottish Universities were strongholds of traditional orthodoxy, and little better than manufactories of 'wrestling, praying, weeping Israelites.' But the attempt to establish a 'clumsy theocracy' failed, as it was bound to fail. Human nature burst its bonds, and, even in the country districts, converted the 'Holy Fairs,' which were originally communion-meetings of the Calvinistic faithful, into orgies of drink and sensual indulgence. The theological 'Old Light' merged in ecclesiastical 'Highflying,' which has lately pursued such will-o'-the-wisps as spiritual independence and disestablishment. Some of the stronger of its adherents, especially those that hived off with one or other of the Secessions that were caused by Patronage, recovered, to some extent, their lost power over the people by identifying themselves with the cause of political reform; but the influence of the mass decayed. Unfortunately, also, Mr Graham supplies cogent proofs that in many places kirk-sessional justice fell from its high estate by establishing a distinction between rich and poor, and exempting from the painful ordeal of public 'discipline' offenders who could give bribes in the form of gifts for church or parish purposes. Yet the chief force that told against the maintenance of the 'theocracy' was scarcely noticed at the time.

It is extremely doubtful if modern Scotland ever gives a thought to Robert Wodrow, or to the fifty volumes of earnest, prejudiced, and laborious dulness in which he has, according to his lights, told the story of his Church's 'sufferings,' of its 'eminent ministers,' and of its 'remarkable providences.' Yet, when one attempts to realise the contrast between the struggling little town of some thirteen thousand inhabitants, in which Wodrow was born in 1679, and the Glasgow of to-day, with its population of nearly a million, one is tempted to see the prescience of the sociologist rather than the helpless forebodings of a Jeremiah in his charge against the Union, that 'trade is put in the room of religion in the late alteration of our constitution.' It may be said that Scotland, with its lately accomplished Presbyterian union, its dreams of 'greater unions to be,' its abounding 'Christian liberality,' its active missionary agencies, and a church-accommodation so extensive as to give a religious edifice to every five hundred of the population, is as much attached to 'religion' as

ever it was. But the 'religion' which is now so much in evidence is a subjective, pervasive, and persuasive force; the 'religion' whose dethronement in the interests of 'trade' was apprehended by Wodrow was, as we have seen, an objective, dominating, politico-social power.

'The late alteration of our constitution,' as Wodrow, with significant caution, terms the final settlement, brought with it peace between England and Scotland, and, on the whole, peace with honour, though not without discontent. 'The Union,' wrote Defoe, shortly after the consummation of an enterprise, his part in which has not yet had justice done it—

'has indeed answered its end to the citizens of Glasgow more than to any other portion of the kingdom, their trade being now formed by it. For as the Union opened the door to the Scots into our American colonies, the Glasgow merchants presently embraced the opportunity; and though, at its first concerting, the rabble of this city made a formidable attempt to prevent it, yet afterwards they knew better when they found the great increase of their trade by it. . . . Not only is Glasgow from fourteen to twenty days nearer to Virginia than is London, but the Scots ships, being quickly on the high seas, are free from privateers, which throng the Channel in time of war, and force ships to wait to go in fleets for fear of enemies.'

Glasgow was once the headquarters of anti-Catholic zealotry and the shelter of 'wild West Whiggery'; yet, long before it stepped on the stage of British economic history in Pennant's 'Tour' as 'the best built of any modern second-rate city I ever saw,' it possessed in its mercantile community a counterpoise to iconoclastic and persecuting Protestantism. Andrew Fairservice has told in 'Rob Roy' how its burghers prevented its Cathedral from being destroyed in the fury of the Reformation. The same class was, at a later stage in the history of Glasgow, denounced for its willingness to accept the Cromwellian settlement of Scotland because it included free-trade with England. Although, after the Union, the burghers of Glasgow would appear, from Mr Graham's description of its social life, to have submitted to government by kirk-session more tamely than the gayer society of Edinburgh, things were changed when the western city became the centre of an expanding foreign commerce and

of an equally energetic mining industry. A great immigration from the country then took place, the old parochial land-marks disappeared, and 'trade' submerged 'religion'; in other words, the original church organisation proved unequal to the task of regulating the life of a city which advanced by leaps and bounds. Sir Henry Craik has told anew the interesting story—even more interesting from the social-economic than from the religious point of view—of the gallant attempt of Chalmers, when minister of a populous parish in Glasgow, to solve the great social problems of his day by means of church and congregational agencies. This attempt was in reality the last stand of the Scottish 'theocracy.' The genius of Chalmers achieved a wonderful success in his own parish; but, even if he had not left it to be engulfed in ecclesiastical controversy, his attempt must have failed, because it depended too much on individual effort. The State and the municipalities have been compelled reluctantly to take into their own hands the solution of the social problems which confront Glasgow and Edinburgh, as they confront London and Liverpool.

It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the 'pious reign of terror,' which finally succumbed to the revolution in business and industry resulting from the Union, had no brighter and more humorous side. Mr Graham, with all his plain speaking, insists that 'never did the clergy in Scotland sink in social esteem and position like the common clergy in England in the beginning of the [eighteenth] century.' He tells some amusing anecdotes of Dr Webster, the ablest of the 'Highflyer' leaders during the Moderate ascendency.

'This gentleman' (he says), 'who was the life of the supper-parties of Edinburgh any time between 1760 and 1780, could join over a magnum of claret on Monday with gentlemen of not too correct lives whom he had consigned to perdition on Sunday; he could pass with alacrity and sincerity from devout prayers by a bedside to a roystering reunion in Fortune's tavern, and return home with his Bible under his arm and five bottles under his girdle.'

The gloomiest chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland during the eighteenth century is the story of Episcopacy 'rabbled' at the Revolution and harried for

its supposed complicity with the Jacobite risings. Yet there was a silver lining even to this cloud. As poor persecuted Gideon Guthrie testifies, he and his friends had their sympathisers in Edinburgh.

'There appearing no cessation of the presbyterian preachers' violence and fury, being still catching all opportunities of hounding out soldiers and others to apprehend us, and the winter coming on, when sculking would have been very uneasy and unsafe, my wife and I resolved to take our hazard and go, with our children and what effects we could get transported, to Edinburgh, which was then and ever since the safest retreat in the kingdom.' *

For another view of the same period we may quote Mr Graham, who shows us that the privations of the Episcopalians, if less severe, were hardly less picturesque than those of the Presbyterians in older days.

'The bishops form an interesting though dim feature in the social and religious life of these days. Little seen, little heard of in the Lowlands, where Presbytery was supreme, in the northern parts they are seen flitting in primitive apostolic fashion and penury from district to district, visiting the diminutive congregations in Ross or Moray, in the wilds of Sutherland or the bleak Orkneys. The worthy bishop, with his deacon, journeys on pony-back wrapped in his check-plaid and attired in quite unepiscopal habiliments, or travels on foot carrying a meagre wardrobe on his shoulders. Hard-working, hard-faring men, strong in the divine right of Prelacy, these simple-souled prelates in homespun maintained with a quaint dignity the honour of their office and the poverty of their lot.' †

Presbyterian dislike to Episcopacy embraced Episcopalian England as well as that detested 'establishment of religion' which was associated with the stool of Jenny Geddes and the apostacy of James Sharp. To the south of the Tweed the fury, almost anti-Semitic in its unreason and intensity, which, at the time of the Bute ascendency, included all Scotsmen in its anathema, may safely be associated with events long antecedent to the invasion of the clans in 1745. Here, too, the 'strong forces of the nation,'

---

* 'Gideon Guthrie,' pp. 91, 92.

† 'The Social Life of Scotland,' vol. ii, p. 125.

by successfully if almost silently asserting themselves, guided the course of history after the failure of the '45 had destroyed Jacobitism as a political danger and demonstrated the indissolubility of the Union. Clever though superficial Englishmen like Horace Walpole, and even bewildered Scotsmen like Secretary Mackenzie, might, when confronted with such a portentous ebullition of popular wrath as 'the Porteous Mob,' wring their hands helplessly and declare that the Scots were a nation of irreconcileable rebels. The strongest heads in both countries knew better. Scotsmen paid little or no attention to the Bute storm, perhaps to some extent because they did not wish to mar the prospect of their adventurous countrymen who flocked to London, as Mr Graham puts it, much as ambitious young Bretons to-day flock to Paris. But they showed themselves resolute in crying 'hands off' when the essentials of the Union settlement seemed to be in peril.

No Scotsmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a richer endowment of common-sense than Robert Burns and Walter Scott. The patriotism of neither was parochial or even provincial; yet it could blaze into fury on occasion. Burns threatened England with dirk and pistol when it was proposed by 'vexatious' excise regulations to restrict distillation. Scott was scarcely less vehement when, in the 'Malagrowther Letters,' he successfully advocated the rights of Scotland to retain her one-pound notes. 'Old Tory' though he proclaimed himself, he knew and to a certain extent respected the fierce temper of his countrymen. 'If you unscotch us,' he wrote to Croker, 'you will find us damned mischievous Englishmen.' 'When her lost Militia fired her bluid,' in other words, when the Militia Bill of the Rockingham Administration, placing Scotland on a footing of military equality with England, was dropped, her 'chosen five-and-forty' members of Parliament were up in arms; nor did they desist from their patriotic protestations until the grievance was redressed.

For a time the Whiggery of Scotland kept aloof from that of England; as Sir Henry Craik points out, the ferocious factiousness of Wilkes had neither parallel nor support in Scotland. In time, however, as was indeed inevitable, Scottish politics became more closely associated with English, although association has never become

complete absorption. Sir Henry necessarily devotes a large portion of his two volumes to the events which led up to the Reform Bill of 1832—to the trials for sedition of Muir and Palmer, Margarot and Gerald, the brutal but superbly courageous one-sidedness of Braxfield, the dictatorship of Henry Dundas, the constitutional Liberalism of Henry Erskine, the influence exercised by Jeffrey and the other founders of the 'Edinburgh Review.' But Scottish Jacobinism, which narrowed slowly down into Scottish Radicalism, drew its inspiration from England, from Thomas Paine and 'The Rights of Man.' Scottish nationality showed itself mainly in the intensity and 'starkness' both of its Conservatism and of its Liberalism. In the time of Dundas, as Mr Graham notes—

'two thousand six hundred freeholders monopolised the political representation of thirty-three counties. Forty or sixty men, who were wheedled for their vote and rewarded with a hilarious banquet, chose their member for Parliament, while town-councils appointed delegates who elected the fifteen members for burghs, having probably been bribed by promise of custom for their trade and desirable posts for their sons.'

But the anomalies of English representation in the pre-Reform days were quite as amusing and scandalous.

Sir Henry Craik pounces with perhaps unnecessary severity upon the flippant Voltaireanism, the dapper self-assurance, and the 'slovenly omniscience' of Jeffrey and his allies, and seems somewhat surprised that their organ exercised so much influence all over the country. But it should not be forgotten that national tradition and intellectual habit gave Scotsmen a special preparation for such political work as the redress of grievance by agitation and the conduct of government by discussion. The sure-footed shrewdness of Bagehot has pointed out that—

'the particular, compact, exclusive learning of England is inferior, as a preparation for the writing of various articles, to the general, diversified, omnipresent information of the North; and, what is more, the speculative, dubious nature of metaphysical and such-like pursuits tends, in a really strong mind, to cultivate habits of independent thought and original discussion.'

'Deux siècles de vie commune ont produit l'union, non

la fusion,' is the summing up of M. Sarolea in his recent pamphlet on the expansion of Scotland;* he adds, with a suspicion of bathos, 'La tradition nationale a un terrible ennemi—les chemins de fer.' Nothing could be more futile than to seek, by speculation on racial fusion or trade development, to anticipate the process of the suns. In the opening year of the twentieth century Scotland appears, from the census returns and the success of an Exhibition which has an assured 'surplus' as large as her entire revenue at the time of the Union, more energetic, prosperous and hospitable to strangers within her gates than ever before in her history. But the threatened exhaustion of the Scottish coal-fields hangs like a dark shadow over the future; and Mr Andrew Carnegie, the latest and most generous of Scottish millionaires, has prophesied that the 'old country' is destined to become the play-ground of the Anglo-Saxon race. Sufficient for the day must be its good as well as its evil, more especially as it is impossible to decide whether that evil is but an empty terror or the hand-writing on the wall. Scotland and England were never more closely associated than they are at the present moment. Both are confronted by the same socio-political problems—of expansion abroad and of the future of 'misery's sons and daughters and the multitude that are ready to perish' at home. It is surely of good omen for their solution that in the last General Election England should have figured as the big brother rather than the predominant partner in the old firm, which has to conduct on extended lines the old business of 'Imperium et Libertas,' industry and civilisation.

---

* 'Comment petit et pauvre peuple devint grand et puissant.' Brussels, 1901.

Art. XIII.—THE PARALYSIS OF PARLIAMENT.

The Parliamentary Debates. Authorised Edition. Fourth Series. Volumes 89 *seq.* 1901.

AMONG the disillusions of public life few can be more poignant than that of the new member of Parliament who enters upon his duties in a serious spirit. To the men of first-rate abilities and corresponding ambitions, to those who aspire through the law or otherwise to 'clutch the golden keys,' Parliament must ever remain the indispensable avenue to fame, and so can never lose its attraction. Other men enter the House of Commons as an agreeable club, or for the social status it affords, or in the pursuit of commercial and professional opportunities. Honourable members of these types will not be disappointed. In spite of recent disclosures, the letters 'M.P.' are still held to be a valuable adornment for the front page of a prospectus; and perhaps more than ever in these dèmocratic days, the House of Commons attracts those who love the uppermost places at public dinners, and desire to be seen of men. It is sometimes said that as a club the House of Commons has deteriorated. The Prime Minister certainly referred to the quality of its dinners as a reason for the bad attendance of his supporters during the recent session. But Lord Salisbury is a satirist, and his reflections on the Kitchen Committee for inadequately sustaining the cohesion of the Unionist Party are not to be taken too seriously. Good or bad, dinners at the House are not less but more popular than heretofore, while 'tea on the terrace' has been added to the milder dissipations of the London season.

To the trifler, then, to the self-seeker, and to the professional politician, the House of Commons preserves its attractions. The case is different with the new member who enters the House with the hope of rendering public service in modest and yet effective fashion. He comes up to Westminster with wide experience, it may be, in local administration, and after long reflection upon public affairs. As he drives for the first time between the sacred gates, he sees in the House he is about to enter a field for real and honourable service to the State.

'New members come here,' as was said in the House the other

day, 'full of valuable suggestions. There is not one of them but has entered the House with some important motion or some important bill in his pocket, and with the firm conviction in his mind that he would be able to bring it before the House and have it discussed.'

If he has studied the Standing Orders of the House, he will have learnt that of the five parliamentary days in each week, three are allotted to private members, and two to Ministers. The actual practice of the House is, he speedily discovers, altogether different. One after the other, the opportunities of private members are taken away; and by the end of the session he finds that ministerial business has absorbed nine tenths of the available time. In the session of 1901 only two matters of any importance were dealt with by Private Members' Bills. Mr Pirie passed an Act dealing with the question of 'half-timers' in Scottish schools; and Mr Crombie passed, in a largely curtailed form, an Act for preventing the sale of liquor to young children. Several other Bills were discussed, but the precedence given to Government business prevented their further consideration.

At the commencement of a session, between three and four hundred private members ballot for places for their Bills. The chances against any one member succeeding even in getting his Bill discussed are at least ninety-nine to one. The private member, therefore, if he aspires to initiate legislation, is doomed to disappointment. His chances of making himself heard in criticism upon supply are hardly much more favourable, for discussion in supply is more and more coming to be closured. He still clings, perhaps, to the fond delusion that he is making the laws of his country in virtue of his right to speak and vote on ministerial proposals and other high matters. He soon finds that what is expected of him is to vote, and not to speak. The real business of debate is confined to the 'great, wise, and eminent men' who sit opposite to each other on the front benches, and who have imposed upon the House the fiction that with them alone rests the indispensable word on every subject. A few unofficial bores insist on making themselves heard—or at any rate on speaking—with futile regularity, and the Irish Nationalists are frankly there to talk the House into impotence. The function of the ordinary private member is to cheer

the games he may not play, to act as 'a string for the myrtle wreaths' of the leading gladiators. This discovery causes some sad disillusionments.

But, at least, the private member has, it may be said, the right to vote. He has; and its exercise is required of him by the whips as a duty. Now the giving of a vote may, under certain conditions, be considered an intellectual exercise. To spend a session in supporting the Government, or in opposing it, after due debate, about clear issues, on the merits of the question, and in accordance with clear conviction, is an occupation not inconsistent with a free man's self-respect. But these conditions are seldom present. The session of this year has been conspicuous by the frequency of their absence. With a few exceptions at each end of the scale, the Liberal opposition has signally failed to make its votes coincide with its speeches on the chief question of the day. On the Government side, there have been at least two occasions —the debates on Mr Brodrick's Army Scheme, and the Laundry Clauses of the Factory Bill—on which members disapproved by speech, and approved by vote. In the case of many of the divisions in supply it is absurd to speak of approval or disapproval at all. When estimates for millions of public money are put to the House *en bloc*, and members are required without discussion to vote yea or nay, the process is so general as to be meaningless. To include the processes of Parliament, a third kind of assent must be added to those discussed in Newman's 'Grammar.' There is real assent. There is notional assent. There is also the assent that is given *ambulando*. In the session of 1901 a 'record' has been made—the athletic phrase is entirely appropriate to what is only an exercise in pedestrianism. In 1900 there were 288 divisions. In 1901 there have been 482. Allowing a quarter of an hour for each division, we see that the House of Commons has spent some 120 hours—equal to more than three weeks of parliamentary time, in this constitutional exercise.

There are times when divisions are the only things which matter in Parliament. The House of Commons is not only an assembly that makes laws; it is also an assembly that makes and unmakes Ministers. No important Government Bill can fail without bringing the Government down with it. This fact it is, as the late Sir John

Seeley was fond of pointing out, that at times fixes the attention of the whole nation with unflagging eagerness upon the proceedings of Parliament. When parties are closely matched, or when some new departure introduces an element of uncertainty into their relative strength, division-lists are scrutinised to show us whether the Opposition is or is not gaining upon the Government. In the last session of Parliament, no such conditions existed. Nobody pretended to believe that there was any likelihood whatever of the Government being shaken, much less displaced. In nearly two-thirds of the divisions the Government had a majority of over a hundred. Yet the number of divisions this year has been greater by thirty-two than it was in the Home Rule session of 1893, which was interminably prolonged and was critical throughout. The exercises of those walking gentlemen, called legislators, have therefore been as futile as they were frequent.

It is not, however, only for the number of divisions that the session of 1901 is remarkable. Seldom has there been a session in recent years which has produced so little result in the way of legislation. The programme sketched out in the King's Speech at the beginning of the session did not err on the side of grandiosity. It included no measure which by the standard of other Parliaments could be called of first-rate importance. 'Certain changes in the constitution of the Court of Final Appeal' were declared to be 'necessary'; proposals were to be submitted 'for increasing the efficiency of my military forces'; there was to be 'legislation for the amendment of the law relating to education'; and legislation was mentioned as having been prepared

'for the purpose of regulating the voluntary sale by landlords to occupying tenants in Ireland, for amending and consolidating the Factory and Workshops Acts, for the better administration of the law respecting lunatics, for amending the Public Health Acts in regard to water supply, for the prevention of drunkenness in licensed houses or public places, and for amending the law of literary copyright.'

Of the items in this modest programme, only three were in any sort or form carried out. A scheme of army reorganisation was explained and sanctioned. The Factory Acts were amended and consolidated. An Education

Bill was passed. But from these legislative performances deductions have to be made. The question of laundries was excluded from the purview of the Factory Acts amendment. The existing law on this subject, which was amended in the Bill as introduced, was incorporated without amendment in the Bill as passed; and a question, at once important and difficult, was thus left over to be dealt with at some future time. We shall have to return to this subject presently in another connexion. Here it is enough to remark that the Factory Bill was passed at the cost of evading one of its chief difficulties.

The case of the Education Bill was even worse. A Bill was passed, but it was not the Bill that was introduced. The Bill as introduced was itself a disappointing and inadequate measure. It was neither courageous nor comprehensive; but, even so, it proved to be beyond the power or the will of Ministers to pass. It was withdrawn, and a Bill of a single clause was substituted. This Education Bill No. 2 was professedly a mere stop-gap, necessitated by the Cockerton judgment. It did, indeed, affirm a general principle; but the principle was hardly more than negative. It was limited to the assertion that the controlling authority in secondary education ought not to be the School Board. The establishment of that negative carries us a very small way on the path of educational reform. The tasks which call for constructive statesmanship—the delimitation of primary education, the creation of efficient machinery for secondary and technical education, the constitution and co-ordination of the various authorities—all these things are once more left over to a more convenient season. An admittedly incomplete amendment and consolidation of the Factory Acts, and a stop-gap Education Act to tide over the next twelve months thus represent the whole contribution of Ministers to the legislative demands of the United Kingdom.

This would be a miserable bag for Ministers to show in any case: as the outcome of the first session of a new Parliament its poverty is without precedent, and of bad augury for the future. The first Parliament of King Edward VII came together fresh from contact with the electorate. Ministers had been returned with a large majority. The Opposition, owing to its internal divisions,

was even weaker than its numbers indicated. The Ministry had been re-constructed and, it was supposed, strengthened by the admission of young and energetic men. The youth of a Parliament, as of a man, is the season for vigour, enthusiasm, hard work. The largest majorities wear out or dissolve: the best of Parliaments become stale. It is said of a session that what is not well begun before Easter will never be well ended; and it is generally the case with Parliaments that, if the first session is not marked by energy and enthusiasm, no subsequent session will be.

No modern Parliament has been more productive of legislation than that which was elected in November 1868. The amount of work which the House of Commons performed in the first session of that Parliament is astonishing. The Irish Church was disestablished. The Endowed Schools Commission was appointed. The University Tests Abolition Bill, though afterwards rejected by the Lords, was passed by the Commons. The shilling duty upon corn was abolished; and the telegraphs were purchased by the State. These were all measures of first-rate importance, and the Irish Church Bill was of great complexity. In addition to all this, Bills were passed dealing with the assessment to rates, with the bankruptcy laws, with habitual criminals, and with some other minor matters.

Mr Gladstone's majority and the energy of his colleagues gradually wore themselves out, and five years later Mr Disraeli saw on the bench opposite to him only a row of 'extinct volcanoes.' Something else was worn out also, and that was the taste of the British public for heroic changes. But the first session of the new Parliament of 1874—although its meeting was delayed by a General Election—showed a creditable record of work. A Factory Act was passed. Lay patronage in the Church of Scotland was transferred. The Endowed Schools Act was amended. The highly contentious Public Worship Regulation Act was passed, and numerous legal measures were carried through.

The first session of the Parliament of 1880–5 was very prolific. 'Notwithstanding the lateness of the period at which you began your labours, your indefatigable zeal and patience have enabled you to add to the Statute Book

some valuable laws.' In the speeches of Sovereigns all laws passed by their Parliaments are valuable. The quality of the legislation does not now concern us. The quantity produced in the session of 1880, which, owing to a General Election, did not begin till the end of April, certainly left no cause of complaint, including, as it did, the Burials Act, the Ground Game Act, and the Employers' Liability Act.

The first working session of Lord Salisbury's second Administration (1887) was almost entirely Irish; but, even with the Crimes Act to be driven through, time was found for four or five other bills of general utility. The first session of his third Administration (1896) dealt with Irish Land, Naval Defence, Agricultural Rates, Cattle Disease, Industrial Arbitration, Explosions in Mines, the Truck Acts, and Light Railways. Even in the short Parliament of 1892–5, though the Ministry led a precarious life, not knowing from day to day what the morrow might bring forth, the House of Commons turned out a great deal of work. Most of it was only ploughing the sands, because what the Commons passed, the House of Lords rejected. But that does not affect the question with which we are now concerned, namely the output of the legislative machine.

It may be said that comparisons between the outputs of Liberal and Conservative Parliaments respectively are misleading. The argument must be qualitative as well as quantitative. The Radical creed is in its essence restless, destructive, prone to change. The Conservative creed is opposed to change for the mere sake of change, and admits the desirability of periods of rest and quiet development. There have been times when this argument could properly be used. The fact that Mr Disraeli's legislative record for 1874 was less extensive than Mr Gladstone's for 1869 did not prove that Parliament had become less efficient, but only that a period of comparative rest had followed upon one of storm and stress in the political temper of the British people. But, as we have seen, Lord Salisbury's legislative record for 1901 is very scanty, even as compared with Mr Disraeli's in 1874. The conditions, moreover, are now very different, and the plea that no great legislative efforts are to be expected from any but a Liberal Government is one which the present Unionist

Party cannot for a moment adopt. The party pendulum is for the time being stationary. The Liberals have been out of office for six years and out of power for sixteen; nor, so far as present indications go, are they likely, if the Unionist Party be true to itself, to return for some time longer. If, therefore, legislative and administrative reforms are not effected by the Unionists, they will hardly —at least for some years to come—be effected at all.

It is quite true that the Unionist Party came into existence to resist a great and far-reaching constitutional change. But in its successful resistance to Home Rule, it has accomplished only half of its mission. On a hundred platforms, leaders of both sections of the Party have explained that the abandonment under their guidance of rash schemes of political change would set Parliament free for the work of administrative and social reform. We have before us 'the Programme of the Unionist Party' as it was set out a few years ago on Mr Balfour's election card (1895). It is worth while to recall it to-day:—

1. An Imperial Foreign Policy.
2. A strong Navy.
3. The Referendum.
4. Poor Law Reform, by (*a*) the classification of paupers; and (*b*) old age pensions.
5. Employers' Liability, with universal compensation for all accidents.
6. The improvement of the dwellings of the poor.
7. The extension of small holdings.
8. The exclusion of pauper aliens.
9. Poor Law and School Board rates to be charges on the Imperial Exchequer.
10. Church defence.
11. Registration reform, with a redistribution of seats so as to secure 'one vote one value.'
12. Facilities to enable working men to purchase their own dwellings.
13. Fair wages for Government workmen.
14. Scotland: (*a*) Public works on the west coast, (*b*) the local management of private Bill legislation.
15. Ireland: (*a*) Local Government, (*b*) public works.

We reproduce this programme, which, it should be understood, was not official, as a striking illustration of the extent to which the desire for social, and even for

political reforms has permeated the Unionist Party. Important portions of the programme were carried out in the last Parliament. Of the remainder, there are some items which perhaps require reconsideration, but other questions, education for instance, and rating reform, have since pushed themselves forward into a prominent position, so that the amount of work awaiting the present Administration is greater than ever. The scanty performances of the first session of the new Parliament cannot, then, be ascribed to any emptiness in the Unionist programme. If nothing has been done, it is not because there was nothing to do. Anybody who mixes at all among the rank and file of the Party finds no cheerful acquiescence in the barrenness of the session, no willingness to rest and be thankful, but rather a bitter sense of disappointment that no satisfactory start has yet been made.

This disappointment at the legislative barrenness of the session is not likely to be diminished by an examination of some of its other features. A new member, however depressed he must have been by the inability of the House of Commons to discharge its legislative functions, might yet feel that its time, and his, were well employed if the House set to work in a business-like way on its other principal duty—the examination of votes in supply. But here the disillusionment is even more complete. There is an interminable flow of talk, and there are constant divisions; but of a business-like apportionment of means to ends, of a proper distribution of time and energy over the field to be covered, of effective check and criticism upon the departments and their estimates, there has been, in the session of 1901, less trace than ever.

The session began with an innovation calculated to deprive the legislature of effective control over the executive; and, as it began, so it ended. The necessity for each fresh innovation was the same—the eternal need of time. At the beginning of the session, supplementary and revised supplementary estimates were exceptionally heavy and numerous—a state of things which in itself is inimical to sound finance. These supplementary estimates have of course to be dealt with before the close of the financial year on March 31. In view of the pressure thus seen to be inevitable, the Government, at an unusually early period of the session, took additional time. They also

amended the Standing Orders (March 4), so as to abolish the right of discussion on going into committee of ways and means. The twelve o'clock rule was suspended; the House indulged in some all-night sittings; and it had the pleasure, on one occasion, of meeting on Saturday as well. But all these expedients did not secure any effective criticism of the supplementary estimates. On the contrary, the Government deemed it necessary to make a further innovation, which, if persisted in, would remove even the allocation of particular sums to particular purposes from the control of Parliament.

In the case of the Civil Service, the supplementary estimates were put in one sum from the chair, a number of classes being consolidated into a single vote. This procedure was a new and serious departure from established usage. Mr Balfour, while seeking to minimise its effect, pleaded overmastering and exceptional necessity. The Speaker was appealed to in the matter. He admitted the plea of necessity, and, in the circumstances, did not see his way to interfere with the prerogative of Ministers. But in a weighty speech (March 25) he called the attention of the House to 'the somewhat sweeping nature' of the change, and trusted that it would not be considered a precedent. Precedents, however, when once made, do not cease to be precedents by a mere agreement not to call them such.

At the end of the session, the precedent was followed —not indeed in form (for in the earlier case the change was made without the prior consent of the House), but in substance. The same overmastering necessity, assumed at the beginning of the session to be exceptional, was found to have recurred at the end. Just as the supplementary estimates for 1900–1 had to be pushed through by exceptional means, so also the estimates for 1901–2 required exceptional treatment. A new rule for closuring Supply in blocks was accordingly made on August 7. The reader will remember that by Mr Balfour's new rules of 1896 a fixed number of days in each session is devoted to Supply. On the last allotted day but one the chairman proceeds to put seriatim, and without discussion allowed, all the votes which may not already have been disposed of. In the session of this year the number of votes undiscussed was very large, being ninety-six out of a

hundred-and-fifty. Upon these votes, the 'guillotine' (as the 'outs' call it, until they become the 'ins') would in any case have fallen. But though the House had parted, since 1896, with the right to discuss the remaining estimates, it was still possessed of the right to vote upon them. Members could not give reasons, but at any rate they could show their opinion, on a particular vote, by challenging or supporting it in the division lobbies. This right of the House to deal separately with each vote was, said Sir William Harcourt in 1896, 'a matter of profound importance which went to the very root of the principle of the control by the House of Commons over the expenditure of public money.' It is impossible to deny the force of the contention, but the right has disappeared; and at the end of the last session of Parliament public moneys amounting to 67,706,711*l.* were voted in ten batches, at the rate of over twenty millions an hour.

We do not say that the procedure adopted was not necessary; probably it was so. Nor are we concerned at this stage of the argument to apportion the blame. Assuredly it does not all belong, as members of the Opposition and one candid friend on the Ministerial side alleged, to Ministers. The House itself had so wasted the earlier part of the session as to leave no time for further discussion. There was also reason to suppose that the Irish Nationalists would have insisted on dividing upon every single vote that remained undiscussed. The right to challenge a division on any particular vote becomes an absurdity when it is translated into licence to divide on every vote indiscriminately. All this, which was urged with much force by Mr Balfour, is undeniable; but it is undeniable also that the present conditions under which the estimates are voted make legitimate discussion impossible. When a hundred votes, involving sixty-eight millions of public money, are passed without discussion and without the power of separate challenge by division, Parliamentary control of the estimates disappears.

Here, as in the case of the growing legislative impotence of Parliament, excuses are not wanting. It is said that public economy no longer excites public interest, and that Parliament, in losing all effective control of the departments, is only reflecting the present temper of the nation. It is quite true that economy, in the sense of

retrenchment, is no longer much in favour as an end in itself. The British people have come to recognise that, even as a matter of business, the army and the navy need strengthening. With the growth in the value of national interests, and also in the nature of foreign risks, some corresponding increase in the national insurance is felt to be necessary. Also, the political change in the conception of the sphere of government,—the growing tendency to use the State as a means for making common contribution to common ends, necessarily involves an enlargement of public expenditure. But, if public opinion is prepared for high expenditure, it does not follow that it is indifferent to economical administration. True economy means efficiency; and efficiency is what public opinion seems at this moment to demand.

The country does not, for instance, grudge a large expenditure on the army, and it has accepted the tremendous cost of the South African war with a quiet resignation which has not a little disconcerted its opponents. But it is easy to detect in some of the parliamentary debates a dissatisfied feeling that neither in the administration of the army at large nor in the conduct of the war in South Africa has the country any security for obtaining the best value for its money. The fact is that, as the scale of national expenditure rises, the need for economic vigilance increases; and vigilance depends, as every business man is aware, on careful attention to details. Nothing is more demoralising to good administration than to say 'we spend so much already that a little more or less here or there is no matter.' There was a significant debate during the recent session on the scale of remuneration adopted by the present Government for the law officers of the Crown (April 26). Under the last Liberal Government, the Attorney-General had a fixed salary of 10,000*l.* and the Solicitor-General of 9,000*l.* This included all business, and they were debarred from all private practice. Under the Unionist Administration the system of fixed salary was abolished. The law officers were paid partly by salary and partly by fees; their total receipts in the last year amounted to 18,804*l.* and 11,329*l.* respectively. The sums involved are very trifling in relation to the total national outgoings; but the feeling that the additional expenditure was unnecessary

and extravagant was, as the debate and division showed, by no means confined to the Opposition side of the House.

On the question of economy generally, the responsible Ministers adopt frankly an attitude of *non possumus*. The Prime Minister throws the blame on a general tendency against which he is powerless to contend. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is keenly alive to the need of economical administration, and appeals, more in desperation than in hope, to all and sundry to come and help him. It is in the House of Commons that the appeal should be answered; but the House of Commons, under present conditions, is powerless. It is absurd to suppose that in a social organism, such as ours, of which the complexity and multifariousness are increasing every year, the era of necessary reform by means of the legislature has closed; and no less absurd is it to suggest that, in the ever increasing extension of the sphere of government, the need for economy in administration has disappeared. It is not the popular will that is at fault; it is the parliamentary machine that has become inefficient. The functions of Parliament—legislative and financial—have not become unnecessary; the nerves through which they are discharged have become atrophied. We are not blessed with the advent of the millennium, nor with the discovery of a bottomless purse, which might justify us in spending without thought and closing the statute-book with complacency. The state of things with which we are confronted is very different. It is the paralysis of Parliament.

The paralysis with which the parliamentary body is afflicted belongs, if we may judge from the session recently concluded, to the category known to the text-books as *agitans*. It is shown in convulsive movements, in aimless activities, in halting steps that totter nowhither. No one can say that the House of Commons has been stricken dumb; it has talked as volubly as ever; but it shows an apparently incurable tendency to say the same things over and over again. Furthermore, the House of Commons is a great valetudinarian. It is conscious that something is wrong with it, and is for ever tinkering at its regimen. On no less than eighteen days in the last session there were debates, or divisions, or (more often) both,

on motions of this kind. Of the waste of time and loss of prestige caused by the turbulent scenes for which the Irish members are mainly responsible it is unnecessary to speak. Like all bodies which are conscious of a loss of public respect, the House of Commons is much given to standing on its dignity. On one occasion, a ministerial statement with regard to Chinese affairs was made by the Foreign Secretary in the House of Lords (March 22). For some reason, or by some oversight, a copy of the statement was not given to the Under-Secretary to read out in the House of Commons. To most people it would seem a matter of supreme indifference. The only object of the statement was publicity, and the report of Lord Lansdowne's speech was in all the evening papers. To the House of Commons this 'slight' was intolerable; and time was congenially wasted in protests against members being 'kept in ignorance' of matters which were already in type before them.

This is the kind of futility which the House of Commons loves almost as dearly as a debate on Breach of Privilege. There were two opportunities for this diversion during the past session. The House availed itself of them to the full. The farce was elevated to the plane of true comic irony by the fact that the guardians of the honour and dignity of the House were the Irish Nationalists. From the contests with the Press into which the House enters on these occasions it seldom emerges without loss of dignity, and never with any gain of public advantage. 'It is a maxim with me,' said Bentley, 'that no man was ever written out of reputation but by himself.' The House of Commons would do well to lay that maxim to heart. There is only one body that can lower the dignity and impair the efficiency of the House of Commons; and that is the House of Commons itself.

The failure of the House during the session of 1901 is proclaimed loudly and gleefully by those who have most reason to desire it. It is not seriously denied by those on whom lies the main responsibility of averting it. 'Last session,' says Mr Redmond, 'the House of Commons had absolutely broken down.' * 'I say frankly and boldly,'

* Speech at Westport, Co. Mayo, September 1st.

remarked Mr Brodrick, 'that you cannot expect much legislation from the Government' because, he had previously explained, they had so much else to do in consequence of the war in South Africa.* 'The real truth of the matter is,' said Mr Balfour on March 4th, 'that a great many causes have been at work which make it impossible for the Government to do any work at all'—unless, he added, the rules of the House be modified.

The explanations, it will be seen, differ; the broad fact is not disputed. What, then, are the real reasons? And, in the first place, are they temporary or permanent? In our opinion they are of both kinds. It is true, as Mr Brodrick says, that the pre-occupation of the Government and of the country with South African affairs explains and excuses, to some degree, the failure of Parliament to perform useful labour in other fields; but the extent of this pre-occupation in the parliamentary sphere must not be exaggerated. The Army Re-organisation Scheme occupied only three sittings. Debates on various questions connected with South African policy were frequent; but the number of questions on which it was necessary or desirable for the House of Commons to intervene was not large. The policy of the concentration camps, the peace negotiations between General Botha and Lord Kitchener, the taxation of the mines, the general lines of future settlement—these were all matters which Parliament was called upon to discuss. It should have been able to discuss them without leaving other duties undone. If the time spent on South African questions was excessive, the fact is a symptom, rather than a cause, of the disorder which we are considering.

Mr Brodrick mentioned also in his list of special and accidental hindrances, 'the necessity for settling the Civil List of the new Sovereign.' But the Civil List was passed with remarkably little discussion in the House itself. It occupied only a portion of five sittings. One reason for this was that the subject had been referred to a very strong Select Committee—a fact worth remembering in connexion with suggestions hereafter to be made. Another measure due to the new reign—the Royal Titles Bill—was passed with even less discussion.' A much heavier tax

---

* Speech at the Hotel Métropole, July 10th.

on parliamentary time was imposed by the Budget. In one form or another this occupied not much less than three weeks of the session. To some extent, this may be considered exceptional, and due to the exceptional demands made by the war; but, in these days, when no limit seems to be set to public expenditure, whilst the limits of the old sources of taxation have very nearly been reached, important budgets are likely to be the exception, rather than the rule.

Other causes of the barrenness of the session, which were not inevitable, and which we trust will turn out to be only temporary, are to be found in the management of public business. The more Ministers dwell upon the inevitable pressure of the session, the less intelligible becomes their limitation of its hours. The House met unusually late; it was allowed to rise as early as usual, therein resembling Charles Lamb, who used to say that he made up for coming to his office late by going away early. Having shortened the session at both ends (as compared with some other years) Mr Balfour also doubled the holidays in the middle. An addition to the number of parliamentary days does not, it is true, conduce of itself to any increase in the parliamentary output; and, other things being equal, we agree with Mr Balfour in disapproving of very long sessions. But, as the time allotted to this session was short, Ministers should at least have been careful to avoid, so far as in them lay, any waste of it. They should have arranged their business carefully; they should have shown that they were in earnest and determined to get all the work possible out of the machine. On the contrary, the order of business throughout the session was most erratic.

The way to get things done in ordinary life is to take up each in turn and stick to it till it is finished; but this is not the way of the House of Commons. There was no method in the arrangement of supply. Three, four or five subjects, often widely different from each other, were put down for one night; and the House proceeded to take successive nibbles. If ever it seemed to have settled down to any one subject in a business-like way, something always cropped up—the exigencies of the financial year, the backwardness of Supply, Mr Lowther's gout or Mr Balfour's change of mind—to make a pretext for dropping

one subject and taking up another. The late meeting of Parliament was the initial mistake. Public business inevitably fell into arrears; and Ministers (as Lord Randolph Churchill once remarked of another ill-managed session) were like bad farmers, 'always doing work at the wrong time, sowing when they ought to be ploughing, ploughing when they ought to be sowing.'

The evil was aggravated by the indecision of Ministers on the two most important measures of general legislation which they introduced. The failure of the Unionist Government to carry their Education Bill in the Session of 1896 would, one might have supposed, have stimulated them to avoid a second catastrophe. That far-reaching legislation is wanted has been stated by Mr Chamberlain in an admirable speech.

'The more I study this question of higher education,' he said, 'the more I am persuaded of its enormous importance to this country, the more I am convinced of our own deficiencies, both absolutely and in comparison with those other nations which are our competitors in the struggle.' *

The Government Bill (No. 1) was not introduced till May 7th. It fell far short of what most members of the Unionist party had hoped; but at any rate it was supposed to be meant seriously. This supposition became fainter and fainter as weeks passed by, and no progress was made with the Bill. At the end of June, Mr Balfour announced its withdrawal on the ground of the difficulties in the way. It was impossible to believe that the heart of the Government had ever been in a Bill introduced so late, so quickly set aside, so lightly withdrawn. Mr Brodrick's apologetics, to which we have already referred, fail to convince. It is not very apparent why the maintenance of 'an army of 250,000 men at 6000 miles distance' should incapacitate the Duke of Devonshire and Sir John Gorst from thinking out the problems of secondary education, or Mr Ritchie from grappling with the inspection of laundries.

The half-heartedness of Ministers on this latter question was a sore trial to the temper of their supporters. As a matter of principle, Unionists could find no justification for making a special exemption, in a general Factory Bill,

* Speech at Birmingham, July 6th, 1901.

in favour of laundries conducted by a section of one of many religious bodies within the United Kingdom. Neither the Church of England, nor the Nonconformist bodies, nor the Roman Catholic bishops in England had any objection to their institutions being inspected. As a matter of Unionist policy, there was strong resentment at what looked very much like a bargain struck beween the Home Secretary and the Irish Nationalists; nor was this feeling mitigated by the fact that the surrender occurred aday or two after the Unionist demonstration at Blenheim, at which Mr Chamberlain had denounced, through all the notes of contempt and indignation, the conduct of those who 'troop into the lobby at the tail' of the Irish Home-rulers. Lastly, as a matter of parliamentary procedure, with which we are here more particularly concerned, Unionists saw with undisguised alarm that Ministers had capitulated to obstruction. There had as yet been no obstruction to the Factory Bill; but Ministers were afraid that there might be, unless they yielded to the demand of a small minority. We know that they are 'not a very courageous ministry.' It was of evil omen that the first session of the King's first Parliament should close with a demonstration that obstruction pays; and that the mere fear of it, before it comes, is enough to frighten Ministers from their purpose. This is not the temper, nor are these the tactics, by which the efficiency and dignity of the House of Commons can be preserved.

It must then be admitted, we think, that for the paralysis of Parliament, as exemplified in the past session, Ministers themselves are largely to blame. Mr Brodrick, who, before his domestic bereavement, was the fighting member in the Conservative wing of the Unionist army, has indeed 'ventured to say that too little credit had been given to Mr Balfour for the manner in which he had carried through the thankless task of greasing the wheels of the House of Commons machinery.'* To Mr Balfour's courtesy, dignity and high-mindedness it is impossible to give too much credit; and these are qualities which of themselves do something to redeem from discredit the House which he leads. But the question is not whether Mr Balfour 'greases the wheels.' It is rather whether the Govern-

* Speech at Guildford, May 1st, 1901.

ment, of which he is so distinguished an ornament, supplies in its collective capacity enough driving-power to make the wheels go round.

The defects in the system lie too deep to be reached by any personal equations or temporary expedients. The machinery itself is out of gear. The inefficiency of the parliamentary machine may have been particularly obvious during this last session, but it has been remarked for many years and under many different conditions. Whatever else we may think of Mr Gladstone, nobody can accuse him of being deficient in driving-power. But nearly twenty years ago, Mr Gladstone had noted the symptoms which we are discussing to-day.

'The rate at which legislation is to march ought to be determined,' he said, 'by the deliberate choice of the representatives of the people, and ought not to be determined by a system built upon the basis of ancient rules under which the House of Commons . . . becomes year after year more and more the slave of some of the poorest and most insignificant among its members.' *

Four times in the decade 1880–90 the House of Commons revised its rules in the hope of expediting business. Four times also, in the same period, exceptional measures were taken outside the Standing Orders or practice of the House. But the evils which we deplore to-day steadily gained ground all the time. In 1890 an influential committee was appointed to consider the matter. Their report was that things had grown worse rather than better.

'The causes, legitimate and illegitimate, which stimulate discussion have,' they found, 'more than counterbalanced the effect of the rules designed to restrict it.'

This report was drawn up by Viscount (then Mr) Goschen. The opinion of Mr Chamberlain was the same, and was expressed in yet stronger terms. The problem presented by the growth of obstruction in the House of Commons is, he said, continually becoming more urgent and more important.

'We have already arrived at a condition of things in which

* Speech at the Eighty Club, July 11th, 1884.

it is possible for any minority absolutely to prevent the majority from passing any legislation at all. . . . How long are we to wait, passive and inert, before we use our strength to throw off this incubus that threatens to strangle the great and noble institution of Parliamentary Government?' *

If a fresh committee were appointed to consider the situation to-day, it would have to report that the decade 1890–1900 had again seen frequent alterations of the rules, but that they had all been in vain. There must be something radically and permanently wrong with a machine which moves more slowly the more it is greased, which breaks down in the hands alike of Liberal and Conservative Ministers, and which will not respond satisfactorily either to the most gentle or to the most energetic driving.

What, then, is it that is wrong? Mr Balfour, in that charming way of his, which is better calculated perhaps to please for the moment than to probe down to real causes, puts the blame anywhere and everywhere except on the House of Commons itself.

'It is not the fault of the Government,' he says, 'or the fault of the House, but it is due to circumstances over which the House has really no control; for it is due to the increased perplexity of modern Governmental work, to the press and the telegraph; and due, perhaps, to one other cause as much as any other, and that is the fact that a very much larger number of honourable gentlemen desire to take part in our debates than was the case one hundred, or eighty, or even sixty years ago.' †

Of Mr Balfour's reasons, one, at least, may be accepted as a real cause. It is perfectly true that the House of Commons has more work than ever to do. The British Parliament is unique in this respect among the parliaments of the world. It has to act at once as a local legislature for each of the three kingdoms; as a general legislature for the United Kingdom; and as an Imperial Parliament for one of the greatest empires that the world has ever seen. What the people of the United States perform by means of fifty Legislatures, that the people of this country perform by a single Parliament, and that a Parliament

---

* 'Nineteenth Century,' December 1890.

† Speech in the House of Commons, March 4th, 1901.

which, for effective purposes, consists of a single Chamber. 'Atlantean, the load!' And never more so than now; for, at one and the same time, the local and the imperial burdens are becoming heavier every year. The limits of government and the bounds of the Empire are both expanded. More is asked of the State at home; more is required from it abroad. This year the South African War has absorbed much of the governing faculty of the country. Next year it may be the South African Settlement. This year British interests in China have been somewhat put in the background owing to African pre-occupations. Another year some other foreign or colonial question will call for the close attention of Parliament. Meanwhile the volume of local business grows with the increasing complexity of social conditions, and the widening view of what may be done by state action. Parliament, therefore, must be expected to have more and more to do. Unless it can overtake its additional work, the House of Commons will more and more lose its reputation; and its failure may endanger both the basis of the Unionist position and the constitution of the State.

It is only by the most careful adjustment of means to ends, only by a frank acceptance of the actual conditions of the time, that the House can hope to grapple with the burdens now imposed upon it. There is at present no such adjustment; there is no such acceptance. The work is not properly distributed; the procedure of the House is framed not for work, but for talk. But here we must distinguish. Talk is the medium in which the House of Commons works. The object of reforms in its procedure must be not to abolish discussion, but to make discussion contribute directly and sensibly to the furtherance of public business. The remedies which were applied during the last session, and to which we referred at the beginning of this article, may have been the only remedies immediately available, but they were remedies which created as many evils as they cured. They obtained the passage of the estimates; they did not secure any proper discussion of them. They did not enable the House of Commons to discharge all its functions; they simply abolished, for the time being, one of those functions. This was the lesser of two evils; it was not in itself a good.

It is necessary to emphasise this point, because it appears to be forgotten in some current discussions. Writers and speakers who argue that insistence upon opportunities for discussion is to harp upon obsolete constitutional phrases, are in danger of undermining the very principles of parliamentary government. We agree with Mr Gibson Bowles that

'the business of the House of Commons is to consider and to debate such proposals, whether legislative or financial, as come before it; and not merely to vote upon them without either time for consideration or opportunity for debate. To hold the contrary is to hold that the House of Commons serves no useful purpose.' *

The object of any satisfactory reform must be, then, not to abolish talk in the House of Commons, but to direct the stream of talk into appropriate and fruitful channels. With some deductions, presently to be made, we may accept Mr Chamberlain's statement that

'an ordinary session of Parliament affords ample time for the fair presentation of arguments for and against the leading proposals of the Government. It offers sufficient opportunities for the consideration and decision of every reasonable amendment.' †

The reason why the time is, in fact, found insufficient, is because the talk is not duly apportioned and not directed to the proper ends.

The fact is that the machinery of the House of Commons was devised for other conditions than those which exist to-day, and that it has never yet been thoroughly readjusted to modern requirements. The government of this country, considered with regard to the distribution of political power, has changed from a monarchy to a democracy. The machinery of the House of Commons has not changed with it. The House, as has been acutely remarked, 'has become stereotyped as a machine of protest.' The principle underlying its rules and practice is still the protection of the liberties of the people against the encroaching prerogative of the Crown; its organisa-

* Letter to the 'Times,' August 15th, 1901.
† 'Nineteenth Century,' December 1890.

tion as a machine of governing democracy has yet to be accomplished. Again:

'Apart from violent or palpable changes, visible on the surface of affairs, the body politic is also subject to the continual action of a silent process, which insensibly alters the distribution of forces within the structure.' *

Among the most remarkable effects of this silent process has been the rise of the Platform and the Press as instruments of public discussion. The reflex action of this change upon the proper functions of Parliament has not yet been admitted within its walls. The fiction is still maintained that nothing has been said on any subject until it has been said, and said several times over, within the House of Commons. The question is often asked why the newspapers are ceasing to report the parliamentary debates so fully as was once the case. The answer is to be found, we imagine, in the fact that the debates are seldom news. They are only a repetition of arguments with which the public are already familiar from reports of platform speeches and press discussions. Under modern conditions, the talk in the House of Commons should be less and less devoted to discussion of general principles, and more and more concentrated upon the business-like consideration of particulars.

The House of Commons, then, has more than ever to do, and it continues to do it in an unbusiness-like way. These two propositions will lead us, we believe, to the proper remedies. Such remedies must be large if they are to cope adequately with so great an evil. But there are several minor palliatives which may first be mentioned. Among these we do not include Redistribution with a view to a reduction in the number of Irish members. The case for Redistribution is quite strong enough to stand on its own merits; and the idea that the business of the House of Commons would be appreciably facilitated by a reduction of the Irish Nationalists from eighty to sixty does much less than justice to the industry and ingenuity of those gentlemen.

Another much-canvassed reform—of which, however, we do not think that much will come, refers to Questions.

* Mr Gladstone in the 'Nineteenth Century,' April 1892.

Question-time occupies, on the average, from three-quarters of an hour to an hour a day. The average daily number of questions is forty. The highest we have come across in the last session is one hundred and five. Of this number, forty were asked by Irish members—an unduly large proportion, it must be admitted. The 'intelligent foreigner' making his first acquaintance with the Imperial Parliament would no doubt be struck with some sense of incongruity in hearing the King's Ministers catechised with regard to the closing of a grave-yard in Ballyhooly, or the opening of a post-office in Killaloe. Perhaps the greater number of the questions asked is trivial. They waste a certain amount of time in Parliament; they occupy yet more time in the departments where the answers are prepared. In the Report of Mr Dawkins's Committee on War Office Organisation, it was stated that in the session of 1900 no fewer than 1379 questions were asked about military details. The preparation of answers was complained of as a serious tax upon the staff of the Office.

To abolish questions altogether, or rigorously to restrict them, would, no doubt, save time in the House of Commons and time and trouble in the Government offices; but it would do so at the cost of depriving Parliament of a useful function, and the departments of a wholesome check. For not all questions are trivial or futile; and the control of Parliament over the executive is not so strong that any opportunity for its exercise is lightly to be surrendered. To all reasonable and *bonâ fide* questions, reasonable and *bonâ fide* answers should be, and we think in most cases are, given. The power of eliciting such replies is an important parliamentary function, helping to distinguish popular government from bureaucracy. A new member asked the other day:—

'Whether, to expedite public business, the First Lord of the Treasury will consider the advisability of having all replies to questions addressed to Ministers by honourable members printed and circulated among members at the commencement of business' (March 15). Mr Balfour replied: 'If the honourable gentleman means that any part of the questions answered across the floor of the House and their replies should be published first, I think it would only increase instead of diminishing the congestion of business. If, on the other hand, he means that the House is to be content with printed answers to the

questions, it appears to me that, however desirable that might be from some points of view, it would deprive the House of the indulgence in a practice which it appears to enjoy.'

That is certainly true; and in this case the 'enjoyment' of the House of Commons is appreciated also by the public. The adoption of printed answers would save time in two ways; the minute occupied by the actual answer would be saved, and supplementary questions would be debarred. These questions are often as numerous as the original questions themselves. Many of them are frankly otiose or facetious or provocative; but sometimes they are essential to clearing up the matter at issue. The right to make the questioning of Ministers effective is too valuable to be sacrificed; but we see no objection to the suggestion that has been made that the right to put supplementary questions should be confined to the original questioner. This restriction would rule out the activity of members who merely 'cut in' to continue the fun or deliberately to waste time.

The 'intelligent foreigner,' to whom we have already alluded, will be surprised to find that important public business, on Government nights, is often postponed, sometimes for hours, by the consideration of private bills dealing with some provincial water-works or metropolitan railway-station. For June 11th last the leader of the House had given notice of an important motion with regard to public business. For an hour or two the consideration of this motion was delayed by discussion on Railway Bills. The Parliament which is charged with Imperial affairs has also to interest itself with the deposits of dirt at Ludgate Hill railway-station. Over and over again, important public business is blocked by private bills set down for prior discussion 'by order.' Neither the Government, nor the House itself, has any control over such orders, which are given by the promoters of private bills. These ingenious and powerful gentlemen, when they want a full House, put down their bills for days on which some specially important public affairs are to be discussed. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman referred to this evil as a growing one, and urged that a remedy should be found for it. Private business often involves social and economic principles of general application, to which the

House of Commons rightly pays attention. There have been cases in point during the last session. But the House should at least be master of its own time. It has been suggested by a correspondent of the 'Times' (July 2) that,

'as Tuesdays and Fridays are, on the whole, less valuable days than Mondays and Thursdays, private business might well be confined to Tuesdays and Fridays; and on Mondays and Thursdays the Government would have a clear and certain nine hours at its disposal.'

This is a suggestion which might well be adopted.

The time occupied in divisions is, as we have already pointed out, very considerable. Divisions must of course be taken, and on some questions—the estimates, for instance—we have even argued that there should be more than there were in the last session. But need they occupy so much time as they occupy under the present system of walking through the lobbies? On this point we have no definite suggestion to make; but surely it does not pass the wit of man to invent some method of taking votes by which the time at present spent in that operation might be appreciably shortened.

One other obvious, but minor, reform is suggested by the proceedings of last session. The discussion of Education Bill No. 2 in Committee was broken off for several days owing to the absence (through ill-health) of Mr Lowther, the Chairman of Committees. Discussion of the Bill without the closure was considered undesirable; and only the Chairman himself, not his deputy, can put the closure. Hence the absurdity was witnessed of the progress of an urgent Government measure being at the mercy of Mr Lowther's gout. The closure has come to be regarded as an indispensable adjunct to the conduct of public business; during last session it was applied no fewer than 65 times. We are afraid that this frequent use of the closure is unavoidable, though it is worth noting that the Chancellor of the Exchequer succeeded in passing his very contentious Finance Bill without once closuring the debate. But if the closure be indispensable, its application should not be dependent on the health of any one official of the House. The power to put the closure should be attached to the chair, not the chairman; to the office, not to the person.

Private business and questions are not the only matters which detain the House from the discussion of public business. Motions for adjournment in order to call attention to 'a definite matter of urgent public importance' are a frequent and serious cause of delay. Such motions have now to be supported by at least forty members. With the Speaker rests the decision whether the question raised complies with the definition above given. It is not difficult to discover topics which fall within the rule; and the Speaker seldom refuses a motion. Like most other forms of the House, this power to raise what we may call 'emergency' debates is too valuable to be abolished altogether, but so liable to abuse as to require restriction. The question is whether the present rule, which requires the support of forty members, might not be made more stringent. It is well to safeguard the rights of minorities; but, after all, 40 out of 670 is a very small minority. The suggestion has been made (by the correspondent in the 'Times' quoted above) that these motions for adjournment should not be put unless they are supported by 100 members, instead of 40. Even in these days of large Government majorities (which are as a general rule disposed to vote against all motions for adjournment), it is not difficult to find a minority of 100; and there is certainly force in the observation that 'a question cannot be very urgent or very important if one man in every six does not care to call attention to it.'

The better arrangement of private business, some limitation in the licence of 'supplementary' questioning, the removal of the anomaly about the closure in Committee, a restriction of the right to move the adjournment by way of emergency—these reforms would, no doubt, do something to facilitate the conduct of public business. But none of these suggestions, nor all of them together, can be said to go to the root of the matter. The House as such has too much to do. The time that is at its disposal is not properly distributed. These are the root-causes of its present inefficiency. It is only by removing these that any efficient remedy can be found for the paralysis that is creeping over Parliament. The proper remedy for over-work is obvious. It is *devolution*; and devolution may be carried very far without reaching any

of those constitutional changes by which Mr Gladstone would have destroyed the Imperial Parliament as it now exists. For devolution may be either to extraneous bodies or to bodies made up from the members of the devolving body itself. It is to the latter process that Unionists must look for relieving the pressure upon the Imperial Parliament.

After all, the business of Parliament only differs from that of other bodies by the greater range and importance of its affairs. This difference makes it not less but more necessary that the sound business principles which experience has approved in other concerns should be applied to the House of Commons. The first of these principles is the division of labour by means of Committees. It is by a large adoption of this principle that the United States Congress is enabled to despatch a great amount of work. The system of Committees is also largely employed in France; and (to take a signal instance nearer home) it is the secret of the effective despatch of business by the London County Council. To argue the case for the principle as applicable to the House of Commons is superfluous, for it is already admitted. The question is whether the present congestion of business does not suggest the desirability of a great extension of the principle. The objections to legislation by Committee are well stated by Mr Bryce in the first part of his work on 'The American Commonwealth' (Chap. XV). We may admit that it is not an ideal system free from all disadvantages, but our contention is that no better system is available. It should be remarked further that the dissimilarities between the English and the American parliamentary systems (which Mr Bryce brings out) are calculated to remove from a larger use of Committees in the House of Commons some of the principal objections which he makes to Committees of Congress. We shall proceed, therefore, to formulate our suggestions.

In the first place, Parliament, as we have seen, exercises no effective control over the estimates. The ideal course would be, we admit, that such control should be exercised by Committee of the whole House. But, as a matter of fact, it is not exercised; nor has Mr Balfour's scheme of allotting a fixed number of days to Supply sufficed to secure the desired end. Why, then, since the House as a

whole is inefficient for the purpose, should not the estimates be referred to a Committee? This suggestion has high authority behind it.

'The votes should be sent,' wrote Mr Chamberlain in 1890, 'to one or more committees, and the consideration by these committees should be substituted for the committee of the whole.'

The Report stage, we may here remark, should remain; but the consideration of the estimates at this stage by the whole House should be confined to the votes in classes.

'The advantages of such a plan,' continued Mr Chamberlain, 'are obvious. There is no reason why such committees should be partisan any more than the committee on public accounts or the grand committees have been; and they would be able to give a careful and instructive attention to the estimates that would probably lead to many improvements and economies.'

The suggestion thus made by Mr Chamberlain was considered in 1886 by a strong Select Committee on Parliamentary Procedure, presided over by the then Lord Hartington. The suggestion was not included in its recommendations, for its opinion on the point wavered, and in the end the proposal was rejected. The principle of referring the estimates to the Standing Committees was proposed by Sir William Harcourt and was carried by fourteen votes to thirteen. But when a substantive clause embodying the principle was brought up by the chairman, it was lost by thirteen votes to ten. The clause, as proposed by the present Duke of Devonshire, is worth citing:

'A motion may be made in the House that the Army, Navy and Civil Service Estimates, or any portion of them, shall be referred to Standing Committees; and Resolutions of Standing Committees on such Estimates shall have the same effect as Resolutions of the Committee of Supply; provided that the Vote for the number of men for the Army shall always be voted by the Committee of Supply.'

The clause, with its important proviso, was supported, among others, by Sir William Harcourt, Mr Courtney, the late Sir John Mowbray and Mr Whitbread—four men differing in political opinions, but all of great weight in

questions of parliamentary procedure. The continued experience of the present system since 1886 has added cogency to the arguments in favour of the suggested reform. The failure of the House adequately to consider the estimates is obvious; the impossibility of obtaining any better results from the present system was pointed out last session both from the Ministerial and from the Opposition benches.* The reform which is now suggested has already been advocated by leading members of the present Government. It is supported by influential members of the Opposition. Has not the time arrived for embodying it in the rules and practice of the House?

The establishment of Grand Committees for purposes of legislation, as distinct from Supply, has on the whole been justified by results. If, as was alleged (and contradicted) in an interesting debate last session (April 2nd), the Committees have been badly and irregularly attended, it is because they have not had enough, or sufficiently important, work to do. The more interesting any piece of work is made, the more zeal is forthcoming to do it. During last session, there was little useful work in the way of legislation to be done anywhere. The two best Bills of the session—the Factory Bill and the Children's Liquor Bill—were considered in Grand Committees. But for this preliminary discussion, they would not have become law at all. We agree with Sir Francis Powell, who said (April 2nd) that this principle of delegation, first introduced by Mr Gladstone, should now be carried further.

The range of subjects referred to Standing Committees should now be extended. The Committees themselves should be increased in number. There should be a Standing Committee for Education, as well as the Committee or Committees we have already suggested for the Estimates. Nor is there any reason why Unionists should not go further, and support the establishment of Standing Committees for Scottish, Irish and (if it be desired) Welsh business. On the contrary, there is good reason why they should. Gladstonian Home Rule, it is true, may be dead; but it is by no means impossible, if the present paralysis of Parliament be allowed to continue, that the Home Rule

---

* See, especially, the speeches of Sir Edgar Vincent and Mr E. Robertson, May 20th and August 7th.

movement may gain as much on the side of practical expediency, as it has lost on the side of sentiment. The efficiency of the Imperial House of Commons to do all that is necessary for Ireland as well as for other parts of the United Kingdom lies at the base of the Unionist position. It is essential that at no point should that position be undermined. Ministers would do well to consider the remarks made by an Irish Unionist, Mr T. W. Russell, last session (July 22nd), when he gave it as his opinion that the present position of public business, though it did not prove the necessity for Home Rule, did call for such a devolution of the work of Parliament as would relieve the House of the intolerable load which it was trying in vain to carry.

The direction which such devolution might safely take was pointed out by Mr Bright in the memorable speech in which he sought election at Birmingham, no longer as a supporter of Mr Gladstone, but as an opponent of Home Rule. Mr Bright had been a member of the Select Committee on whose recommendations the institution of Grand Committees was founded. It was in that direction that he looked both for relieving the strain on Parliament and for giving the Irish representatives 'a more direct influence on Irish legislation.' He proposed to form the Irish members into 'a Committee that would be known as the Committee on Ireland or for Ireland.' To this Committee would be referred all Irish Bills. On returning to the House, such Bills would be considered on Report:—

'When a Bill,' continued Mr Bright, 'had passed through the stage of Report, it would go immediately to the third reading; and I should expect that in the great majority of cases a Bill that had gone through the Irish Committee upstairs, and in the stage of Report had gone through the House, in all probability would have a very excellent chance of being read a third time and of going forward. . . . I believe that if the Irish members were loyal and behaved loyally, the whole Parliament would be willing to defer to a very large extent to the opinions of the Irish Committee, and to accept the measures which they had discussed and agreed upon.' *

We need not follow Mr Bright's general argument in favour of his proposal, which, in some respects, goes

* Speech at Birmingham, July 1st, 1886.

perhaps too far. What we desire to recommend is not the setting up of a special machinery to meet the Irish case, but the development of existing machinery to relieve the strain on Parliament as a whole. Committees for Scotch and Irish business should include representatives of the other parts of the United Kingdom, though the great majority should consist of Scotch or Irish members respectively. To these committees bills immediately concerning Scotland or Ireland should be sent for the committee stage, after second reading in the House. This is the simplest method of meeting the congestion of public business. It involves no constitutional change. It is in accordance with usages in other Parliaments and similar bodies. It is only a development of the existing practice of the House of Commons. It is an application to the House of principles which are accepted in every quarter where business is conducted in a business-like way.

A second principle of like nature requires at the same time to be applied. The House of Commons not only has too much to do, but it does not make proper use of its time. To cut the coat according to the cloth is by no means one of its practices. The secret of the economical use of space or time is to map it out beforehand. What would be thought of a builder who let the entrance-hall run over so much ground that none was left for the rooms beyond? or of an editor who took no previous thought in the allotment of space among various topics all equally requiring admission in various measures of length? Yet this is the thriftless, the happy-go-lucky way in which the business of the House of Commons is ordered, or rather allowed to conduct itself to chaos. Some sense of the absurdity of this procedure in present conditions was disclosed in Mr Balfour's rules about Supply.

Here we may remark that, if the foregoing suggestion for a standing committee on the estimates be not adopted, then the present rules should be further amended. The rules allot a definite number of days to Supply. They should go further, as Sir Henry Fowler suggested (February 26th), and allot so many of the days to each division of the estimates. This, indeed, is the principle on which the time of the House generally should be dealt with. Mr Balfour's rules about Supply were suggested by the remarkable article of Mr Chamberlain's to which we

have already alluded. The time has come for reverting to Mr Chamberlain's original suggestion and carrying it out more fully. The essence of it was the fixing of a limit of time at which the discussion of various measures severally should cease:—

'A Committee of Rules should be appointed, similar in composition to the Committee of Selection, whose fairness and impartiality has never yet been questioned. Any minister or member in charge of a Bill should be permitted, at any stage in its progress, to move that it be referred to the Committee on Rules, with instructions to report recommending a fixed limit of time for its pending and subsequent stages; and this motion, as well as that for the adoption of the report of the Committee, should be decided without debate. The Committee on Rules would act under general instructions to take into consideration the character of the Bill, the nature of the opposition, and the time of the session; and it should be competent for them to report in any case that in their opinion it was undesirable to fix any limit.'*

A time-limit was applied to the Home Rule Bill in 1893, and Mr Chamberlain then opposed it. Something must be allowed to the change which so often, in our imperfect human nature, steals over the 'ins' when they become 'outs.' But the inconsistency of which Mr Chamberlain was accused was more apparent than real. This distinction is worth dwelling upon for a moment in order to draw out the essential points in what is now proposed. The adoption of a time-limit by rule of the House is one thing; its proposal *ad hoc* by the majority of the day was another thing. For, observe, (1) in the case of the Home Rule Bill, the fact that a time-limit would at some moment be employed was not known when the discussions began. The object of the present suggestion is that discussions should from the first be regulated by the fixing of a time-limit or by the knowledge that it is held in reserve. (2) Mr Gladstone's adoption of the time-limit left the minority at the mercy of the majority, and was a special device for forcing through a special measure. Our suggestion is that the device should be of general applicability, and that each application to a particular case should be decided by an impartial tribunal.

* 'Nineteenth Century,' Dec. 1890.

With these safeguards the plan, which should be applicable to debates on the address, would restore to the House of Commons its governing efficiency without robbing the minority of legitimate opportunities for discussion.

In connexion with the establishment of time-limits, a definite apportionment of time might become possible between private members and the Government. The present system, under which private members start with a considerable allowance of time which is then bit by bit filched (as they call it) from them, is unsatisfactory in every respect. A better plan would be to limit private members' time to Wednesdays from the first, and to leave them Wednesdays intact to the end.

We should at the same time gladly see the Speaker placed in a position to deal more stringently with irrelevancies and repetitions in debate; and there would be a deep sense of relief—in all quarters outside the House, and in most quarters within it—if a time-limit were fixed to speeches. The ten-minutes rule, under which non-contentious or unimportant bills may now be introduced, would be too rigorous for universal application; but it is time that a blow should be struck at the superstition which prevails on the front benches that length and weight are synonymous, and that oratorical *longueur* is essential to parliamentary dignity. The only way to maintain the dignity of Parliament is to make it efficient.

For this purpose, there is another alteration which common-sense requires in the procedure of the House of Commons. Suppose a man made it a rule to give up writing at a certain time of the night, and then, when that time arrived, proceeded to tear up any chapters he had not quite finished and threw them into the waste-paper basket. He would certainly be thought a fool for his pains. Yet this is precisely the way in which the House of Commons conducts its affairs. At the end of every session, members of Parliament are compelled to cast away their unfinished work and begin again in the following February (if they have the chance) from the very beginning. This absurd custom, which blind conservatism alone can justify, is simply a survival from the time, centuries ago, when every new session meant a new Parliament.

In the case of the chief Government measure, or

measures, of a session, the rule is not often fatal. By hook or by crook such measures are forced through; and the very fact, that they must be passed then or never, acts as a spur. But, to save the larger measure, other bills—minor Government bills and private members' bills—are sacrificed, and all the time and labour spent upon them are wasted. Many such bills of a secondary order are thus postponed, which nevertheless are quite as much wanted as those which make more stir. The dropping of private members' bills in this way is peculiarly disappointing. The rule should be that bills which have passed their second reading in one session may, if not passed therein, be suspended and resumed in the ensuing session at the same point.

This reform has high authority, wide experience, and some precedent even in the House of Commons to support it. It has some precedent, for, in the case of private bills, the promoters are allowed to suspend them and to resume them in the next session at the stage which they had reached at the end of the last. Why should not this privilege be extended to private members in charge of public bills? The suggestion has often been made by prominent politicians—in our own generation, by Lord Salisbury, who even in 1869 referred to the delays caused by the congestion in Parliament as 'a perfect disgrace and scandal.' More recently the suggestion was made by the Select Committee on the business of the House, which sat in 1890 under the chairmanship of Mr (now Lord) Goschen. It was opposed by Mr Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt—chiefly on the ground that the adoption of the proposed new procedure might encourage the House of Lords to hang up House of Commons bills from one session to another. This fear seems to us chimerical; and the danger, such as it is, could easily be guarded against. Mr Gladstone's amendment against the proposed alteration was rejected in the Committee by eleven votes to nine, the majority including the present Duke of Devonshire, Mr Balfour, Mr Chamberlain and Sir Edward Clarke. The reform was cordially approved by the late Sir Thomas Erskine May (Lord Farnborough), a very high authority on such a question. There is also experience in favour of the reform in many foreign parliaments—in France, for instance, and in the

United States. It has been said that the power to hang up an uncompleted bill from one session to the next might induce apathy and laxity; but can anything be conceived more conducive to apathy, disgust, and despair than the present system, which so often condemns intelligent men to the weary weaving of Penelope's web?

The suggestions we make for relieving the paralysis of Parliament are extensive in scope, even as the evil is deep-seated and far-reaching. They are radical, in the proper sense of that term, in that they go to the root of the matter; but they are not revolutionary. They are founded on precedent; they develope existing institutions and practice; they do not seek to set up new machinery. They are all in accordance with the dictates of commonsense and the methods of ordinary business. They have behind them the previous approval, in most cases of leading members of the Liberal Party, in all cases of leading members of the present Unionist Party. The embodiment of these suggestions in definite rules and the carrying of them through Parliament would cost some effort; but the reward would be high. It is now seventeen years since Mr Gladstone, speaking at the Eighty Club, depicted the paralysis of Parliament in a striking image.

'I liken the House of Commons,' he said, 'to a figure of Herculean strength, having a vast load to carry, and well able to carry it, were it not that the muscles of the figure are so fettered by the regulations intended for a set of men of more generous mind, that, strong as it is, it can only stagger along the streets, and is a subject almost of ridicule and offence to every little urchin that passes.'

The years that have elapsed since 1884 have added to the load and increased the fetters. If the load cannot be diminished, it may be adjusted; if the fetters cannot be removed, they may be fastened on the right place. The Minister will deserve well of his country who shall rescue from paralysis and contempt the noble institution which has for centuries been the bulwark of English liberties, and which now requires to have its own powers liberated for the better discharge of the manifold duties which it owes to the United Kingdom and to the British Empire.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH VOLUME OF

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[*Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type.*]

A.

Acworth, Mr, on the insanitary condition of Bombay, 566.
Almack's Club, 178.
America, result of hatcheries, 100.
Argyll, Duke of, 'Unseen Foundations of Society,' 368
Aubanel, Théodore, refrain of his poems, 502—'Lou Rèire dou Soulèu,' 503—dramas, *ib.*—'Li Fiho d'Avignoun,' 504.
Austen, Jane, compared with Miss Yonge, 526.
Australia, working of the sea-fisheries, 85.

Austria-Hungary, The Conflict in, 372—number of nationalities, 373—distribution of races, 374—Germans and Slavs, *ib.*—Magyars and Romance, 375.

Austria, 376—language question, 376–379, 388—composition of Parliament, 379—obstructionists, 380—university students, 381—hostility of Czechs, 382—German terrorism, 382–385—resignation of the Gautsch ministry, 383—Thun ministry, 383–385—Count Clary, 385—result of the general election, *ib.*—causes of the conflict, 386—hatred of Jews, 388.

Hungary, 389—intolerance, 389—language, *ib.*—extermination of German names, 390—plays, 391—despotism of Magyars, 393—exacting demands, 394.

B.

Babelon, E., 'Catalogue des Camees antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' 423.
Balfour, Rt Hon. A. J., M.P., on increased work of the House of Commons, 620.
Ball, Mr, 'Western Alps,' 136.
Beeching, Rev. H. C., 'Poetical Works of John Milton,' 103.
Bennet, Dr H., chief pioneer of open-air treatment for phthisis, 290.
Bentham, J., founder of the school of Utilitarians, 57, 59—development of his views, 61. *See* Radicals.
Bigham, Clive, 'A Year in China, 1899–1900,' 316.
Bismarck, Prince, his relations with the Empress Frederick, 319–321, 341.
Bombay, outbreak of plague, 562—number of deaths, 564—over-crowding, 566—measures adopted, 567–569.
Borrow, George, his admiration for Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry, 396.
Bowman, Rev. A. H., on the insanitary condition of Bombay, 567, *note*

Brantôme, Duelling in the Time of, 435. *See* Duelling.
Bridges, Robert, 'Milton's Prosody,' 103.
Bright, Rt Hon. J., M.P., on forming an Irish Committee, 631.
Bubonic Plague, 539. *See* Plague.

C.

Caine, Hall, style of 'The Christian,' 253. *See* Novel.
Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J., M.P., on higher education, 617—referring Estimates to Committees, 629—fixing a time-limit, 633.
China, outbreak of plague, 559—mortality, 560.

Chinese Fiasco, The, 294—recapitulation of events, 295–301—reactionary *régime*, 296—'Boxer' rising in Shantung, *ib.*—murder of missionaries, 297, 299, 303—removal of Yuhsien, 297—attitude of the Court towards Boxers, 299—Admiral Seymour's advance, *ib.*—attack on Legations, 300—Sir R. Hart's view of the situation, 301—dislike to foreigners, 302—volunteering, *ib.*—predicted spread of movement, 303—origin of trouble, *ib.*—forces, 304—collapse of Boxer movement, 305—question of reconstruction, 306—restoration of the Emperor, *ib.*—abolition of class privileges of Manchus, 307—retirement of the Empress, 308—Yangtze Viceroys, *ib.*—indemnity question, 310—railway claims, *ib.*—Russian encroachments, 311—position in Yangtze Valley, 312—policy of England, 314—works on China, 315.
Cholmondeley, Miss, popularity of 'Red Pottage,' 271.
'Colloquies of Criticism, or Literature and Democratic Patronage,' 266, 272.
Conway, Sir M., 'The Alps from End to End,' 135—his map of Karakoram, 142—journeys in the Andes, 146.
Coolidge, Rev. W. A. B., his edition of 'Travels through the Alps,' 134.
Corelli, Marie, style of 'The Master Christian,' 253. *See* Novel.
Cowell, Professor, on Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems, 406.
Craik, Sir H., 'A Century of Scottish History,' 582 *et seqq.*
Creighton, Dr C., 'History of Epidemics in Britain,' 542, *note.*

Cromwell, Protectorate of Oliver, 192—works on, 192–194—attack on the Church, 195—ecclesiastical system created by the Assembly, 196—Presbyterian and Independent, 198—question of toleration, *ib.*—character of the government, 199—his belief in the need of a 'Single Person,' 201–203—establishment of Protectorate, 203—his four 'fundamentals,' 204—problem of militia, 204–206—personal ascendency, 206—use of symbols of regality, 207—dissolves Parliament, 208, 213—administration of Major-Generals, 208–211—his war with Spain, 211—proposition for converting Protectorate into a monarchy, 213—ruling principle, 215—compared with Strafford, *ib.*—character, 216.

D.

Dante contrasted with Milton, 116.

Dante's Vision, The Date of, 149—historical side of the argument, 150–164—astronomical, 164–171.
Daudet, A., 'La Cabano,' 487.
Davies, Dr D. S., on plague-infected rats, 555, *note.*

Decay, The, of our Sea Fisheries, 83. *See* Sea Fisheries.
Denison, J. E., his journal, 185.
Discovery, expedition of the, 451, 470.

Duelling in the Time of Brantôme, 435—unromantic nature, 436—sharp practice, 437—seconds, *ib.*—examination of weapons and person, 439—wording of contract, 440—duel between M. de la Chastaigneraye and Sieur de Jarnac, 440, 445, 449—treatment of defeated opponents, 442—question of surrender, 443—victorious champion, 444—fighting for its own sake, 446—weapons, *ib.*—skill, 447—religious sanction, 448.
Duff, Rt Hon. Sir M. E. Grant, 'Notes from a Diary,' 179, 185, 188.

E.

Economics, The Revolt against Orthodox, 345—conception of liberty, 347—system of free exchange, 348—view of Prof. Marshall, 348, 365—M. de Molinari, 349, 355—Adam Smith's definition of wealth, 350—Mr MacLeod, *ib.*—exchangeability the essence of value, 351—Archbishop Whately's views, 351–356—conception of value, 356—Ricardo's law of value, 358—J. S. Mill's theory, 359—Sir L. Mallet, 361—public and private tenure of property, 363—views of

Mr S. Jevons, 364—maximising of pleasure, 365 — marginal utility theory, *ib.*—Prof. Nicholson, 366 —style of Mr MacLeod's controversy, 367—his constructive method, *ib.* — Duke of Argyll on 'ethical limitation,' 369 — taxation, 370—Public Debt, *ib.*

Education Bill (1901), withdrawal of, 605, 617.

Evans, A. J., his discoveries in Crete, 218—paper on 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult,' 241.

F.

Feringeea, the Thug leader, 509.

Firth, C., 'Oliver Cromwell,' 193.

Fitzgerald, E., 'The Highest Andes,' 144—'Climbs in the New Zealand Alps,' 147, *note.*

Forbes, J. D., 'Travels through the Alps,' 134.

Fowler, Miss T., popularity of her novels, 272.

Frederick, The Empress, 317. *See* Germany.

Freshfield, D. W., 'The Exploration of the Caucasus,' 138.

Furtwaengler, Adolf, Von, 'Die Antiken Gemmen,' 423 *et seqq.*

G.

Gardiner, S. R., 'History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate,' 193 *et seqq.*

Gauss, expedition of the, 451, 471.

Gaut, J. B., his works, 502—Provençal sonneteer, *ib.*

Gems, Antique, 416—sardonyx, *ib.* cameos of the Augustan age, 417, 432—Vienna and Paris cameos, 418 —collections in the Middle Ages, *ib.*—Greek gems, 419—Mycenæan, 420—subjects, 421—ring of Polycrates, 422—Theodoros, *ib.*—works on, 423—scarabs, 424 — Etruscan imitations, 425—Carthaginian designs, *ib.*—invention of the scaraboid, 426—inscription of names, 427—specimens, 429—intaglios, 430, 433—portraiture, 431.

Germany, Emperor Frederick of, his affection for his wife, 327—illness, 339—succeeds to the throne, 340—death 341.

Germany, Empress Frederick of, 317 — her birth, 318 — changes in Europe during her life, *ib.*—relations with Bismarck, 319–321, 341 —philanthropy, 322, 326—Schloss Friedrichshof, 323—village of Kronberg, 324—domestic spirit, 327—affection for her husband, 327–329—character, 329—temperament, 330 —intellectual gifts, *ib.*—versatility, 331—style of her drawings, *ib.*—mastery of detail, 332—delight in literature, *ib.*—love of nature, 333 —religious views, 334–339 — trials, 337—illness and death of her husband, 339–341—sorrow on his loss, 341–343—her illness, 343.

Girard, M., 'Lis Aupiho,' 499.

Gladstone, Rt Hon. W. E., M.P., on the paralysis of Parliament, 636.

Graham, H. G., 'The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,' 581 *et seqq.*

Graham, W., 'English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine,' 58.

Gras, F., 499—'Li Carbounié,' 500—'Lou Roumancero,' *ib.* — 'The Terror,' 501.

Greece, The Dawn of, 218—archæological discoveries, 218-221—theories as to Mycenæan antiquities, 221—Pelasgians, 224 — 'Homeric question,' 225—Achæans, 226—Hallstatt culture, 228–230 — Achæans the Keltoi or Galatai of the ancients. 230—cremation and inhumation, 233–238 — dialect, 238–240 — discoveries in Crete, 240.

Green, Rev. W. S., 'Among the Selkirk Glaciers,' 143—'The High Alps of New Zealand,' 146.

'Greville Memoirs,' 172.

Gribble, F., 'The Early Mountaineers,' 131.

Gwilym, Dafydd ap. *See* Poet.

H.

Haffkine, M., his method of inoculation against plague, 575.

Hall, H. R., extract from 'The Oldest Civilisation of Greece,' 222, 230, *note.*

Hardy, Thomas, merits as a novelist, 251.

Harper, A. P., 'Pioneer Work in the Alps of New Zealand,' 147.

Hart, Sir R., his view of the Chinese, 301.

Höffding, H., 'History of Modern Philosophy,' 57.

Hong Kong, outbreak of plague, 559 —mortality, 560.

Hort, Prof., on the 'Heir of Redclyffe,' 528.
Hosie, Alex., 'Manchuria,' 316.
Hungary, 389. *See* Austria.

J.

Jasmin, 478—'Françouneto,' 480.
Javelle, E., 'Alpine Memories,' 135.
Jevons, S., 'Theory of Political Economy,' 364.

K.

Kent, C. B. R., 'The English Radicals,' 59.
Kitasato, Dr, his discovery of the plague bacillus, 546, 561.
Koch, Dr R., his experiments in tuberculosis, 276.
Kronberg, the village of, 324.

L.

Landor, H. S., 'China and the Allies,' 316.
Lugard, General Sir F. D., his administration of Uganda, 25.

M.

MacLeod, H. D., 'The History of Economics,' 350 *et seqq.*
Mallet, Sir L., 'Free Exchange,' 361.
Malthus, his 'Essay on Population,' 67.
Marshall, Prof., 'Principles of Economics,' 347 *et seqq.*
Mathews, C. E., 'The Annals of Mont Blanc,' 131.
Mathieu, A., 'La Farandoulo,' 491.
Meredith, G., position as a novelist. 251.
Michie, A., 'The Englishman in China,' 315.
Middleton, Prof., 'Ancient Gems,' 423.
Mill, J. S., systematiser and prophet of the Benthamite faith, 66—on the new school of writers in the 'Westminster Review,' 69—articles on 'Bentham' and 'Coleridge,' 74—expansion of his views, 75—theory of value, 359.

Milton, New Lights on, 103—critics, 103–105 — Prof. Raleigh's method of criticism, 105—on his superb egoism, 106—'Lycidas,' 107—political pamphlets, 108—patriotism, 109—personal element in his writings, 110—method of reasoning, *ib.* — tone, 112—theodicy, 113—'Paradise Lost,' 114 — contrasted with Dante, 116—his supernatural characters, 117 — Satan the hero, 119—concrete epic realities, 120—secret of his power, 121—blank verse, 122—master of the 'grand style,' 123.
Mistral, F., 496—'Lou Tresor dou Felibrige,' 481—'Ode to the Latin race,' *ib.*—'Lis Isclo d'Or,' 482, 499—'Calendau,' 483, 498—'Mirèio,' 497, 498—'Emperor of the Midi,' 497—influence on the dialect-revival *ib.*
Molinari, G. de, 'Comment se résoudra la Question Sociale,' 349.
Moore, A. W., 'The Alps in 1864,' 129.
Morley, Rt Hon. J., M.P., 'Oliver Cromwell,' 192 *et seqq.*

Mountaineering, Recent, 126—changes in its character, 127—development of Alpine literature, 129—early mountaineers, 130—Mr Gribble's book, 131—De Saussure's ascent of Mont Blanc, *ib.*—Mr C. E. Mathews 'Annals of Mont Blanc,' 131–133—Mr Coolidge's edition of Prof. Forbes's Alpine writings, 134—Sir M. Conway's 'The Alps from End to End,' 135—M. Javelle's 'Alpine Memories,' *ib.* — other works, 136—the Pyrenees, 137—Mr Freshfield's volumes on the Caucasus, 138—the Himalaya, 140—protest against affixing names, 141—map of Karakoram, 142—Central Africa, *ib.*—climbing in the Far West, 143—Mr Fitzgerald's expedition among the Andes, 144—New Zealand Alps, 146—mountain sickness, 147.
Müller, Dr, his death from plague, 547.
Mummery, A. F., 'Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus,' 136.

Murder, A Religion of, 506—number of Thugs, 506, 508, 518—average killed, 507, 517—East India Company, *ib.*—case of Pringle, 508—Captain Sleeman created 'General Superintendent of Operations against Thuggee,' *ib.* — captures Feringeea, 509—character of the Thug, 510—Kali the patroness, 511—rules, 511, 513—organisation, 512—mode of procedure, *ib.*—faith of

its votaries, 514 — position, 515—murder of a party, 516—number of *beyls*, 517 — number murdered by leading men, *ib.*

N.

Negro Nileland and Uganda, 1—Fashoda, 2 — bed of the ancient lake, *ib.* — obstruction caused by floating vegetation, 3—acacias, 5—papyrus rush, *ib.*—*Balæniceps rex*, 6—cattle, *ib.*—Nilotic type, 7–9—range, 9—Bahr-al-Ghazal region, 10—Nyam-Nyams, *ib.*—dwarf races, 11–13 — Sobat district, 14 — Lake Rudolf, *ib.*—Victoria Nyanza, 15—Bantu race, 16—Uganda Protectorate, 17–19—Masai tribe, 20—Mau Plateau, *ib.* — Kavirondo, 21 — Busoga, *ib.*—Unyoro, 22—Baganda and Bahima, 23—King Mutesa and Mwanga, 24—expedition under Captain Lugard, 25—result of importing Sudanese soldiers, 26–28—plagues, 28–30—advantages, 30—breeding of cattle, *ib.*—ivory, 31 — grain and other products, *ib.*

Newfoundland Question, The, 33—le traité d'Utrecht, 1713 ; 34—le traité de Versailles, 1783, *ib.*—la théorie actuelle du gouvernement, 35 — de 1822, jusqu'en 1857 ; 36 — plénipotentiaires d'un règlement, *ib.*—convention de 1857 ; 37—la note verbale, 1883 ; 38—une nouvelle convention, 1884, *ib.*—fut signée, 1885 ; 40—la vente de la boëtte bill, *ib.*—le projet d'arbitrage, 41—les armements sont de deux catégories, 42.

Eastern shore, 44—west shore problem, 45—extract from Art. 13 ; 46—causes of dispute, 47—exclusive rights claimed by the French, *ib.*—cod fishery, 48—Bait Act, 49—lobster fishery, 50—need for a permanent settlement, 51–53.

Novel, The Popular, 244—relation between the merit and popularity, 244, 266—greatest novelists of the past and present, 246, 247—primary characteristic, 248—qualities, 249—philosophic thought, *ib.*—merits of G. Meredith and T. Hardy, 250–252—popularity, 252—qualities of Miss M. Corelli and H. Caine, 253, 267—their methods of dealing with Christianity, 254–258, 262–266 — typical cities, 258—ignorance of the world, 260-262—new reading public, 267—Mrs H. Ward, 269—literature of distraction, 270—typical writers, 271.

O.

Ompteda, L. F. von, 'Die von Kronberg und ihr Herrensitz,' 324, *note*.

P.

Paris, death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis in the postal service, 289.

Parker, E. H., 'China, her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce,' 315.

Parliament, The Paralysis of, 601—disillusions of private members, 601–603—number of divisions, 603, 626—legislation, 604—work of various sessions, 606—Radical and Conservative creeds, 607—programme of the Unionist party, in 1895 ; 608—innovations, 609, 621—procedure adopted, 610—control of estimates, 611, 628—economy, 612—inefficiency of the House of Commons, 613, 619 — reasons for failure, 614 — limitation of hours, 616—want of method, *ib.*—Education Bill, 617—Factory Bill, 618—defects in the system, 619—increased work of the House, 620—need for debate, 622—proposed remedies, 623—Redistribution, *ib.* — Questions, 624—private bills, 625—power to put closure, 626—motions for adjournment, 627—devolution, *ib.*—system of Committees, 628—referring estimates to Standing Committees, 629—extension of subjects and numbers, 630—Mr Bright's proposal of an Irish Committee, 631—adoption of a time-limit, 632–634 — suspension of bills, 634–636.

Paton, Captain J., his map of the number of *beyls*, 517.

Perry, A. L., 'Principles of Political Economy,' 346.

Plague, The, 539—*Earlier History of the Disease*, *ib.*—first actual records, 540—spread, *ib.*—epidemics in England, 541–543 — mortality, 541–543, 551—on the Continent, 543—in the East, 544—northern shores of the Caspian, 545.

Nature, Symptoms and Dissemination, 546—bacillus, *ib.*—experi-

ments on cultures, 547—infection, 548—period of latency or incubation, *ib.*—symptoms, 549—'pneumonic,' 550—'Pestis minor,' *ib.* personal contagion, 551–553—transmission by rats, 553–557—fleas, 554—by means of ships, 555.

Recent outbreaks, 557—in India, *ib.*—*mahamari*, 558—centres, *ib.*—in China and Hong Kong, 559—mortality, 560—discovery of the bacillus, 561—outbreak in Bombay, 562—Mandvi quarter, 563—number of deaths, 564—of fugitives, *ib.*—susceptibility of races and castes, 565—overcrowding, 566—measures adopted, 567–569—sources of introduction, 569—in Calcutta, 570.

Extension of Plague since 1896; 570—in 1897, 1898, and 1899; 571—in 1900; 573—in 1901; 574.

Treatment and Protective Measures, 574—injection of serum, 575—Haffkine's method, *ib.*—general rules, 576–578—precautions against importation, 578.

Poet, A Welsh, of Chaucer's Day, 396—poets of the sixth century, 397–399—twelfth and thirteenth, 399—fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, 400—Dafydd ap Gwilym, 401—love of nature, 401–403, 407, 412—date of his birth, 403—parents, *ib.*—steward to Ivor, 404—attachment to his daughter, *ib.*—wanderings, 405—the *cywydd*, *ib.*—intimacy with birds, 408—lines on his death, *ib.*—odes to Morfudd, 409—'Little Hunchback,' 410—ode on the thunderstorm, 411—character of his poetry, 412—creed, *ib.*—use of figurative language, 414.

Pole, The South, 451—belief in a great southern continent, 452—Queiros' explorations, *ib.*—Cook's voyages, 453—various discoveries, 453, 455—expeditions, 454—observations of Ross, *ib.*—Challenger expedition, 455—deep-sea soundings, 457—evidence of continental land, 458—low atmospheric pressure, *ib.*—temperature, 459–461—ice, 461—great ice-barrier, 463—rate of motion of glaciers, *ib.*—colour, 464—plants and insects, 465—animals, *ib.*—food, 466—generalisations, 467—magnetic survey, 468—gravitation survey, 469—the Discovery, 470, 473—the Gauss, 471–473.

Portal, Sir G., 'My Mission to Uganda,' 26.

Poschinger's Life of the Emperor Frederick, extracts from, 321, 331, 336, 339, 340, *note*.

Provençal literature, its characteristics 474. *See* Troubadours.

R.

Radicals, The Philosophical, 54—influence of the French Revolution, 59—infidelity, 60—influence of J. Bentham, 61—development of his views, 62—desire to reform the legal system, 63—principle of utility, 64—personality of J. S. Mill, 66—Hartleian metaphysics, 67, 77—political economy, *ib.*—supporters of the cause, 68—attacks on Whig policy, 69—decline of the party, 70—abstract and negative character of their views, 71—failure to enlist support of working classes, 73—expansion of J. S. Mill's views, 74–77—psychological atomism, 77—problem of ethics, 78—theory of society, 79—influence of reason, 81.

Raikes, T., his journal, 173.

Raleigh, Walter, 'Milton,' 105 *et seqq*.

Rats, transmission of plague by, 553.

Ricardo, his 'Principles of Political Economy,' 67—theory of value, 358.

Ridgeway, W., his article in the 'Hellenic Journal,' 223, 225, 227—'Early Age of Greece,' 227 *et seqq*.

Roumanille, J., 'Li Margarideto,' and 'Li Sounjarello,' 493, 494—minor works, 495.

Roumanille, Mdme, 'Lou Chambroun,' 496.

Russia, conquests in Manchuria, 311.

S.

Sarolea, M., on the expansion of Scotland, 600.

Scotland, The Origins of Modern, 581—works on, *ib.*—failure of Jacobitism, 582—advantages of the Union, 583—contrast between beginning and end of century, 584—agriculture, 585—tree-planting, 586—social life of Edinburgh, 587—members of the 'Select Society,' *ib.*—foundation of a 'School of Philosophy,' 588—poets, 589–591—

'Moderate' party, 591—attempt to establish a 'clumsy theocracy,' 592–594—trade of Glasgow, 594–596—Episcopalians and Presbyterians, 597—patriotism of Burns and Scott, 598—politics, *ib.*

Scott, W. R., 'Francis Hutcheson,' 588.

Sea Fisheries, The Decay of our, 83 — deterioration of inshore grounds, 84—Australian colonies, 85—exhaustion of supply, 86—distinction between round and flat fish, 87 — demersal and pelagic spawn, *ib.* — advocates for and against reform, 89—various kinds of net, 91—mileage, 92—method of netting, *ib.*—trawlers, 93—charges against, *ib.*—methods of prevention, 94–99—re-stocking, 99—experiments in America, 100—suggested measures, 101.

Shaw, W. A., 'A History of the English Church,' 194.

Sleeman, Sir W., his work in crushing out Thuggee, 507 *et seqq.*

Smith, Adam, 'Wealth of Nations,' 350.

Smith, J. H., 'The Troubadours at Home,' 476.

Society Croakers, 172—the Crown's social prerogative, 174—establishment of clubs, 175, 187—novelties of street traffic, *ib.*—suburban life, 176—Reform Act, 177—Almack's Club, 178—social changes, 179—development of new interests, 179–182—first meeting of the British Association, 182 — predictions of impending doom, *ib.*—fusion between rank and wealth, 183—journal of Speaker Denison, 185—Mrs S. Wortley's *salon*, 186—social life of the two parties, 187—gatherings, 188—growing cosmopolitanism of London society, 189—increase of expenditure, *ib.* — of philanthropy, 190.

Stainer, C. L., 'Cromwell's Speeches,' 194.

Stephen, L., 'The English Utilitarians,' 54–57.

Stevenson, R. A. M., 'Art of Velasquez,' 431, *note.*

T.

Tavan, A., 'Love and Tears,' 488—other poems, 488–490.

Thugs or Phansigars of India, 506. *See* Murder.

Troubadours, The Modern, 474—tone of Provençal poets, 475—history of the literature, 476–478—Jasmin, 478—'Françouneto,' 480—foundation of the Felibrige, 481, 486—Mistral's 'Ode to the Latin Race,' *ib.*—designation 'Felibre,' 483 — 'Lou Bouil-Abaisso,' 484—union of Mistral, Mathieu and Roumanille, 485—anthologies, *ib.*—works of early Felibres, 486—A. Daudet, 487—P. Arène, *ib.*—A. Tavan, 488–491—A. Mathieu, 491–493—J. Roumanille, 493–496 — Mdme Roumanille, 496—F. Mistral, 496–499—M. Girard, 499—F. Gras, 499–501 — prose literature, 501—writers, *ib.*—J. B. Gaut, 502—T. Aubanel, 502–505.

Tuberculosis, 274—achievements of the laboratory, 276—congress in London, 277—progress in the treatment 278—infectious nature, 279—number of deaths, 280—diminution from improved sanitation, 281—hereditary, 282 — susceptibility or immunity in respect of infections, *ib.*—defects acquired, 284—inadequacy of delineation, *ib.*—prevalence of tubercle in cattle, 286—sources of dissemination, 287—spitting, 288—compulsory notification, 289 — sanatorium treatment, 290, 291—open-air, *ib.* — climate, 291.

U.

Uganda Protectorate, 17. *See* Negro Nileland.

Utilitarianism, its philosophical principles, 58. *See* Radicals.

V.

Verity, A. W., 'Milton's Poems,' 103.

W.

Wales. *See* Poet.

Walker, H., 'Three Centuries of Scottish Literature,' 589.

Ward, Mrs H., popularity of her works, 252, 269.

Watson, Sir T., his lecture on phthisis, 279.

Whately, Richard, Archbishop of Dublin, 'Introductory Lectures on Political Economy,' 351 *et seqq.*

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET, S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.

NEW BUILDING

—OF—

The Real Estate Trust Company

OF PHILADELPHIA

Southeast Corner of

CHESTNUT AND BROAD STREETS

OCCUPIES a space of one hundred feet on Chestnut Street and one hundred and fifty-six feet on Broad Street, is seventeen stories in height, and contains about six hundred offices, arranged singly and en suite, finished in hard wood and reached through light and ample corridors. The Hallowell addition, adjoining on the south, while separate in construction, communicates in every story, thus forming the largest office building in Philadelphia

SOUTHERN RAILWAY

THE GREAT TRUNK LINE TO THE PRINCIPAL CITIES AND RESORTS **South**

DIRECT ROUTE TO TEXAS, MEXICO, CALIFORNIA AND FLORIDA, CUBA WEST INDIES AND CENTRAL AMERICAN PORTS.

AMONG American railways the "Southern Railway" ranks foremost in point of equipment and superior service. Its road-bed and motive power are equal to any in the world, its trains are up-to-date in equipment, its dining-car service ideal, its schedules both fast and reliable--in a word, when you travel via the Southern you are assured that the best that can be offered awheel is yours.

OPERATING THE PEERLESS SOUTHERN FLYERS:

Washington and Southwestern Limited,
New York and Atlantic Express,
Washington and Chattanooga Limited,
New York and Florida Express,
U. S. Fast Mail for the South,
The "Southern Palm Limited"
(During Tourist Season, New York and St. Augustine.)

NEW YORK OFFICES:
271 and 1185 Broadway.
ALEX. S. THWEATT, East. Pass'r Agent.
J. M. CULP, Traffic Manager.
W. A. TURK, Asst. P. T. M.
S. H. HARDWICK, Gen'l Pass'r Agent,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

St. Paul Minneapolis Limited Express

PULLMAN BUFFET LIBRARY SMOKING CAR ON THE

Finest Train in the World

LEAVES CHICAGO DAILY 6:30 P. M.
ARRIVES ST. PAUL 7:45 A. M.
ARRIVES MINNEAPOLIS 8:25 A. M.

Both Compartment and Standard Sleepers on this train. Other express trains leave both Chicago and St. Louis daily over the Burlington Route for St. Paul and Minneapolis, also for Kansas City, Omaha, Denver and the Pacific Coast. The following Burlington Route agents will furnish maps, time-tables, beautifully illustrated books about Colorado and California, and if desired will call at your home to advise and attend to the details of your trip:

E. J. SWORDS
379 Broadway
NEW YORK CITY

W. J. O'MEARA
306 Washington Street
BOSTON, MASS.

H. E. HELLER
632 Chestnut Street
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

F. E. BELL
211 Clark Street
CHICAGO, ILL.

C. D. HAGERMAN
703 Park Building
PITTSBURG, PA.

J. G. DELAPLAINE
Broadway and Olive Streets
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Provident Life and Trust Co.

OF PHILADELPHIA.

The best in Life Insurance is likely to be the cheapest. The same fidelity, skill and care which are necessary to guarantee the future security of a company, result in the lowest cost. A good test, therefore, is to determine whether the organization and the surroundings of a Company exclude all doubt as to future security. In determining this, the question of cost is determined also. THE PROVIDENT LIFE AND TRUST COMPANY invites inquiry as to its organization and the provisions for safety afforded.

For the full period of its existence, the death rate has been only .614 of the rate indicated by the authoritative tables.

The No. 2 "NEW MANIFOLDING"

Hammond Typewriter

HAS

Improved Manifolding Method
Increased Manifolding Power
Automatic Manifolding Blow
Superior Manifolding Result

It also has a numbr of Valuable Mechanical Improvements.

THE HAMMOND TYPEWRITER CO.,
Factory and General Offices,
69th to 70th Sts., East River, New York, N. Y., U. S. A

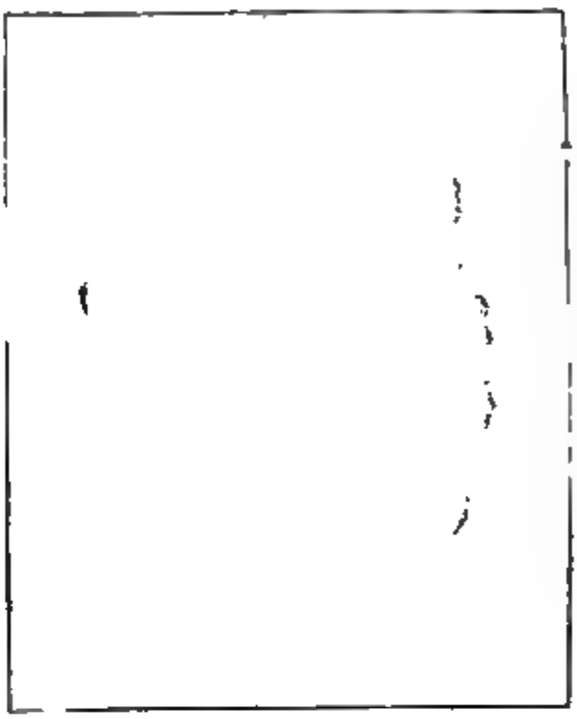
Branches in Principal Cities.
Representatives Everywhere.

The Conquest of Charlotte

A NOVEL.

The new novel in Blackwood's Magazine is bound to be one of the most popular stories of the year. "Blackwood's" novels have an international reputation for interest and literary character, and "The Conquest of Charlotte" birds fair to rank with the best.

The short stories arranged for the coming year promise to surpass in story-interest the high reputation long since achieved by "Maga" for its fiction. Subscriptions may begin at any time. $3.00 per year.



I take great pleasure in saying that I consider Vin Mariani an excellent tonic, specially useful to singers.
EDOUARD DE RESZKE.

VIN MARIANI,

Mariani Wine, gives power to the brain, strength and elasticity to the muscles and richness to the blood. It is a promoter of good health and longevity. It makes the old young, keeps the young strong. Mariani Wine is indorsed by more than 8,000 American physicians. It is specially recommended for General Debility, Overwork, Profound Depression and Exhaustion, Throat and Lung Diseases, Consumption and Malaria.

Are You Worn Out?

TRY

MARIANI WINE,

The World Famous Tonic for Body and Brain.

Mariani Wine is invaluable for overworked men, delicate women and sickly children. It stimulates, strengthens and sustains the system, and braces body and brain.

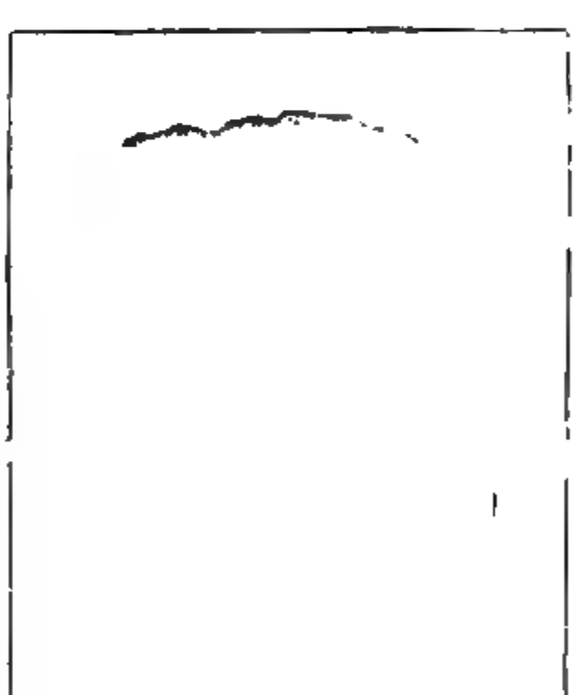
VIN MARIANI AT THE SODA FOUNTAIN.

A most refreshing, cooling, and at same time strengthening, drink is Vin Mariani taken with carbonic or soda water. Specially recommended to overworked business men, ladies when shopping, brainworkers, and all who are debilitated It overcomes lassitude, and is helpful in the many summer complaints.

Vin Mariani taken with chipped or scraped Ice is also most refreshing, and renders beneficial aid in exhaustion during hot or debilitating weather.

SPECIAL OFFER:—To those who will kindly write, mentioning this publication, to MARIANI & CO., 52 West 15th Street, New York City, will be sent, free, book containing portraits with indorsements of Emperors Empress, Princes, Cardinals, Archbishops and other distinguished personages indorsing Vin Mariani.

Paris: 41 Boulevard Haussmann. London: 83 Mortimer Street.
Montreal: 87 St. James St.



I always have Vin Mariani in my dressing room. When fatigued I find a small glassful works wonders.
RICHARD MANSFIELD.

The Leading Reviews.

Nineteenth Century and After, Contemporary Review, Fortnightly Review, Westminster Review, Edinburgh Review, Quarterly Review, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Strong, sterling, timely, suggestive and authoritative; just what you want to know of the world's doings; exactly what you need to know; and toid when you want to know it;—that's the value of these Reviews to you. The ablest writers, the most timely discussions; the swiftest presentation of the world-problems of the day appear every monh in the pages of these Leading Reviews. These are the English Editions sold in America at about half price. Specimen copies sent free to anyone anywhere, and historical booklet too, for the asking.

PRICES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Nineteenth Century, Fortnightly Review, Contemporary Review, Westminster Review, Each $4.50 per year; any two $8.50 per year; any three $12.00 per year; all four $16.00 per year; Single Copies 40 cents; **Quarterly Review, Edinburgh Review,** Each $4.00 per year; the two $7.50 per year; Single Copies $1.25; **Blackwood's Magazine,** $3.00 per year. With one Quarterly $6.50; with two $10.00; Single Copies 30 cents.

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO., 7 Warren St., New York.

The Travelers
Insurance Company
OF HARTFORD, CONN.

Chartered 1863. (Stock.) Life, Accident, and Employers' Liability Insurance.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, President

PAID-UP CAPITAL

$1,000,000

JULY 1, 1901

Total Assets, (Accident Premiums in the hands of Agents NOT INCLUDED) .	**$32,198,504.44**
Total Liabilities (Including Reserves) . .	27,499,719.25
Excess Security to Policy-holders . .	4,698,785,19
Paid to Policy-holders since 1864 . .	**44,469,462.48**
Total Insurance in Force . . .	499,260,653.00

GAINS: 6 months, January to July, 1901

In Assets	$1,270,172.92
In Insurance in Force (Life Department Only)	4,739,635.00
Increase in Reserves (Both Departments) .	1,165,244.44
Premiums, Interest, and Rents, 6 months	4,538,683.18

Sylvester C. Dunham, Vice-President

John E. Morris, Secretary. J. B. Lewis, M.D., Medical Director and Adjuster.